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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

REINTEGRATION OF RETURN MIGRANTS IN SELECTED COMMUNITIES IN THE NORTHERN REGION OF GHANA

BY

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Thesis submitted to the Institute for Development Studies of the Faculty of Social Sciences, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Development Studies.

NOVEMBER 2016

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

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

Candidate's Signature:..... Date:…….....

Name: .....

Supervisors' Declaration

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

Principal Supervisor's Signature……..... Date: .....

Name: .....

Co-supervisor's Signature……..... Date: .....

Name: .....

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of the study was to examine how the socio-economic environment of home communities helped in the reintegration of return migrants in selected communities in the Northern Region of Ghana. The macro-methodological theory underlying the study was interpretivism. Mixed and multi-stage sampling techniques were used in selecting respondents in 30 communities from eight MMD Assemblies in the Northern Region of Ghana. The study used interview schedules in collecting quantitative data while FGD guides were used to gather the qualitative data. The quantitative data were analysed with the SPSS, (16) software. The qualitative data were organised into themes and analysed with the interpretivist and inductive approach and framed within the functional capabilities approach to human development. The main findings of the study were: the destination areas provided better economic opportunities while the home communities provided better social opportunities and thus, migrants were able to remit from their destination areas to support their kins at home at various intervals. Additionally, there were reciprocal support relationships between return migrants and their social networks which affected the reintegration of the return migrants. The study recommends the promotion of sustainable income-earning opportunities in the Northern Region of Ghana to help the reintegration of return migrants. Furthermore, efficient irrigation systems should be provided to support all-year round farming activities in the Northern Region of Ghana.

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DEDICATION

To the memory of those who made great sacrifices to give me education.

Digitized by UCC, Library

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Digitized by UCC, Library

Digitized by UCC, Library

Digitized by UCC, Library

Digitized by UCC, Library

Digitized by UCC, Library

LIST OF TABLES

Digitized by UCC, Library

Digitized by UCC, Library

Digitized by UCC, Library

LIST OF FIGURES

Digitized by UCC, Library

LIST OF PLATES

:

Digitized by UCC, Library

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Globally, the distribution of natural resources has not been geographically even. The absence of resources such as fertile land, adequate rainfall pattern, forest products and minerals, has often pushed people to embark on voluntary migration to other areas where such resources exist, as a survival and coping strategy. Voluntary migration is further accelerated when, in addition to the lack of natural resources, there is paucity in other sustainable livelihoods provided by commerce or industry.

These generally observed reasons for voluntary migration have been the subject of several studies and the development of various theories, such as the "expected income theory" developed by Todaro (1969, 1992), and the "theory of differentials" by Greenwood (1997), which identify the determinants of migration decision as the difference between income levels in the home country and that of the destination area. Similarly, the "Utility Maximisation" theory argues that individuals are likely to maximise their opportunity in employment and income and, therefore, will migrate to areas which will give them the maximum opportunities (Greenwood, 1975; 1985; Collier & Lal, 1984; Stark & Taylor, 1991; Daveri & Faini, 1999; Chen, Chiang & Leung, 2003; Arzaghi & Rupasingha, 2011).

Just as there are different ways why the reasons for migration have been understood, so also have their impacts been varied. Some authors have argued that families insure their incomes by sending some of their members to locations that are not subject to the same natural or economic shocks as

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theirs (Connel, Dasgupta, Laishley, & Lipton, 1976; Lucas & Stark, 1985; Stark & Taylor, 1991; Lucas, 2005). Thus, migration is seen as minimizing the risk for families and households. Arzughi and Rupasingba (2007) have maintained that migration would expand an individual's economic choices and opportunities.

Current debate suggests that the most important benefit from migration stems from remittances (Solimano, 2003; Duryea, Córdova & Olmedo, 2005). Remittance flow, as a source in augmenting incomes at both individual and national levels, has become very important with the increase in the number of migrants. Quartey (2006) explains remittance as the private financial aid that flows directly into the hands of individual households. However, remittances do not come only in financial forms. Levitt and Glick (2004) refer to the ideas, behaviours, new identities, human and social capital that migrants acquire from the destination area and bring with them when they return home as 'social remittances'.

According to Quartey (2006), statistics in recent years show that remittances to developing countries are now higher than Official Development Assistance (ODA). Most of the remittances include workers' remittance and compensation of employees. For Quartey (2006), developing countries benefit highly from these remittances. Remittances help largely in the welfare of most rural families. It also helps to reduce rural poverty; it increases investments and reduces the economic vulnerability of the poor (Quartey, 2006).

Though migration may have a positive impact on both sending and receiving communities, when viewed against the socio-economic

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background, sending communities seem to lose on the cost-benefit scale, especially in the case of human capital. Labour, the most important productive factor, which combines with the other resources to engender development in rural communities, is lost to migration. Without labour, which includes the skills and other human capital, poverty will persist despite increased resource infusion to rural agrarian communities. It is, thus, posited that there is a positive correlation between return migration and development for both the individual and the community of the return migrant (Houte & Davids 2008). However, Ammassari, (2004) observed that return migrants to Ghana impacted on the local economies or origin. Black et al., (2004) shows that these return migrants who were largely international migrants came with improved employability and were able to invest in divers businesses back in Ghana. In the light of the linkage between capacities of return migrants and rural development, attempts are being made by various state and non-governmental organizations to encourage migrants to return (Houte & Davids, 2008).

There is, however, no agreement between NGOs involved in development and migration on the issue of return. They are divided in their attitude towards the policy of return (Houte & Davids, 2008). Some are reluctant to support it, but others think it would be in the interest of migrants who are living in poor conditions in the destination area to return home. However, Ghanem (2003) is doubtful of the successful reintegration of return migrants if the very reasons they left their homes have not improved for the better. In Ghanem's view, it would be difficult for the migrant to

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return with a changed identity and orientation to the same condition he or she had migrated from.

Similarly, De Hass (2005) observes that the ability of the return migrant to participate meaningfully in the life and development of the home community is contingent on the socio-economic possibilities in the home community. Reintegration, for De Hass (2005), would be reinforced when these possibilities are positive. If not, reintegration of return migrants would be difficult. Subsequently, De Hass (2005) identifies various factors as contributing to the failure of reintegration. These are:

- The failure of society to accept them, which will be the case if they had not been either successful at the destination of migration or had failed to maintain links with the home society while in migration;
- Lack of improvement in the socio-economic conditions in the home community as they were prior to migration, especially when he/she had enjoyed better conditions in the destination; and
- The absence of employment opportunities and other income-generating activities which can engage the capitals of the return migrant in the home community.

Further, in communities where the social network is dense, it would be difficult for migrants to put the resources they returned with into productive use. In such communities, individuals bear social responsibilities towards both members of their family and the community as a whole. As such, return migrants may end up spreading their resources among members of the society as gifts instead of using it as capital for productive activities.

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While the attempt of encouraging return migration is seen as desirable, little is known about how these returnees manage to build up their lives again after return, let alone contribute to the development of their communities. Of paramount interest to this study, therefore, are the determinants of the process of reintegration of such returnees after acquiring different tastes, economic status and orientations in other societies which are likely to be at variance with those of the sending societies.

Statement of the Problem

Northern Ghana in particular has long been a region of internal outmigration (Wouterse, 2010). North-south migration can be divided into three epochs. The first epoch is the pre-colonial period when migration was limited to small number of warriors and traders. (Van Dijk et al., 2001). However this was halted by the constant wars between northern tribes and the Ashantis. The second epoch can best be described as forced labour migration which lasted between 1906 and 1927 during which the colonial authorities established the north as a labour concentration region to provide forced labour to work on road and railway construction and also in the mines in the south (Lentz, 2006). The next epoch was a period of voluntary migration which was undertaken for various reasons. Van der Geest, (2011) have observed that the poor agro-ecological condition in the north of Ghana encourages northern farmers to migrate to the more humid and fertile areas in the south, especially in Brong Ahafo in searcher of greener soils for farming purposes. Thus, Van Der Geest identify environmental push and pull factors as driving north-south voluntary migration, especially among farmers.

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On the other hand, others migrate to the south to utilize their freed labour to work in the cocoa regions in the middle belt when there was not much activity during the off-seasons in the north due to the single rain fall season. (Abdulai**,**1999). Adu-Okoree, (1996, 2012) has shown that some others migrated to the south to trade, while others migrated to accumulate funds to buy basic essentials, such as footwear, clothing, utensils and other wares, which were mostly difficult to acquire back home.

It is observed that, after attaining various social and economic statuses in their new destinations, these migrants stay on in the south and invest their new values and capital in the south, instead of returning to their home communities to invest the value addition to their labour and capital in their home communities. This, subsequently, deprives the north of their human capital and enlarges the development gap between the north and south. Human capital is absolutely vital for the development of every society. However, the usefulness of human capital is dependent on the ability and opportunity to put the skills and other resources to productive use in the home community.

Since the middle of 2000, various national and international agencies have encouraged return migration, but they ignore the process of reintegration after the return of the migrants back to their home communities (International Organization for Migration, 2004; Scottish Executive, 2006; Welsh Assembly Government, 2006; Frattini, 2006; US & EU, 2007). Even though a substantial amount of work has been done on the subject of integration, there seems to be little or no work done to understand the process of reintegration in the home communities of return migrants

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(Robinson, 1998, Ware, Hopper, Tugenberg, Dickey & Fisher, 2008; Ager & Strang, 2004).

Since the 1990s there has been increasing evidence of return migration to Ghana with the return migrants bringing with them significant sums of money which they invest in the community of origin in various business and thus, impacting on the development of the local economy (Black et al., 2004). Ammassari, (2004) observed that these return migrations may be conditioned by various reasons including returning initially to attend too family events like funerals and sick relations. On coming home, they are able to observe employment opportunities to which they return to invest in permanently as they consider the local communities as providing them with more conducive living environment compared to the harsh working and living conditions in the destination areas.

Ghosh (2000) has observed that an integral part of the migration process is return. However, this aspect of the process has not been adequately addressed in the migration debate. This position is further supported by King (2000) in saying that return migration remains the "great unwritten chapter" of migration studies. Similarly, Arowolo (2000) has expressed the view that return migration has been poorly researched for far too long worldwide.

Following from return is the issue of reintegration in the home community of the return migrants during which they learn to live with their families and other members of the kinship and wider social networks in the home communities (Arowolo, 2000; Cassarino, 2004). Upon return, the migrant needs to be reintegrated into the original society (Preston, 1993).

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The necessity to understand the determinants of reintegration is based on the fact that it will be unrealistic to assume that, for the period when the migrant was away from the community, the social and economic milieu to which migrants return has not changed (Preston, 1993; Potter, 2005). It is imperative to recognise the different social settings of the destination to which the migrant travelled and returned from, and the home or sending community from where migrant travelled and to which the migrant returned (N'Laoire, 2007).

There is a wide development gap between the destination area and the home communities of the return migrants in this study. The home communities lack most of the non-traded goods enjoyed, or at least seen, by the return migrants in the destination area, which they will be missing in the home community. Further, the economic opportunities in the destination area far exceed what prevails in the home communities. Family members back home depend on the remittances from the migrants for their upkeep which may be lost when return migrants return to the home communities.

There is, therefore, the need to understand the dynamics of reintegration of return migrants to the Northern Region of Ghana which facilitate the process of enabling both the returnee and the society to adjust to each other and ease the integration of the returnee into the home communities. This study is, therefore, an attempt to provide responses for the understanding of the phenomenon of reintegration on return from migration.

Further, though various studies have been done on return migration in Ghana they turn to focus on international return migration (Black et al., 2004; Ammassari, 2004; De Haas, 2005; Yendaw, Tanle & Kumi-Kyereme,

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2013). These studies also focus on elite urban dwelling returnees. Other studies focusing on north-south migrants have focused on the economic well-being in either the destination or home community (Tanle, 2013). Thus, there is paucity of information on south-north return migration in Ghana has generally been recognised (Yendaw, Tanle & Kumi-Kyereme, 2013 There is therefore the need to study internal south-north return migration in rural Ghana.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to examine the socio-economic environment necessary for return migrants to put the different acquired capital into productive use in their respective home communities in the Northern Region. The specific objectives of the study were to:

1. Describe the socio-economic conditions of return migrants in their home communities in Northern Region prior to migration
2. Examine and compare the socio-economic conditions of migrants in the migration destination and home communities.
3. Examine how the migrants prepared for their return.
4. Examine how social networks and traditional support systems affect reintegration of return migrants in their home communities
5. Ascertain how the return migrants were reintegrating in the community of origin
6. Explore the factors return migrants consider in deciding to stay or remigrate.
7. Make recommendations for academics, policy makers, and practitioners who are interested in return migration.

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Research Questions

The broad research question that informed this study was: what kind of socio-economic environment was necessary to facilitate the reintegration of return migrants in the Northern Region of Ghana? The following specific questions guided the study.

1. What were the socio-economic conditions of the return migrants in their home communities prior to migration?
2. How did the socio-economic conditions of return migrants in the migration destination compared with the community of origin?
3. How did the migrants prepare for their return?
4. How did the social networks and traditional support systems affect the reintegration of return migrants in their home communities?
5. How were the return migrants reintegrating in their home communities?
6. What factors did the return migrants consider to stay or remigrate?

Scope of the Study

Conceptually, the study covers three key themes seeking understanding of how social integration reinforces the capacity of return migrants to contribute to the development of their home communities. These are:

- The importance of migrant capitals (human and economic) in rural development.
- The role of social networks in integration to foster productive engagement of migrant capitals to enhance rural development.

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- The interplay between human, social and economic capitals in building return migrants' capacity in utilizing their endowments in rural development.

Significance of the Study

The study aims at providing insights into the interrelationship between social networks, human, social and economic capitals in fostering rural development. The outcome of the study, therefore, will provide useful information to demographers charting migration patterns. It will also help social science researchers, who are looking at community integration in relation to relocation responses, and social integration theorists who measure the effects of social capital in the lives of community members and rural development in general. Specifically, it is also hoped that the study will contribute to filling the missing gap in migration studies on reintegration of return migrants in their home communities.

In addition to its academic importance, the study will provide findings for policy makers, providing a framework for understanding the process of reintegration of return migrants and help in shaping policy direction aimed at promoting rural development. The study argues for the proper reintegration of return migrants as major human resource for rural development.

Furthermore, the study will help non-governmental organisations, development partners and community leaders involved in helping return migrants to consider the socio-economic environment into which the migrants are returning in their policy formulation and project design. The study would provide better understanding of the influence that social ties

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have upon return migrants and their capacity to remain and invest in their home communities.

Finally, there are many other possible outcomes that can be deduced from this study. One of which is the specific measure of one's involvement in social organizations as a key social integrator. Thus, this study will provide impetus for social groups, community-based, and civil organization leaders to create programs that will foster deeper ties and greater social networks among community members.

Operational Definition of Concepts

Compound houses: These are houses with several attached chamber and hall or single rooms on the same plot or compound. Residents often share many amenities in the compound such as washrooms, and sometimes kitchen. Typically, people who reside in compound houses use public toilet facilities. Compound homes are the commonest housing structure in rural and semi-urban areas and slums of Ghana.

Destination area**:** a place to which a person migrated.

Embeddedness: As used in this study, embeddedness entails a multidimensional concept that refers to an individual finding his/her own position in society and feeling a sense of belonging to and participating in that society. It consists of economic, social networks and psychosocial dimensions that are interrelated and could reinforce each other.

Fula: a local snack made from millet

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Home of origin**:** a person's place of birth, ancestral home, or where a person calls hometown and from where she or he migrated and intends to stay after return.

Household: a family unit which is recognized socially and is self-sustaining; usually staying in the same house and sharing same facilities.

Human capital**:** the productive capacities of an individual both inherited and acquired, through education, training and exposure to new environment. This may be reinforced through innovations, resulting from coping strategies in the face of challenges.

Kayayei: A Ga word derived from "kaya" the Hausa name for a person who works for another person for a fee. The term kayayei is, however, used to refer to women head potters in Ghana. The singular is kayayo.

Kyinkyinga: grilled beef or chicken on sticks usually sold on the streets and other public places by men from the three northern regions in Ghana.

Migration: long-term movement(s) of person(s) from their community of origin to settle in a new community.

Migrant**:** a person who has ever migrated out of his or her place of birth either voluntarily or involuntarily for a minimum of one year or more for any reasons.

Non-traded goods: social amenities which are usually provided by the state or local government institutions and hardly by individuals but which contribute significantly to the quality of life of a community and, therefore, desired by all.

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Reintegration a process of give and take in the home community as return migrants learn to live with their families and other members of the kinship and wider social networks in the home communities (Arowolo, 2000; Cassarino, 2007).

Return migrant**:** a person who has once migrated to a southern community for a minimum of one year and returned to his/her home of origin permanently.

Rural community: a locality of less than 5000 inhabitants and lacking many of the basic social amenities, such as potable water, electricity, recreational facilities, health facilities, and second cycle schools.

Sending community**:** a person's place of residence from which she or he migrated and to which he or she has returned.

Social capital**:** the institutions, relationships and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions.

Social reintegration: a process of identifying with the community and feeling part of it which is reinforced by the following indicators:

- Adaptation to socio-economic conditions in the home community;
- Coping with new situations in home community;
- Engagement in employment and other income-generating opportunities;
- Acceptance by the home society; and
- Involvement in community activities

Susu collectors: informal savings agents who go around daily to collect savings from, usually, low income earners. Keeping the savings

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for one month, they get a commission equivalent of a day's savings from each depositor. The depositor can take short-term loans at an agreed interest rate with their savings as collateral. The danger with the scheme is that most of these collectors have no known permanent addresses and so often run away with the deposits.

Urban community: a locality with 5000 inhabitants or more enjoying all basic social amenities, such as potable water, electricity, recreational facilities, health facilities, and second cycle schools.

Zongo: a derivative of a Hausa word, Zunguna which means "to squat", a camp, a stopover, a range or transit quarters. In Ghana, it is used in reference to residential community of migrants from the same ethnic or related group settling together in a town or village.

Zoomlion Limited: a private waste management company engaged by most Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies throughout the country to manage their waste for them. They engage the youth from the local communities to undertake these cleaning works in their communities for a monthly wage. It has provided a ready source of employment for many unemployed youths in the rural communities.

Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is organized under seven chapters. Chapter One deals with the introduction which covers the background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, scope of the study, significance of the study, limitations, operational definition of terms as well

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as the organization of the study. Chapter Two is devoted to review of relevant literature under various theories and concepts. Chapter Three discusses the. research design, socio-economic profile of the study area, Northern Region of Ghana and methodology adopted in data collection and analysis, while Chapters Four, Five, and Six present and discuss the results under various themes in relation to the objectives of the study and findings from the study. Finally, Chapter Seven takes up the summary, conclusions, policy recommendations, contribution to knowledge, limitations and areas for further research.

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CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant literature for this study under the following headings: overview of rural-urban migration; theories of rural-urban migration; theory of integration in destination area; theories of return migration; and theories of reintegration. The chapter also discusses some empirical studies relevant for the study under the following headings: importance of rural-urban migration; social networks and integration of migrants in the destination area; internal migration in Ghana; return migration; relevance of return migrants to home communities; post-return experiences; social networks and reintegration of return migrants. The review concludes with a conceptual framework for reintegration of return migrants.

Overview of Rural-Urban Migration

Rural-urban migration is a change of residence from a rural community to an urban setting for a period of not less than one year (Broadely & Cunningham, 1994). Rural-urban migration contributes to the development of urban society. Thus, the dynamics of rural-urban migration has been the subject of both academics and policy makers (UN, 1988; Bilsborrow et.al, 1984).

An important aspect in the study of the process of rural-urban migration is the place of origin of migrants. In countries that are largely rural, most urban in-migrants originate from rural areas. For instance, the bulk of migrants to greater Cairo have been from villages in the Nile Delta

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(UN, 1990) and 60 percent of the migrants in Monterrey were coming from rural areas (Browning, 1971).

Studies have shown that a number of migrants to urban centres are short distance migrants and that the number of in-migration to urban centres declines with distance (Findlay 1987; Caldwell, 1969; Rhoda, 1979). For instance, 50 percent of the migrants in Bangkok came from within an 83 kilometre radius of the city and the majority of the migrants in Singapore had come from the adjacent state of Johore (Jones, 1975). Improvements in transportation and communication systems are, however, reducing the role of distance on the volume of migration (IUSSP, 1989).

Unlike in Europe and North America during the industrial revolution where rural-urban migration was dominated by persons joining their spouses or parents; the common feature among many of the rapidly urbanizing, developing countries is that the migration process is dominated by direct migrants (Jones 1975; Newman & Matzke, 1984; Johnson, 1990). For example, 71 percent, 51 to 92 percent and 80.4 percent of the migrants to Lusaka and most West African towns (Peil & Sada, 1985) were direct migrants. However, in countries with a wider urban base and relatively diversified economy like Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya, second-generation migration is more than direct movement from villages to urban towns (Adepoju, 1980).

Substantial numbers, more than two-third, of migrants to large cities in developing areas, have relatives or friends living there. For instance, in Monterrey and Jamshedpar (India) 84 and 75 percent of the migrants had relatives and friends living in these respective towns (Browning, 1971).

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These families and friends who live in the city serve as a source of information employment opportunities, and access to non-traded goods in the cities for the potential migrant. As a result, migrants prefer to move to destinations, where they already have sufficient information (Cardona & Simmons, 1975). Through such information-sharing between migrant kinship or other links and prospective migrants migratory movements are sustained (Johnston, et.al., 1994).

Not all migrants take up permanent residence in cities. Many return permanently to the village after spending a substantial period in urban areas (Engmann, 1972; IUSSP, 1989). For instance, most African rural-urban migrants return home eventually (Peil & Sada, 1985) and, in Cedral (Mexico), 34 percent of the interviewed subjects were return migrants (Browning, 1971) Migrants return to rural areas for various reasons and these include failure to access employment opportunities in the urban area, inability to cope with challenges of urban life, and having made enough saving or success. For example, 40 percent of the return migrants from Ghanaian cities were due to failure in achieving their migration intentions in the urban towns and 20 percent returned because they had made enough savings they intended to invest back home (Caldwell, 1969). Browing (1971) found that it was common with migrants in Ghana as in most Latin American countries, to return to the village on retirement. This is evident by the low proportion of elderly people in African towns (Peil & Sada, 1985).

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The Demographic Characteristics of Migrants

Persons of all ages can migrate but studies have shown that the vast majority of migrants do so within the young adult age group of 20-30 years (Caldwell, 1969; Clark, 1986; and Goldstein, 1976). However, this is not always the case. Other studies have found that most people who migrated to the coastal areas in England and United States of America are usually older and retired persons aged 65 and over (Newman & Matzke, 1984; Hornby & Jones, 1993). Another study found that children, especially in developing countries, account for a 40 percent share of total rural-urban migrants (UN, 1986; 1988).

Similarly, there is a disparity in the sex- compositions of rural-urban migrants in different countries, depending on the level of urbanization. While women dominate the rural-urban migration stream in all developed countries (except Australia), males dominate the rural-urban migration in developing countries (except Latin-America, the Caribbean, the Philippines; industrializing countries of Asia such as South Korea, Thailand and Taiwan) (UN, 1988; 1990; 1999; Barke & O'Hare, 1991; Gugler, 1988; Browing, 1971). For example, 65 percent of the migrants in the major Kenyan towns and the majority of rural-urban migrants in Ghanaian towns are men (Monstead & Walji, 1978; Caldwell, 1969). However, the pattern in sex ratio is changing both the developed and developing regions of Africa and Asia. Increasingly, the proportion of women moving to cities in Africa and Asia is rapidly increasing (Adepoju, 1980; Barke & O'Hare, 1991; IUSSP, 1989; Gugler, 1988).

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Generally, rural-urban migrants are dominantly single as compared to the populations from which they originate (Browning, 1971; Caldwell, 1969; Kebede, 1994). For example, 43 percent of the migrants to Sanslavadoir, 45 percent of migrants to Paris and 56 percent to major Kenyan towns were single (Poucher, 1970; Monstead & Walji, 1978). The marital status of migrants has experienced change through time.

The socio-economic characteristics of migrants

Education is another factor to be considered in discussing the characteristics of rural-urban migrants as it is found to stimulate rural out-migrations to cities (Newman & Matzke, 1984). Education expands the opportunities of migrants to participate in the economic, cultural and social lives of the destination area as well as ensuring higher incomes (Cardona & Simmons, 1975; Gugler, 1988). As a result, the level of educational attainment of migrants to urban areas (especially to large cities) is higher than the non-migrants in their place of origin and lower than the natives in their destination area (Oberai, 1978; Browning, 1971). However, the situation where educated persons tend to dominate migration to urban areas of Africa and other developing regions have changed as illiterate persons have increasingly migrated to the urban informal sectors (Newman & Matzke, 1984; Adepoju, 1995).

Theoretical Perspectives on Rural-Urban Migration

Migration decision is generally, made by the individual or the household making the move (Clarke, 1986). The decision to migrate depends on a wide range of factors (UN, 1980; Bilsborrow et. al, 1984; Gmlech & Zenner, 1996). It is not easy to assess the influences of the complex factors

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affecting the decision to migrate and the choice of destinations (Jansen 1970) because migration occurs in a variety of development contexts and varies in type, composition and direction (UN, 1988). Despite their complexity, the factors (causes) of migration decision are generally grouped into 'push' and 'pull' factors. The 'push' and 'pull' factors of migration can be economic or non -economic (demographic, social, natural, political factors).

Push and pull factors

The push and pull factors theory posits that the decision of individuals to migrate is the outcome of the interplay between 'push' and 'pull' factors in the sending and destination areas respectively (Lee, 1966; Caldwell, 1969). The push factors are pressures which encourage individuals or group of persons to leave their home of origin to other locations. These factors include, but not limited to, lack of access to land and other production resources, low crop yield, famine, flood, drought, bush fires and paucity of economic opportunities (Lee, 1966). The 'pull' factors are attractions of the destination area which include higher employment opportunities, higher wages and access to non-traded goods (Gmelch & Zenner, 1996).

Individuals react differently to the push and pull factors since they perceive and evaluate them differently (Hornby, 1980). Different individuals see the attributes in both the sending and destination areas differently depending on the personal characteristics of the individual, such as, age, sex, education, marital status and the like (Lee, 1966). According to Lee, a particular individual will see some of the attributes in the sending community as positive or advantages which will then discourage migration and others as negative or disadvantages which will encourage migration.

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Some other factors may be neutral and, therefore, have no influence on migration decision-making. A similar picture of positive, negative and neutral factors is present in a potential destination area, except that here, the positive will encourage migration while the negative will discourage migration to that particular destination area.

Lee (1966) further identifies what he calls intervening obstacles, which are factors that make actual migration from one place to the other difficult. Some of these intervening obstacles are distance between the sending and destination areas, cost of transportation and social characteristics of the individual. These obstacles must be overcome before effective migration can take place (Witheric, 1994; Kidanu & Alemu, 1991).

Though most of the theoretical formulations have been applied to developed countries, its application, in an attempt to explain rural-urban migration in developing countries, has been limited (Mabogunje, 1975). However, it is a useful framework for categorizing a range of factors encouraging migration (Gmelch & Zenner, 1996). The "push-pull" theory is considered as an off-shoot of the neo-classical economic theory (Monstead & Walji, 1978).

Economic theories of migration

The Lewis' dual economy (the subsistence sector and the capitalist sector) model is the first well-known economic model of development to include the process of rural-urban labour transfer as an integral element. The model considers rural-urban migration as essentially an equilibrating mechanism through the transfer of labour from the surplus area (rural sector) to labour deficit one (urban sector) (Lewis, 1954).

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Despite the appeal of the dual economy model and its relevance to the history of the development of many of the developed countries of the world today, it has been found to be unsatisfactory for analyzing the causes and consequences of migration in developing countries for a number of reasons. First, migration is not solely induced by the presence of underemployment and low wages in rural areas. Second, the assumption of near zero marginal productivity in agriculture has not been empirically supported. The most serious shortcoming of this model, however, is the assumption that employment opportunities in the capitalist urban sector will continue to expand to absorb the continuous surplus labour from the subsistent rural sector. In the majority of developing countries, the urban sector has not been able to employ the surplus labour from the rural sector. Centrally, rural-urban migration has resulted in the shift of underemployment from the rural to the urban sector (Bilsborrow et al, 1984; Shrivastava, 1994; Dasgupta, 1981)

Sajaastad's cost-benefit model (1962) uses the concept of investment in human capital. It treats the decision to migrate as an investment decision involving the cost and benefits of migration decisions. Sajaastad (1962) assumes that people will migrate when the net benefits exceed the cost of migration. According to this model, development in the rural sector will decrease the benefit of rural-urban migration by increasing income and other opportunities in the sending areas. On the other hand, increased rural income can propel rural-urban migration, as individuals would be able to finance the move to a city. They will also be able to access information about urban opportunities. Access to higher educational attainment will also be possible

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as parents would be able to finance the education of their wards in the city which would be another route for rural-urban migration (Rhoda, 1979).

Todaro's expected income model is basically an extension of the human capital approach of Sajaastad. The model is based on the idea that the decision to migrate is based on a perception by the potential migrant of an "expected" income rather than an actual wage rate (Todaro, 1969). According to this model rural-urban migration is a response to the income differential between the sending and destination area. This results in a situation of continued rural-urban migration as long as there is a gap between rural and urban income levels (Harris & Todaro, 1970). In the Todaro model, rural-urban migration would only cease when there is leverage in the expected urban-rural income. This model also presupposes that expanding the economic opportunities and income-earning opportunities in the rural sector could be a panacea to rural-urban migration (Todaro, 1969).

Though Todaro's model (1969) explains the continuing rural-urban migration despite growing urban unemployment (Hoopengardner 1974), it is criticised for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is difficult to estimate the expected income and their rural-urban differential, both methodologically and conceptually. Secondly, the model ignores non-economic factors. Thirdly, an increase in rural income may rather increase rural-urban migration by increasing the ability to finance the move to a city, access to information about urban opportunities, and cost of accessing higher education in the urban area.

Most empirical studies indicate that rural-urban migrations in developing countries are driven by economic push factors, such as

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population pressure on land, loss of employment opportunities, landlessness and small land holdings (Harvey, 1972; Aina, 1995). In many countries of tropical Africa, a number of rural-urban migrants come to the city in search of employment (Binns, 1994). For example, Ishumi (1984) found that 43 percent of the migrants to Dares-salaam left their home origin in search of paid employment. In contrast, the economic pull factors in the urban destination areas including job security, high per capita income, have served as a powerful magnet for migration of rural residents to Paris, Bangkok and Aberdeen (Poucher, 1970; Goldstein, 1989; Illsley et al, 1970). These studies generally indicate that economic "push" factors are most important for out-migration, while economic "pull" factors are pre-dominant in emigration

Aside from the economic factors, a number of people also move into the urban areas for non-economic reasons which include social, natural and political factors (Bilsborrow et.al; 1984; Rhoda, 1979). Among the social factors, marriage, the search for educational opportunities and the presence of friends and relatives in urban areas are the most important (ECA, 1983; Monstead & Walji, 1978; Binns, 1994). A considerable number of rural women in south-east Asia move to urban centres due to marriage (McGee, 1975) and two - thirds of the women arriving in Tanzanian towns came to live with their husbands (Peil & Sada, 1985). Some rural-urban migrations in Latin-America and Asia are motivated by a desire for educational opportunities offered in urban areas (Rhoda, 1979). Similarly, in Ghana as in other tropical Africa, education is a powerful determinant of rural-urban migration (Caldwell, 1969).

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Some of the 'push' factors that make people in developing countries to move to cities include human and natural disasters, such as ethnic conflicts, climate change, drought, and pest infestation which lead to poor agricultural yields (Dickenson et.al; 1983; Cox, 1970; Kidanu & Alemu, 1991; Shrivastava, 1994;). For example, many thousands of Colombians, particularly during the 1940s and 1950s, abandoned the countryside for the relative security of towns and cities (Newman & Matzke, 1984), while more and more people have moved from the villages of Rajasthan (Indian State) to large cities in neighbouring states due to the arid climate (Rockett, 1993).

It can be concluded that rural-urban migration in developing countries cannot be attributed to any one factor. The decision to migrate or not is, usually, the result of the consideration of a number of factors. Any single factor analysis of the determinants of rural-urban migration discussed above and others will be inadequate to explain the migration process (Connel et al., 1976). According to Peil and Sada (1984), since mobility often has mixed causation, it is often difficult to separate economic, social and cultural factors in the migration process. They believe that despite the fact that major mobility patterns can be traced to certain predominant causes, the ability to predict who will migrate, with any precision, is limited.

Theory of Social Integration in Destination Area

The concept of integration is used with widely differing meanings. Based on the review of attempted definitions of the term, the related literature and primary fieldwork in settings of rural-urban migrants, the study identifies elements central to perceptions of what constitutes ‘successful’ integration. Robinson (1999) has suggested that ‘integration’’ is a chaotic

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concept; a word used by many but understood differently by most. Suggesting, further, that the concept is individualized, contested and contextual, Robinson sees little prospect for a unifying definition. This view is supported by Castles, Korack, Vasta and Vertovec (2001) who also think that there is no single generally accepted definition, theory or model for immigrant and refugee integration.

Hendrix (1976) and Guest and Stamm (1993) have defined social integration as the existence of strong social ties that produce stability. These ties may be informal through friendship and kin networks, or more formal through participation in association or member-based activities. Social integration is measured in a variety of ways, the most obvious being the amount of time a person spends engaged in activities with the networks of which he or she is a member. A feeling of satisfaction with one's community becomes important in measuring the extent to which integration is producing and filling its stabilizing role. The following are examples of ways of measuring social integration:

- Involvement in neighbourhood groups: involvement in religious groups or churches, involvement in local school, involvement in civic activities and the depth of involvement which includes the amount of time dedicated to the activity is dictated by the benefit the individual is perceived to derive from his or her involvement in the activity.
- Neighbourhood relations: familiarity with neighbours and the extent to which respondents have a trusting relationship with them; and
- Community satisfaction: the overall level of satisfaction that respondents have of community (Guest & Stamm, 1993).

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Studying the integration of refugees, Ager and Strang (2008) propose key domains of integration as related to four overall themes: achievement and access to employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and between groups within the community; and structural barriers to such connection related to language, culture and the local environment. They present a framework linking these domains as a tool to foster debate and definition regarding normative conceptions of integration.

Ager and Strang (2008) have further developed a framework which suggests ten core domains reflecting normative understandings of integration, and provides a potential structure for analysis of relevant outcomes (Figure 1). Although the goal of identifying potential 'indicators' with respect to such domains is significant, Ager and Strang (2008) focused on the domains themselves as a means to facilitate discussion regarding perceptions of integration accessible to policymakers, researchers, and service providers.

The framework comprehensively seeks to map political, social, economic and institutional factors influencing the process of integration. Consistent with the existing literature, Figure 1 sees employment as a major factor influencing many relevant issues, including promoting economic independence, planning for the future, meeting members of the host society, providing opportunity to develop language skills, restoring self-esteem and encouraging self-reliance (Africa Educational Trust, 1998; Bloch, 1999; Tomlinson & Egan, 2002). The evidence suggests that, for refugees, "successful resettlement depends on programmes which allow them to find a

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place in the new society, for example, by converting their skills and qualifications so that they can be used in the new situation" (Duke, Sales & Gregory 1999, p.106).

Figure 1 recognises the effect that housing has on refugees' overall physical and emotional wellbeing, as well as on their ability to feel 'at home', According to Glover et al. (2001) appropriate housing must take into consideration the physical size, quality and facilities inside the house, as well as, the financial security of tenancies and, where appropriate, ownership. Education clearly provides skills and competences in support of subsequent employment enabling people to become more constructive and active members of society.

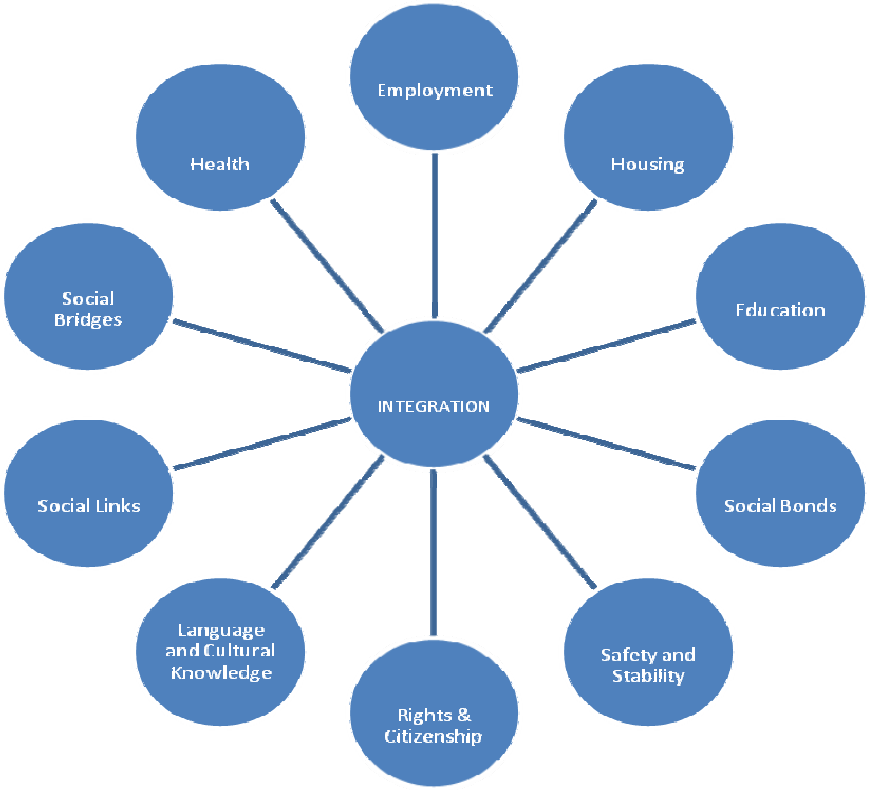

Figure 1: A conceptual framework for integration

Source: Ager and Strang (2008).

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Theories of Return Migration

This section reviewed three different theoretical attempts to explain return migration. The Neoclassical Migration Theory, New Economics of Labour Migration Theory and The Structural Theory were discussed.

Neoclassical migration theory

The neoclassical migration theory has been used to explain return migration processes in general and those of skilled migrants in particular (Borjas, 1989). According to neoclassical migration theory, the migration process is motivated by wage differentials between origin and destination countries (Massey et al., 1998). The attraction to higher wages in destination countries causes migrants to extend the length of their stay abroad in an effort to maximize their wages. Within this framework, return migration is seen as a consequence of failure to achieve migration expectations (Borjas, 1989). In other words, migrants only return to their place of origin, if there are no changes in wages at the origin or destination countries and fail to realise the expected benefits of higher earnings abroad (Constant & Massey, 2002; Cassarino, 2004).

There is spotted evidence related with neoclassical explanations of the causes and consequences of return migration. Cohen and Haberfeld (2001) found that migrants who were not successful in the US labour market are more likely to return than those who were successful. Conversely, those who had higher education were more likely to return than those with lower education. This was contrary to the findings of Reagan and Olsen (2000), who did not find any significant difference in skills between migrants who returned from and those who stayed in the US. On the other hand, Colton

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(1993) has observed that Yemeni return migrants returned because they failed to either find work or save while abroad. Furthermore, among returning African immigrants, anecdotal evidence suggests that some returning migrants may have had very little success while living abroad. For instance, Carling (2004) identifies a group of returning Cape Verdean migrants he referred to as "empty-handed returnees" who returned looking no better off than they were before they migrated.

While neoclassical migration theory does not clearly predict reintegration, it does suggest that migrants are likely not to reintegrate in the context of a "failed" migration, since no financial, human or social capital is accumulated abroad (Borjas 1989).

New economics of labour migration theory

Unlike the neoclassical theory, the New Economics of Labour Migration Theory (NELM) conceptualizes return migration as part of a defined plan conceived by migrants before their departure from their countries of origin (Galor & Stark, 1990; Stark & Taylor, 1991). The original plan involves the eventual remigration to their home countries after accumulating resources abroad. Consequently, potential returning migrants are highly motivated to gain additional skills and increase their savings while abroad, since these resources are expected to make them more productive in their countries of origin after their return (Cassarino, 2004).

In terms of employment outcomes, the NELM is likely to predict a greater probability of employment among retuning migrants insofar as they may have acquired more skills and capital while living abroad. Increasingly, recent studies are showing some support for the NELM theory in their

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analyses of the socioeconomic outcome of returning emigrants. For example, among African countries, there is some evidence pointing to a greater level of entrepreneurship among returning migrants that may be associated with savings accumulated abroad (Ammassari, 2004).

Alberts, Helen and Hazen (2005) report that Tanzanian students in the US believe that obtaining a degree from a university in the US would significantly improve their job prospects after they return home. Also, De Vreyer, Gulbert and Robilliard (2007) have noted that education among migrants from French West African countries, who return from the OECD countries, is higher and, therefore, increases their participation in the private and public sectors on return. For possessing such resources, the NELM predicts that reintegration of returning migrants should, thus, happen relatively smoothly.

Structural theory

Structural theories of return migration offer a different perspective on the return migration process (Cassarino, 2004). Structural theory emphasizes the importance of the home community's socioeconomic context as an important factor that affects the ability of return migrants to utilize the skills and other capitals acquired in migration (Diatta & Mbow, 1999; Thomas-Hope, 1999).

Structural theory does not consider the decision to return to be related to a successful or failed migrant experience, but rather focuses on the ability of return migrants to be productive after their return. For the structural theorists, the socio-economic context of the home to which the migrant return is more important and, therefore, stress the importance of the local

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contextual factors, such as family and other social networks, as very crucial for the successful reintegration of the return migrant (Cassarino, 2004). In other words, structural theories argue that the ability of return migrants to utilize their skills and resources after they return largely depends on the operation of environmental factors specific to the areas to which they return (Diatta & Mbow, 1999; Thomas-Hope, 1999).

The structural theory views the process of reintegration after return in a pessimistic light. Structural theorists argue that returnees may not be able to reintegrate and will decide to emigrate again if they find on return that there is a wide gap between their acquired norms and values and what pertains in the home community. If they do not remigrate, they may respond to social demands and expectations from family members and other social networks and spend their savings on consumption or unproductive investments. These expectations, which are borne out of the traditional social networks responsibilities towards members of common kinship associations, could hinder or promote migrant reintegration.

Theories of Re-Integration

There are conceptual problems with the understanding of reintegration. It is sometimes confused with resettlement and readjustment of return migrants. Reintegration has been defined variously as the process of integrating back into society (Arowolo, 2000). For example, the European Reintegration Networking (2010) defines reintegration as the process of "re-inclusion or re-incorporation of a person or group of persons, for example of migrants, into the society of their home of origin with the objective to enable them to help themselves. The 2007 Global Report also defines reintegration

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as a "process through which a return migrant participates in the social, cultural, economic and political life of the country of origin" (Global Report, 2007: 127). The two definitions, throw some light on the process of reintegration.

First, reintegration takes place in the home community. Second, it involves a process which may take some time, and, finally, it takes place after one had stayed out of the home community for some time and had returned to the community from where she or he migrated. However, both the European Reintegration Networking and the Global Report are not clear on what could influence return migrants to be reintegrated or not. The mere act of returning to live in a community of origin is not enough for reintegration to take place. There are other variables such as ability to participate freely in the social, economic and political life of the community.

Social capital theory

An important facilitator of integration is social capital. The social capital theory postulates that networking relationships provide value to actors by allowing them to tap into the resources embedded in such relationships for their benefit (Lin, 2001). The concept of social capital is a complex one and its definition shows that it encompasses different types and components that operate at individual, organizational and community levels (Kirst, O'Campo & Caughy, 2008).

Goodwin (2003) explains social capital to consist of a stock of trust, mutual understanding, shared values and socially held knowledge. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) also see social capital as the sum of resources, actual and virtual, which accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing

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a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintances and recognition. Social capital is considered a resource embedded in organizational communities or individuals that are derived from personal and social relationships or ties. Arregle, Hitt, Simon and Very (2007) see it as the social resources inherent in networking relationships that may be used to pursue economic ends.

Social capital can be either internal or external. While internal social capital focuses on the structure and social networking relationships among actors (individual members) within a system or organization, external social capital focuses on the structure and social networking relationship between an actor or organization and its important external stakeholders as in the case of leaders of community organizations linking with institutions (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1981).

Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1981) have argued that there are three dimensions of social capital. These are: structured; relational; and cognitive. The structural dimension of a social capital refers to the overall pattern of connections or relationships between actors. This dimension involves the value derived from a network structure as a result of the extent to which actors within an organization and between organizations are connected.

The relational dimension of social capital refers to the assets created and leveraged through social relationships of cohesive ties. It reflects the benefits that accrue to individuals or organizations as a result of affective interpersonal relationships. These relationships are characterized by: trust and trustworthiness (Fukuyama, 1995, Tsai & Ghoshal 1998); norms and

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sanctions (Coleman, 1998, Putnam, 1995) and identification (Hakansson & Snehotte, 1995).

Finally, the cognitive dimension refers to the resources which provide shared representation, interpretations and systems of meaning among actors. It is concerned with how the relationships among actors create a commonly shared perspective or understanding (Turnley & Bloodgood, 2002). Of the three dimensions, the structural dimension has been examined the most. It has, however, been argued that the investigation of social capital should be extended to cover the relational and cognitive dimensions (Adler & Kwon, 2002).

Social capital is a relational construct, that by nature, is developed through interactions among individuals and groups in a particular context. Leana and Pil (2006) have argued that social capital is not just the network itself or the links among people that comprise it, but the resources that are created by the existence and character in terms of links such as information sharing and trust. It should also be noted that the structural dimension of social capital, which focuses on an actor's position and connection in a social network, is difficult to entangle in many emerging economies.

Wenger (2007) asserts that we all belong to communities of practice, at home, at work, and communities of practice are everywhere. For example, workers organize their lives with their immediate colleagues and customers to get their jobs done. As they work together they develop trust and affinities that help them to cooperate and achieve the desired change smoothly.

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According to Molina-Morales and Martinez-Fernandez (2009), social capital can be considered as a production factor, along with physical and human capitals, that contributes to higher economic growth and improvement in economic productivity. It is, therefore, considered important for efficient performance of modern economies. It constitutes a component culture of societies that has been organized from both formal and informal institutions and legal norms and rationality. Social capital, therefore, refers to social networks and reciprocity norms associated with them and are important for both the individual and collective good.

Friendship is a virtue and it is the most necessary thing in life, without which, nobody would want to live, even if they had other goods (Soledad & Castano, 2004). Even those that possess wealth, authority or power seem to need friendship. In poverty and in other misfortunes, friends were considered a refuge. Friendship seems also to maintain unity in community more than legislations and rules. Soledad and Castano, (2004) assert that, when people are friends, there is no need for justice, but just being fair, if there is a need for friendship. They think that those that are fair are also those that are more capable of being in friendship. Therefore, social links that take place in different types of friendship and ethical virtues associated with them are those that favour efficient societies and social coherence.

Putnam (2000) sees social capital as the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable.

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Social capital, therefore, is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together.

A narrow view of social capital regards it as a set of horizontal associations between people, consisting of social networks and associated norms that have an effect on community productivity and well-being. Social networks can increase productivity by reducing the costs of doing business. Social capital facilitates coordination and cooperation (Arku, Filson & Arku, 2009).

According to Portes and Landholt (1996), social capital can have an important downside. Communities, groups or networks, which are isolated and parochial, may work together for their own interest or purposes which might be contrary to society's collective interests. Examples of such social groupings are drug cartels, and other corruption rackets whose activities can actually hinder economic and social development.

In contemporary industrialized economies, the term "social capital" refers to the stock of trust, mutual understanding, shared values, and socially held knowledge that facilitates the social coordination of economic activity (Kapucu, 2008). Recognition of this concept by economists is fairly recent, and has been strengthened by the observation that variations in social capital across communities and societies can help to explain some of the differences in their economic development. It is most often used to refer to characteristics of a society that encourage cooperation among groups of people (e.g., workers and managers) whose joint, interdependent efforts are needed to achieve a common goal such as efficient production (Kapucu, 2008).

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For Adler and Kwon (2000), social capital enhances three main types of benefits. First, social capital facilitates access to broad resources of timely and high quality information and knowledge. Second, it regulates influence, power and control which affect the ability of getting things done and increases leadership opportunities. Third, it builds solidarity among members of organizations and reduces the need for formal controls and monitoring and ensures faster dispute resolution, increased organizational trust and commitment.

Studies suggest that strong norms of reciprocity lead people to trust and help one another, and those dense networks of civic participation encourage people to engage in mutually beneficial efforts rather than seeking only to gain individual advantage at the possible expense of others. (Lin, 2001; King 2004; Arku, Filson & Shute, 2008). Hence, such norms and networks are frequently cited as important components of social capital (Arku, Filson & Arku, 2009). Authors like Arku, Filson and Arku (2009) see social capital as a complex concept that has been defined as encompassing different types and components that operate at individual and ecological levels

De Silva, McKenzie, Harpham and Huttly (2005) and McKenzie and Harpham (2006) identify two types of social capital, namely; bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital refers to resources derived from relationships with individuals who are similar with respect to socio-demographic characteristics, while bridging social capital refers to resources derived from relationships with individuals who are different in

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socio-demographic characteristics, thus potentially providing access to a broader range and diversity of social resources.

Sen's capability theory and reintegration

Sen's capability functioning theory, first articulated by Sen (1993), has been employed extensively in the context of human development. For example, the United Nations Development Programme uses it as an alternative to the narrowly econometrics measurement of growth as in GDP per capita.

The capability functioning theory provides deeper understanding of poverty as deprivation of the necessities that give persons the capability to live a good life. Development is understood as the expansion of capability opportunities. The capability theory is concerned with evaluating how well off people are in terms of their capability to achieve the kind of lives they have reason to value. A person's capability to live a good life is defined in terms of the value of the combinations of 'beings and doings', such as being in good health and having loving relationships with others, to which they have real access.

The capability functioning theory focuses directly on the quality of life that individuals are actually able to achieve. This quality of life is analyzed in terms of the core concepts of 'functionings' and 'capability' (Sen 1993). Functionings are states of 'being and doing', such as being well-nourished, having shelter, and so on, and should be distinguished from the commodities employed to achieve them

Capability refers to the set of opportunities that give possibilities to a person to function effectively and to which that person has effective access.

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In evaluating opportunities, the focus is on the value of a person's capability that gives him or her the effective freedom to choose between different functioning combinations that the individual has reason to value.

Figure 2 outlines the core relationships of the capability approach and how they relate to the main alternative approaches focused on resources and utility (Sen, 1993). Resources (such as a bicycle) are considered as an input, but their value depends upon individuals' ability to convert them into valuable functionings (such as bicycling), which depends, for example, on their personal physiology (such as health), social norms, and physical environment (such as road quality) (Sen, 1993).

An individual's capability set is the set of functioning combinations that an individual has real access to. Achieved functionings are those they actually select. For example, an individual's capability set may include access to different functionings relating to mobility, such as walking, bicycling, taking a public bus, and so on, while the functioning they actually select to get to work on a particular day may be the public bus. Utility is considered both as an output and as a functioning. Utility is an output because what people choose to do and be naturally affects their subjective wellbeing.

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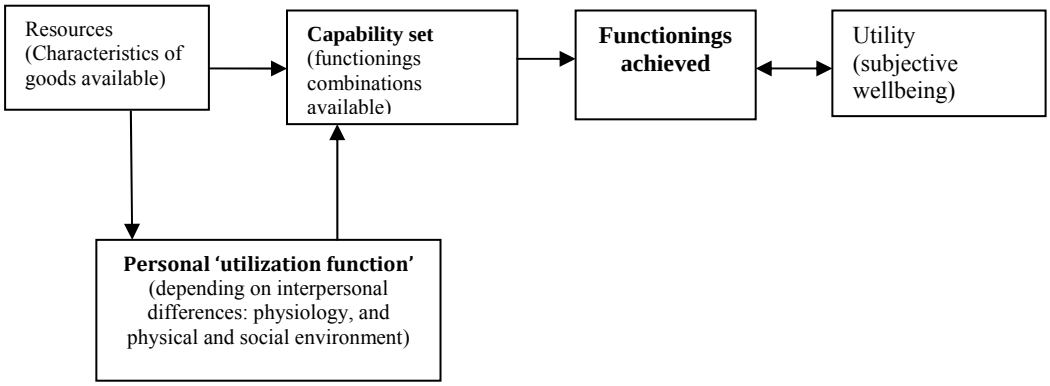

Figure 2: Outline of the core relationships in the capability approach

Source: Sen (1993)

However, Sen also considers subjective wellbeing – feeling happy – as a valuable functioning in its own right, and so incorporates it directly into the capability framework.

Nussbaum (1988) observed that, to evaluate how people are performing in terms of capability, we first need to determine which functionings matter for the good. One way of addressing the problem is to specify a list of the constituents of the flourishing human life on philosophical grounds. According to Nussbaum, minimal access to these constituents of the flourishing human life is the basis for an individual's capability. The capabilities approach thus, reconceptualises quality of life, based on personal satisfaction and income, people are enjoying

Until recently, the capability theory has been associated principally with the study of standards of living for poor people in developing countries (Ware, Hopper, Togenberg, Dickey & Fisher, 2008). In this study, the use of the capability theory is to highlight how opportunities within a social environment enhance the capabilities of the individual to function appropriately within that social environment. Individual return migrants

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bring back pre-existing or acquired capacities for the development process. These may include high education, innovative ideas, fiscal capital, and political and social connectedness. However, situations at home on return may present challenges to the effective use of these assets to foster development for the individual and for the community at large. Some of the challenges may include lack of employment opportunities, acceptance by society, and lack of social amenities.

The capacities for reintegration can be effectively developed as part of everyday routine. From the capability theory perspective, quality of life is constructed in terms of agency that is self-directed actions. Realization of agency is dependent upon the synergistic combination of two essential ingredients: personal capacity and social opportunity.

A Theory of Capacity Building for Social Integration

The authors constructed the theory to demonstrate the reintegration process of psychiatric patients after healing. They identified the constituent elements of the theory as capacity, occasion, and mechanism proposing that Individual healed pyschatric patients bring pre-existing capacities to the development process. Existing capacities expand, and new ones take root, through exposure to occasions for growth. Occasions present challenges and may be simple or complex, that is, made up either of single interactions or of orchestrated sequences arranged in order of increasing difficulty. As challenges are mastered via mechanisms—contradiction, reinterpretation, and so forth competency is affirmed, a sense of possibility emerges, and with it, aspiration. Together, aspiration and a sense of possibility fuel engagement

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with new, more challenging occasions. Capacity builds and expands into agency in an iterative, open-ended process.

- Responsibility is the ability to act in ways that reflect consideration and respect for others.
- Accountability is being answerable to others for the consequences of one's actions in the context of a given set of social or moral standards.
- Imagination is the ability to form ideas and images in the mind and know they are mental creations.
- Empathy is the ability to envision, understand, or identify with others' points of view.
- Judgment is the ability to form sound opinions and sensible decisions in the absence of complete information.
- Advocacy is the ability to argue articulately for a position orally or in writing.

Occasions for capacity development share a number of characteristics. They assume that capacity development is possible and will take place. Practitioners act accordingly by setting expectations for performance and insisting that the expectations be met. They also allow for the possibility of failure and, when it occurs, find constructive ways of responding. Constructive responses examine failure and place it in perspective but also allow the consequences to unfold. Genuine actions and events are characterized by the fact that something significant is at stake.

A major advantage of the capacity construct and the larger capabilities approach is that they highlight the moral dimension of agency,

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thus allowing moral experience, or "what really matters" to be introduced into the discourses on social integration following psychiatric disability and the meaning of recovery from mental illness. This theory can be adopted to explain the process of reintegration of return migrants who come home with a new acquired personality borne out of their experiences in different socio-economic environment especially when the home community had not remained as the y migrated from. The return migrant then needs to adapt to the new, though old environment making use of the capacities returned with to the new experiences.

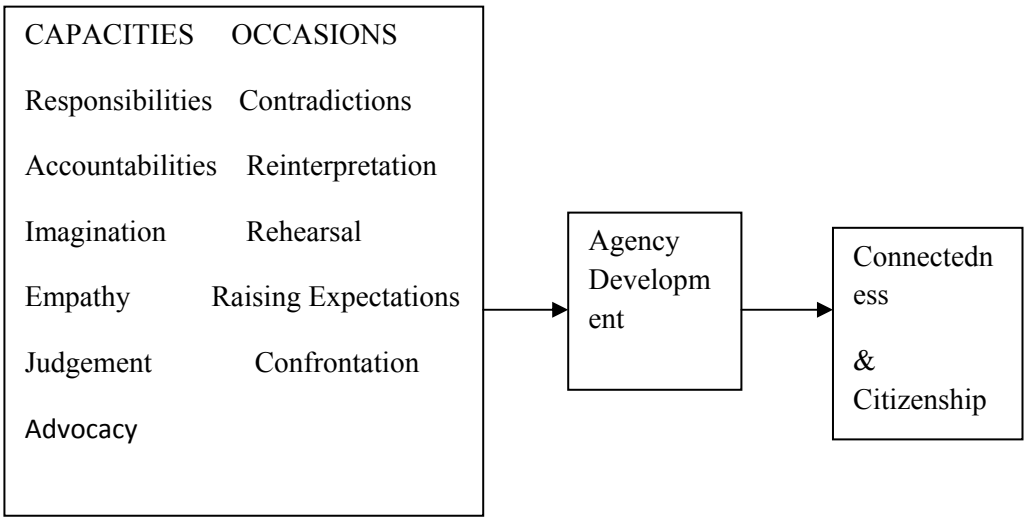

Figure 3: The process of capacity development through exposure to occasions for growth

Source: Ware, Hopper, Togenberg, Dickey and Fisher, 2008

When an individual return migrant succeed in the re-adaptation, he or she builds up the capacity for reintegration Personal capacity refers to attributes of individuals that equip them to exercise agency. Capacities are both inherent and developed, meaning that a certain amount of capacity may

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come naturally. Inherent capacities can be improved and new ones are acquired with learning and practice. According to Ware, Hopper, Togenberg, Dickey and Fisher (2008), capacity is generative and is largely influenced by the social, political and economic environment within which an individual functions.

The social environment must provide opportunities to combine with the individual's capacity to empower him/her to meet his/her basic needs and enable him to function appropriately in spheres of life in the community. Opportunities are seen here as real options for action in the social world which may include existence of social amenities, existence of employment and other income-generating opportunities, but most importantly, strong social networking systems.

To take advantage of opportunities, individuals must have both the requisite personal capabilities and the needed resources. The ability to take advantage of opportunities is mediated by circumstances of the social environment – social processes, law, customs and policies. These opportunities enable an individual to pursue socially-valued ends. It is, therefore, the interplay of the individual's capabilities and the opportunities in the social and economic environments that facilitate social integration. The return migrant will, therefore, be said to have reintegrated if he or she is able to exercise capabilities for interpersonal connectedness and sense of belonging to enable the individual to function appropriately at both social and economic arenas of the community.

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Importance of Rural-Urban Migration to sending Communities

Rural-urban migration is an important cause and effect of social and economic change. Net in-migration stimulates the growth and development of an economy while out-migration may stifle it (Morrison, 1977). Migration has had varying impacts on the rural areas of developing countries. Migrants have played crucial roles as innovators and as agents for the spatial diffusion of innovation from one part of a country to another (Mabogunje, 1975). The free movements of people have made it possible for certain sectors of the economy of countries to be developed. Both the individual migrant and the sending community benefit from rural-urban migration despite its negative tendencies.

Migrants to the cities of the developing world find urban life better than their standard of living prior to out-migration from a rural area (Broadely & Cummingham, 1994; Shrivastava, 1994; UN, 1984). For example, 87 percent of the migrants in the two squatter settlements of Bogata (Browning, 1971) and nearly all Tizintzuntzan in Mexico City (Kemper, 1996) consider that they have improved their condition. Studies in many developing countries report that the great majority of migrants have not only improved their condition prior to migration but are also satisfied with their move. For instance, 92 percent of migrants in Monterrey (Browning, 1971) and 57 percent in Accra (Caldwell, 1969), respectively, are satisfied with their decision to move to these cities.

Rural-urban migrants enjoy greater economic success than before migration with improved access to economic opportunities and other social factors (Morrison, 1977; ECA, 1983). But this does not mean that every migrant is completely satisfied. A survey in Eastern Africa had shown that

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only 17.1 percent of the subjects under study were clearly satisfied with their financial and material situation and only 5.7 percent of the respondents were employed or had a gainful job (Ishumi, 1984). In Calabar (Nigeria) 50 percent of the migrants had to wait for longer than four months to find housing (Binns, 1994). Those migrants who found difficulties in finding jobs in the "urban formal" sector tried to earn a living in the "urban in-formal" sector (Shrivastava, 1994).

Perhaps, the most important contribution of rural-urban migration to the development of sending communities is the remittances sent home by migrants. These remittances come both as cash and in different forms. The growing volume of international remittances worldwide has significant potential consequences for developing countries. In 2000, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimated the global flow of migrant workers' remittances to developing countries to be $72.3 billion (IMF, 2000). The transfer, in the form of remittances, helps to reduce the economic constraints in the sending area (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare & Nsowah-Nuamah, 2000). According to Nuro (1999), professionals outside Ghana, on the average, remit between $1,000 and $5,000 per annum. Thus, migration is considered to be one of the avenues for improving the socio -economic conditions of individuals and families in poor areas.

The IMF suggests that Ghanaian migrants remit home about $32.4 million per annum (Black, King, & Litchfield. 2003). However, the Bank of Ghana estimated migrant remittances as much higher around $400 million a year in 2001, representing approximately 20 per cent of Ghana's export earnings and equalling the expected earnings from export of cocoa that year.

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The figures from the Bank of Ghana suggest that remittances from abroad now rank fourth after cocoa, gold and tourism as sources of foreign exchange (Anarfi et al. 2000).

Remittances do not come only in financial and material forms. Levitt (2001) has suggested the term 'social remittances' to refer to the ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from the host society to the sending country through the migrant. They are the knowledge and culture that migrants learn from the host country which are transmitted back or transferred to their home communities, either deliberately or by coincidence.

Considering the motivation for migrant remittances, various models have been developed as explanation. Rapoport and Docquier (2005) identify family welfare as the driving motivation for remittances. They suggest that remittance is born not only out of altruistic motives but also from economic and financial self-interest. Similarly, Solimano (2003) identifies the welfare of the family left at home as the main motivational factor for migrant remittances. Solimano (2003) has constructed four models to explain why migrant remittances are largely directed towards their families back home. The first of these models is the "altruistic motive" by which he means that remittances are sent out of love and responsibility towards the family at home. This is borne out of concern for the welfare of the family left behind.

The second, which seems to contradict the previous one, is "self-interest motive", which suggests that migrants remit through their families for investment purposes at home from which they expect to derive returns. Family members are to invest the remittance either in property acquisition or

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business set-up. In Ghana, properties acquired with remittances are largely held in the name of the migrant.

The third model is what he calls "implicit family contract 1: loan repayment". According to this model, families invest in the education and sometimes the travel cost of the migrant with the intention that the migrant would be obliged to remit eventually to recover the cost incurred plus eventual profit. In such instances, families make regular demands on the migrants, making the migrant feel indebted to the family.

The fourth model, which is actually a variant of the third, is "family contract 2: co-insurance". This model suggests that families purposefully sponsor some of their members abroad so that when situation at home turns bad the migrant would come to their aid. The remittance, therefore, is seen as a kind of insurance claim, with the sponsorship as the premium.

Transfer, in the form of remittances, helps to reduce the economic constraints in the sending area (Anarfi et al. 2000). Thus, migration is considered to be one of the avenues for improving the socio-economic conditions of individuals and families in poor areas. In effect, remittances help in improving the welfare of most rural families. It also helps to reduce rural poverty; it increases investments and reduces the economic vulnerability of the poor (Anarfi et al. 2000).

A feature of the Ghanaian social system is community identity. Migrants therefore, continue to identify with their relatives back home while in their destination areas. Relatives expect and do receive remittances from their migrant relatives. The remittances enable families to supplement their

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income as well as acquire property, such as new houses and, thus, provide support for the survival of the recipients (Adu-Okoree & Onomah, 2012).

Tiemoko (2004) has identified two broad aims of remittances, namely: to meet recurrent expenditure; and for investment. He observes that over 70 per cent of the reported remittances in his study were: for recurrent expenditure and mainly for the payment of hospital bills or school fees; to finance marriage; for repayment of debts and repayment of cost for migrating abroad. Less than 30 per cent of the remittances were invested in property to buy land, cattle and fertiliser; build a house; or for saving. Thus, the bulk of the remittances were for meeting daily needs (Tiemoko, 2004). This is consistent with the findings of Black et al (2003) and Adu-Okoree and Onomah (2012).

In a 2001 returnee study, Ammassari (2004) asked respondents to indicate the contributions that migrants had made to the development of their community. Although the number of migrants that responded to that question was quite low, the results point to the communal spirit among some of the migrants as signified by the range of projects they contributed to. These included: the financing of schools, religious buildings (mosques and churches), hospitals and other collective works. In fact, in the 1980s and early 1990s, a number of health institutions were kept functioning through donations from foreign-based Ghanaian associations. The majority contributed to collective works of unspecified nature, including local festivals and renovation of common places, such as community centres and churches (Ammassari, 2004; Adu-Okoree & Onomah, 2012).

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Social Networks and Integration of Migrants in Destination Area

Social networks play a crucial role in migration decisions. Many rural-urban migrants do migrate with prior information on the prospects in the destination area provided by friends and relatives who preceded them to the cities. Some are able to visit kin or friends in the city before migration (Gugler, 1988). Such information informs both the migration decision and choice of destination area. Additionally, family and kin-networks facilitate the initial adaptation of the new arrivals to urban life through their assistance in the provision of accommodation and food and even in finding a job (Findlay, 1987; Gugler, 1988; Blair & De Jong, 1993). Such support systems are most common among tribal and peasant migrants in the cities of developing countries. For example, ties to the more experienced migrants have been important in the initial urban experiences of more than 90 percent of Tzintzuntzenous living in Mexico City (Kemper, 1996).

Membership of voluntary citizens' associations provides a vehicle to the newly arrived migrant to find a place to live, get a job and develop a network of friends in the urban setting. It is the best example of group-oriented strategies and comprised of members of the same ethnic group or individuals from the same rural village, region or society (Gmelch & Zenner, 1996).

Migrant associations are seen to be a forum for adapting to the unfavourable conditions in the urban area, which was described by Witheric (1994); as a place in which "there is the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of bonds of kinship, the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighbourhood and the undermining of the

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traditional basis of social solidarity". Indeed, migrant associations are able to help their members to adjust to the urban situation by substituting for the extended family, a grouping based upon common interest which is able to serve many of the same needs as the traditional family or lineage (Little, 1957; Shack, 1975).

Coleman (1952) observed in Nigeria that the migrant associations were the medium for re-integrating the individual employed in an impersonal urban environment by permitting him to have the essential feeling of belonging. Little, (1957) also points out that the Ibos and other migrants from eastern Nigeria formed associations to protect themselves from the hostile way in which they were received when they took up jobs in the towns of western and northern Nigeria. Little (1965) also argues that the associations took responsibility for many of the duties traditionally performed by the extended family and other kinship groups (Little, 1965). In the new urban environment, the migrant usually preferred to be with people from his own area. Consequently, in some respects, his or her tribal consciousness was made stronger (Little, 1965).

Migrants from the north to the south of Ghana, continue to live together in common communities that have developed into what has come to be known as ‘zongos’. Though migrants may fend for themselves, they always fall on a member of the home family or community in times of difficulties. This is enhanced through citizens’ associations which are common in many urban and other host destinations (Nkansah-Okoree, 1995). In fact, the migrant does not forget his or her roots even in migration. They continue to maintain links with members of the community through

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remittances to finance funerals and community projects and through regular attendance at funerals at home, even though they may not be related directly to the deceased. Attending funerals and other social functions at home communities links the migrant to the family and community at home in a network of support and sharing.

The sense of belongings influences the decision of migrants to return to their villages from their residence in the cities from time to time and to participate in the life of their communities or send substantial financial contributions to their rural home communities to support various development projects (Adu-Okoree & Onomah, 2012).

African Social Networks and the Individual

Mbiti (1990) underscores the important belief and sense of the community among traditional Africans. In traditional Africa, the individual does not and cannot exist alone except corporately. He owes existence to other people, including those of past generations and his contemporaries. Whatever happens to the individual is believed to happen to the whole group, and whatever happens to the whole group happens to the individual. The individual can only say: "I am because we are, and since we are, therefore, I am. This is a cardinal point in the understanding of the African view of man" (Mbiti, 1990, p.106)

Africans share life intensely in common. There are communal farmland, economic trees, streams, barns, and markets. The sense of community and humane living are highly cherished values of traditional African life. Africans emphasize the centrality of the group beyond the individual with the use of the first person plural 'we', and 'ours' in everyday

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speech instead of the singular 'I' and 'mine' (Nyasani, 1997). In modern African urban cities, one can easily see the continuation of primary community loyalties of one's extended family and village which hold people from common communities but living away from the communities of their home-towns together (Beiser, 1993). Migrants refer to persons originating from their own communities, and even the larger tribes, as brothers and sisters even though they might not share any blood relationship.

The use of the 'family' in African thought goes beyond the simple nuclear understanding of parents and siblings held by western cultures (Mbiti, 1990; Nyasani, 1997). One's family in Africa includes parents, siblings and their children, grandparents, siblings of their parents and their children. The individual is socially expected to share his or her resources with the group from which he or she derives identity. When travelling outside the community, the individual would normally have received various supports ranging from communal prayer to financial support. On arrival in the host community, the individual migrant is often, hosted by a member of the family or community before moving out when life becomes better (Adu-Okoree & Arku, 2014).

A fundamental feature of African identity and culture is shared values that link them together. These values include: hospitality, friendliness, consensus and common framework-seeking principle. Most Africans lay more emphasis on the community than on the individual (Nyasani, 1997). Thus, the African individual is relevant only as a member of a social entity or cultural processes. Mbiti (1990), for example, believes that the individual

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has little latitude for self-determination outside the context of the traditional African family and community.

Internal Migration in Ghana: Trends, Intentions and Benefits

Migration results from the uneven geographical distribution of labour and different resources. In some regions, labour is scarce relative to capital and its price, with the wage level correspondingly high, while in others, the opposite obtains. As a result, labour tends to move from regions where labour is abundant and wages low to labour-scarce regions where wages are high. In so doing, they contribute to the redistribution of the factors of production and to the equalization of wages and redressing original inequalities. It can be concluded, therefore, that, in the neo-classical view, migration results from disparities in wage rates between regions.

Migration is the result of individual decisions made by rational actors who seek to improve their well-being by moving to places where the reward of their labour will be higher than the one they get at home in a measure sufficient to offset the tangible and intangible costs involved in the move. Migration is, therefore, an individual, spontaneous and voluntary act which rests on the comparison between the present situation of the actor and the expected net gain of moving and results from a cost-benefit analysis. It follows that migrants will tend to go to the destination where a higher net return is expected, after considering all the available alternatives. In so far as it implies incurring certain costs and in order to reap higher returns from one's labour, migration constitutes a form of investment in human capital (Jaastad, 1962).

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Abdulai (1999) cited the high population growth rate in Ghana within the last three decades as a major factor encouraging migration, especially from the northern regions of Ghana. The increased labour supply, coupled with the one-season farming pattern in the northern part of Ghana, frees unused labour to the south, especially during the off-season. An earlier study of migration from the Upper East Region of Ghana showed that migration in the 1980s was taking around 50 percent of all working-age males; 15 percent of working-age females also moved to southern Ghana for periods of at least one year (Cleveland, 1991).

Another factor that has influenced rural-urban migration in the country is the macro-economic environment (Nabila, 1987). The urban-bias policies have turned the terms of trade against agriculture and the rural areas, contributing to wide rural-urban income differentials. Urban-bias policies, including overvalued exchange rates, industrial protection and cheap food policies, discriminate against agriculture in particular and rural areas in general.

These policies suppressed farm prices and rural incomes encouraging a shift of labour out of agricultural production and a subsequent increase in rural-urban migration. Rural-urban migration in Ghana has, therefore, been largely induced by the expectation of higher wages in the destination region and is entirely consistent with the principle of comparative advantage. Subsequently, once they decide to migrate, individual migrants base their choice of destination primarily on the economic opportunities available at the receiving end. In other words, the social conditions prevailing at their place of origin act as the main push factor, while the economic opportunities

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available in a particular destination town act as the pull factor attracting migrants to a locality (De Graft-Johnson, 1974). This suggests that income differentials contribute significantly to internal migration in Ghana.

Kunfaa (1999) suggests that rural young people feel they have no choice but to leave home in search of work, since successful generation of remittances is likely to make the difference between food security and a lack of it for their families. The north-south migration pattern in Ghana can, therefore, be attributed to the stark differences in the levels of poverty between the north and the south as well as their respective capacities to respond to new economic opportunities. Thus, Ewusi (1986) found that depressed social conditions at the place of origin are more compelling motivation for rural people to migrate than economic factors.

The pattern of socio-economic development in Ghana has created three distinct geographic identities. These are: the coastal zone, dominated by Accra-Tema, and Sekondi-Takoradi; a middle zone with Kumasi as its centre; and the Northern Savannah zone with Tamale as its center. The coastal zone as the most industrialized and urbanized area in the country, has been the focus of internal migration since the beginning of the last century. With the opening of Takoradi Port in 1927, Sekondi-Takoradi became another point of attraction in addition to Accra. In the 1960s, the development of Tema port and township shifted the focus of migration back to the Accra-Tema Metropolitan area.

With its natural endowment, the middle belt became an area of rapid socio-economic development during the immediate post independence era, and Kumasi, its capital, became a dominant centre in the country and became

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the focus of migration from the Savannah belt (Nabila, 1987). On the other hand, the Northern Savannah zone has, until quite recently, been a net out-migration area. With its seasonal rainfall and absence of any large-scale industrial activities, the area has provided labour for the cocoa and mining industries in the middle zone and to industry and menial jobs in the developed coastal zone.

From the above, besides wage differentials, the disproportionate opportunities for development and welfare in southern towns have made them more attractive. This has included investment in productive enterprises, such as investment in infrastructure like water supplies and medical services. This and many actions have made urban areas more attractive and encouraged rural-urban migration (Ewusi, 1986).

Abdulai (1999) identifies the urban-bias development policies, which militate against the rural agricultural sectors, as another cause of rural-urban migration in Ghana. He cites low budgetary allocation to the agricultural sector, and poor road networks which combine to cause a decline in the sector. On the other hand, some authors suggest that improvement in communication between rural and urban areas has facilitated easy access to information in the rural communities (Beals, Levy, & Moses, 1967; De graft-Johnson, 1974). They cite reduced transportation cost and improvement in road networks as facilitating the ease of communication. De graft-Johnson (1974) subsequently concludes that the closer a region is to Accra, the higher the migration rate between the two. This assertion considers distance as a factor in migration destination decision.

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This view is, however, challenged by a recent survey of unskilled migrants from Tamale which seems to suggest that the commercial characteristics and economic opportunities are the more plausible determinants of migration destination than distance (Adu-Okoree, 2012). In this study, Kumasi and Accra were found to be the cities where most of the study participants migrated to, with 46 percent migrating to Kumasi and 47 percent migrating to Accra. Techiman in Brong Ahafo, which is closest to the Northern Region, represented the least (5%) as migration destinations.

De graft-Johnson (1974) had earlier identified higher economic opportunities as a factor in destination decision. In this survey, 80 percent of the respondents cited economic reasons for migration. These findings go to support the idea that income differentials, which is manifested between the north and south of Ghana, is a major factor in the north-south migration in Ghana.

Other factors contributing to migration in Ghana include family-oriented issues. Kunfaa (1999) identifies remittances to be sent home by the migrant member of the family to ease the economic woes of those left behind as a major factor of migration decision as it serves as a family income insurance strategy. Joining of spouses by women is also another identified factor for internal migration in Ghana. The 1995 Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) suggests that 64 percent of the rural-urban migrants move to join their families. Similarly, the GLSS (1998) shows that 60 percent of migrants reported marriage or other family reasons as the cause of their migration, with only 25 percent citing work as the reason for their migration.

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The findings from these two surveys challenge the economic factor in migration decision-making.

Another factor for internal migration is difficulty in migrating beyond the borders of the country. Potential international migrants are compelled to settle in the urban areas, provided perceived conditions are better than those at the place of origin (Abdulai, 1999).

Social conditions of both the place of origin and destination are also significant push and pull factors that influence one's decision to move. Lack of social amenities, such as educational facilities, health facilities, potable water, toilet, electricity and recreational facilities at the place of origin and their availability at the destination area, are responsible for a reasonable volume of rural–urban migratory movements in most developing countries, including Ghana (GSS, 1995). Favel, (1998) states that the presence of social amenities and facilities in the urban areas attracts people towards the cities. According to Favel, (1998) the cities abound in good roads, good hospitals, good drinking water, good electricity system, entertainment centres and many others which attract people to the cities.

Ewusi (1986) argues that depressed social conditions at the place of origin are a more compelling motivation than economic factors for rural people to migrate. According to him, once the rural people decide to migrate, they base their choice of destination primarily on the economic opportunities available at that end. That is, the prevailing social conditions at the place of origin, according to him, act as the main push factors, while the economic opportunities available at the prospective destination act as a motivational factor in attracting migrants. It is estimated that people in towns and cities

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have, on the average, twice as much access to health services and safe water and four times as much access to safe sanitation services as compared to their village counterparts, and this may serve as a pull factor for a reasonable number of people from the rural areas to the towns and cities (World Bank, (2007).

Return Migration

Defining return migration is a complex endeavour because return takes place in different forms and under different conditions. In addition, migration experts use different terminologies to describe return migration (Bovenkerk, 1987). A simple sociological definition will be preferred in an analytical study of return migration as has been taken by some return migration experts such as King (2000), who defines return migration as a process whereby people return to their place of origin after staying in a destination area for a significant period of time. This view is shared by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) which specifies the period of stay in the destination area as a minimum of one year in another country (IOM, 2005).

Simplifying the definition of return migration stands the risk of concealing the complexity of the nature of return migration (SOPEMI, 2008), as these definitions seem to suggest that return migration takes place only when the migrant is returning home for the first time after a considerable period of absence from the home community . They do not explain whether short visits, with no intention to settle, could be considered as return migration or not. The current study works with King's (2000)

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definition of return migration but adds that the migrants go back to their place of origin either voluntarily or involuntarily to settle.

Cerase (1974) identifies three types of return migration as suggested and used in the discussion in this study. The first group are those who returned because they were unable to achieve their migration intentions and were, therefore, compelled under the circumstances to return. These may be regarded as "return of failure". The second group are those who returned because they achieved their migration intentions and, therefore, returned with acquired capital of skills, knowledge, working capital and values which they intend to invest in the home community. These are classified as "return of innovation". The last group are those who had successfully integrated in the destination area but were yet to achieve their migration intentions but were compelled by circumstances either from home or in destination area to return. These may be described as "return of force".

Cerase's typology helps us to understand return migration as a concept which is influenced by the social, cultural and economic context of the sending countries with regard to the returnee's use of resources. Cerase's model takes a structural approach which challenges the neoclassical economic framework of migration with its focus on wage differentials and expectations for higher earning in host communities, and the New Economics of Labour Migration theory which is centred on resource accumulation.

As has been posited above, return migration is a process initiated by various causal factors leading to a variety of effects. The reasons for return vary from macro-scale economic to individual migrant perspectives (King,

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2000). The economic stimuli may involve "pull" factors from the area of origin, such as improvement in the socio-economic conditions or "push" factors, such as redundancy or difficulty to integrate in the destination area. Social motives for return also involve push and pull mechanisms. Push factors include insecurity and feeling of loneliness in the destination area accompanied with a corresponding pull factor of nostalgia. A more positive social motive for return is the desire to enjoy an improved status upon return through donations to community projects and support of relatives left behind to acquire decent education, work or place of residence.

Following these discussions, two preliminary generalisations can be made on the basis of historical evidence. First, the pull factors, reflecting the positive attractions of the home societies, have more influence in return migration decisions than push factors from the destination. Second, non-economic factors generally weigh more heavily in the return decision than do economic factors, even though the intentions for migration tend to be more for economic reasons (King, 2000). This opposes earlier works on return international migration which saw economic downturns in the host countries as the primary causes of return migration (Saloutos, 1956).

Even though recognising the existence of a link between economic crisis in host countries and return migration on aggregate level, other studies for return international migration find that it is not the paramount reason for return. Part of the context is the existence of improved economic conditions in the country of origin which might be seen as a "pull" factor, (Barret & Trace, 1998). Alvarez (1967), for example, found that, among returning Puerto Ricans, the significantly improved job opportunities on the island was

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fuelling the return. Appleyard (1962) also found "homesickness" as a determinant in return migration.

In a society where kinship obligations are strong, elderly or ailing parents may impose care responsibilities which are impossible to ignore and force migrants to return home. Such semi-forced returns generally take place in the community of origin. They interrupt the migrant's plans for a longer stay in the destination area and often involve considerable economic hardship for all concerned as it is difficult to find comparable remunerative employment in the place of origin. It is believed that the importance of family ties in return migration is reflected in the large number of migrants who return to their native communities instead of returning to a town or region where economic opportunities would be better (Gmelch, 1980).

Relevance of Return Migrants to their Home Communities

Migrant capacities represent one of the most valuable resources available for the growth, development and poverty reduction of home of origin. A combination of the individuals´ various capitals drive socio-economic development in their communities of origin (Mabogunje, 1975).

The IOM (2004) has identified four capitals:

- Human capital, which encompasses education, training, skills and knowledge;
- Financial and entrepreneurial capital, which are investments, trade, remittances, savings, start-up of business investments, purchase of real estate and humanitarian support;
- Social capital, made up of networks, norms and values that facilitate cooperation within and among groups; and

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- Affective capital, including commitment and good-will deriving from the emotional engagement in home communities (IOM, 2004).

The first two capitals are what the individual brings along from migration, while the last two are what are within the social environment into which the migrant returns. Development takes place when the individual migrant is successful in combining these various capitals productively in the home community (IOM, 2004).

As observed by Mabogunje (1975), return migrants introduce innovative strategies which impact on the home communities of migrants considerably. Having gained rich experience in urban settings, the attempt of migrants to introduce innovation in their area of origin, especially if it is in the productive sector, is usually successful. This helps to further enhance their privileged position and social status which they enjoy in their home communities. In the process, return migrants and even those still in urban areas become very important local opinion leaders, fostering social change and development in their home communities.

Mabogunje (1975) further observes that the major channels used by return migrants to transmit innovations are inter-personal contacts. Inter-personal contact is, perhaps, the most important channel of information flow needed for the acceptance and adoption of innovations. Adoption of innovation is primarily the outcome of a learning process and is achieved where there is rapport between the innovator and the adopter (Hagerstrand, 1967).

According to Mabogunje (1975), return migrants serve as important agents for the emergence of new ideas and the development of their original area or region. Return migrants, thus, become important in the development

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process because of enhancement in their human capital, contribution to investment, role in innovation and social progress. They are able to play this role if they are successfully reintegrated into their original societies on return. Conversely, if they are not able to integrate on return, migrants are most likely to become social misfits and harbour the desire to re-migrate.

Post-Return Experiences and Social Transformations

Cerase (1974) has attempted to formulate a dual hypothesis of return and reintegration. The first hypothesis states that the more urban and industrial the destination area of the return migrant, the greater will be the conflict in re-adaptation, but the greater will be the probability of the returnee inducing social change in the home community. The alternative hypothesis states conversely that the more traditional and rural the destination area of the return migrant, the greater will be the probability of an easy re-adaptation but the less the likelihood of inducing innovation and social change in the home community.

Bovenkerk (1974) provides evidence to support this dual hypothesis. He found that migrant labourers returning from the mines easily fit back into village and tribal life. There may be a brief spell of idleness and display of new clothes and other acquisitions, but soon the returnees settle down and revert to their normal routine almost as if nothing had happened. On the contrary, those returning from the urban industrialized cities find it difficult to adjust. However, those returning from the cities have higher propensities to induce change in their home communities. Urban-rural returnee links act as effective channels for cultural diffusion and economic improvements (Adepoju 2010).

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From other studies, chiefly on international return migration, there is considerable evidence of reintegration difficulties for return migrants. These difficulties can be examined under two perspectives namely: etic and emic factors (Gmelch, 1980). The first, etic factor, examines the objective criteria of reintegration; the extent to which returnees have found jobs and satisfactory accommodation, developed personal relationships, participated in community organisations and so forth. The emic perspective, however, focuses on migrants' own perceptions of their adjustment and the extent to which they feel the homeland satisfies self-defined needs. Much of the literature on the second approach tends to deal with questions of unhappiness and dissatisfaction, which are often reflected in a desire to re-migrate (Gmelch, 1980).

Returnees' readjustment problems may also be a function of unrealistic expectations (Gmelch, 1980). Migrants' memories of their home society are out-of-date, idealized and nostalgic. The positive elements are stressed and the negative aspects recede from memory. Vacation return may reinforce the idealization of "home", for such visits take place in a holiday mood when the weather is good and a festive atmosphere prevails. In the hope of persuading their kinfolk to return, relatives may exaggerate the good points of life back home, glossing over economic problems, such as unemployment, low wages and inflation. Together, these factors raise returnees' expectations higher than can be actually satisfied by the reality while back home. Failing in realising these expectations return migrants see themselves as suffering from a sense of "relative deprivation" by which they compare their lives, not with what they were like in the past, but with what

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they think they should be like now and in the future (Taylor, 1999). With such expectations failing return migrants become disillusioned and turn to remigrate.

Conceptual Framework for Reintegration of Return Migrants

Having reviewed literature on return migration and the process of reintegration, this section draws conceptual links between migrant capacities and environmental opportunities for reintegration of return migrants.

Sen (1993) in figure 2 has been combined with Ware, et al (2008) in figure 3 as the conceptual frame work for this work (Figure 4). For example Sen's resources and capability sets are represented in this work by the personal capabilities and endowments of the return migrant which corresponds with capacities of Ware, et al (2008). Again Sen's Functionings achieved is represented by embeddedness and functionings achieved which is the feeling of sense of belonging and participation in social and economic life of the community.

Further, Sen's Subjective well being is represented by sense of reintegration where the individual is fully adapted and functioning in the social and economic life of the community. This is represented by Ware, et al (2008) by connectedness and citizenship.

Figure 4 shows the interplay of human capital (the personal capabilities, experiences and endowments of the individual return migrant), economic environments (economic opportunities in the home community and economic conditions of immediate net work) and social capital (depth of social networks within the social environment and social conditions of

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networks) which facilitate the reintegration of the return migrant back into the home community.

The figure posits that the strength of the receiving community, as determined by the extent of availability of economic and social resources together with the social and economic conditions of the members of the migrants networks, are instrumental in the ability of return migrants to reintegrate into society upon their return productive use

If the community is able to provide the necessary opportunities to engage the capacities of the return migrant, he is able to invest his capacities into productive activities. On the other hand, the capacities and endowments of the return migrant determine the extent to which the individual is able to take advantage of the opportunities in the socio-economic environment. When the return migrant is able to engage in the community, he develops a sense of connectedness and belonging to the community and, therefore, gets embedded and function effectively in the social and economic life of the community which, in turn, leads to his reintegration. The reintegration of the return migrant reinforces the individual's embeddedness and functioning, reflected in social connectedness and economic engagement.

From this, it can be deduced that migrants returning to communities which are more endowed in both social and economic capital are more likely to reintegrate more easily than those who return to less endowed communities. Again, migrants who return with better economic and human capitals are able to integrate more easily than those who return without these capitals to the same socio-economic environment. It can, therefore, be argued that the success or otherwise of the migrant's reintegration is

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determined by the interplay of the health of the social and economic environment into which the migrant returns and the capacities he returns with.

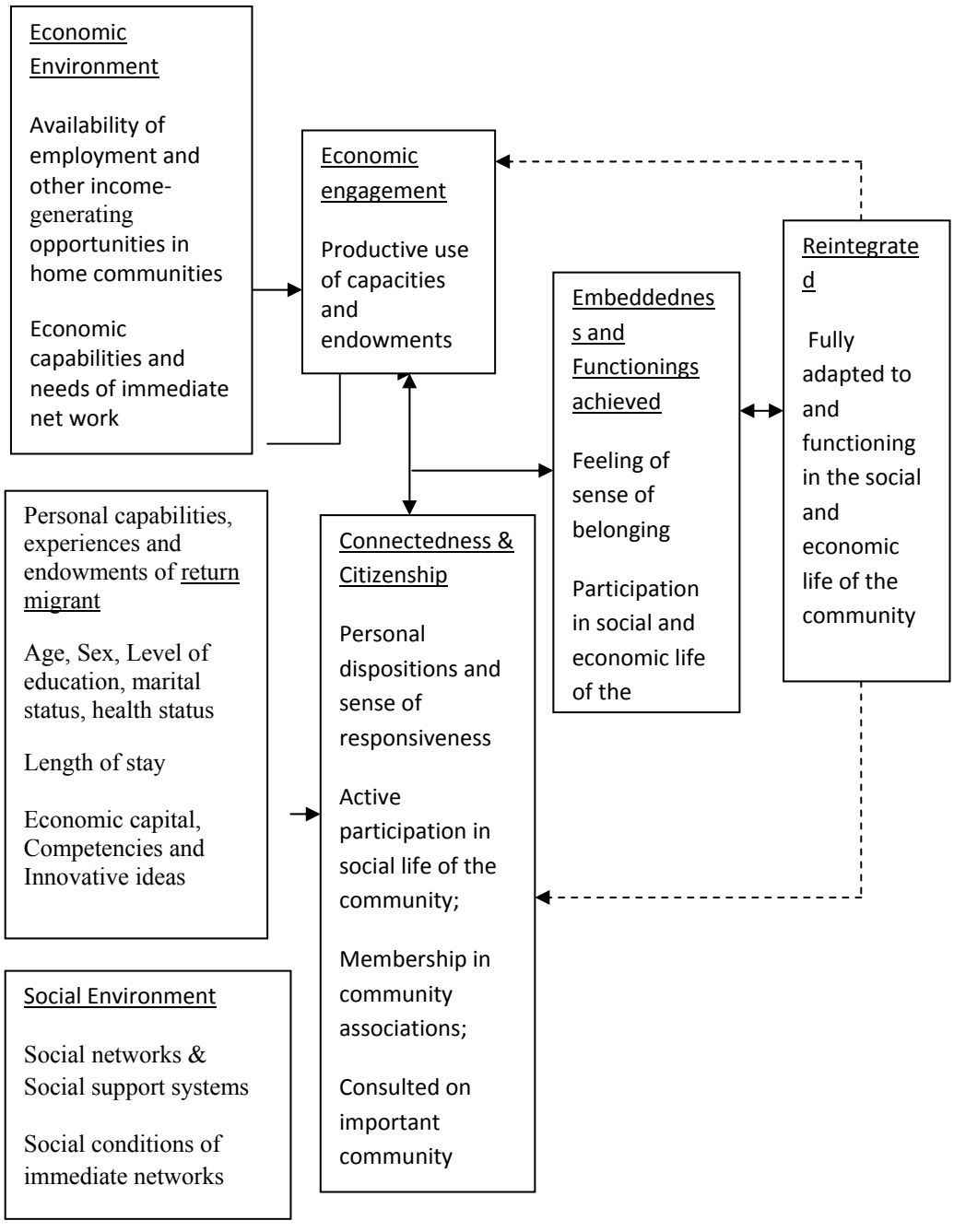

Figure 4: Conceptual framework for reintegration of return migrants

Source: Adapted from Sen (1993) and Ware et al (2008)

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In conclusion, the framework has enabled the researcher to establish a dynamic relationship between the socio-economic environment and the capital migrants return with, resulting in the capacity to reintegrate into the social and economic life of the home community.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The chapter discusses the methodological considerations employed in collecting and analysing data. It covers the research design, study area, study population, sampling procedures, sources of data, instruments, pre-test, fieldwork, techniques in data processing.

Research Design

A research design guides a researcher to gather and analyze data in certain ways that will determine who and what are to be studied (Herriott & Firestone, 1987). A research design defines the study type, research questions, hypotheses, and data collection methods.

Herriott and Firestone (1987) suggest that there are many ways of classifying research design. But broadly, research designs can be classified into quantitative or qualitative. Quantitative methods are useful when dealing with large-scale patterns of behaviour. Quantitative methods of sociological research approach of social phenomena from the perspective that can be measured and quantified (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994). For instance, socio-economic status can be divided into different groups such as working-class, middle-class, and wealthy, and can be measured using any of a number of variables, such as educational attainment, or income earned. Quantitative methods use more of deductive statistics in analyzing data.

On the other hand, the qualitative method is more effective when dealing with interactions and relationships in detail and provides a deeper understanding of a particular phenomenon (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994).

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Qualitative sociological research is often associated with an interpretive framework, which is more descriptive or narrative in its findings (Patton, 1987). The qualitative research design may be exploratory, explanatory, descriptive or participatory (Patton, 2001).

Patton (2001) identified five strategies which can be used in collecting and analyzing qualitative data. These are: ethnographic; grounded theory; case study; phenomenological; and narrative. In ethnographic research, the subjects are studied in their intact natural group and setting over a period of time. Primary data is collected through observation. The process is flexible and themes are evolved contextually in response to the lived realities encountered in the field setting.

In grounded theory, the researcher attempts to derive a general abstract theory of a process, action or interaction grounded in the views of the participants in a study. It involves the use of multiple stages of data collection and refinement of interrelationships of categories of information. Data is constantly compared with emerging categories. Participants are sampled from different groups to maximize similarities and differences.

The case-study allows in-depth exploration of a phenomenon. The cases are time and activity-bound and researchers collect detail information using varieties of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time. The phenomenological approach aims at identifying the essence of human experience concerning a phenomenon, as described by the participants in a study. A small number of participants are extensively studies over a prolonged period of engagement to develop patterns and relationships of meaning. Finally, in narrative research, the researcher studies the lives of

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individuals and asks one or more individuals to provide stories about their lives. This information is then retold by the researcher by combining the views of the participants with those of the researcher.

Qualitative research is a process of naturalistic inquiry that seeks in-depth understanding of social phenomena within their natural setting (Patton, 1987). It focuses on the "what" rather than "why" of social phenomena and relies on the direct experiences of human being as meaning making agents in their everyday lives. According to Best and Khan (1998), descriptive research is concerned with conditions or relationships that exist, such as determining the nature of prevailing conditions, practices and attitudes; opinions that are held; processes that are going on or trends that are developed. This type of research design allows the researcher to obtain information concerning the current status of phenomena. It is directed towards the determination of the nature of a situation, as it exists at the time of study. It simply looks at the phenomena under consideration with intense accuracy and description of precisely what the researcher observes.

Descriptive research involves gathering data that describes events. It then organizes, tabulates, depicts and describes the collected data (Jackson, 2009). In a descriptive study, manipulation of conditions or variables is not allowed, and reports are written according to findings (McMillan, 1996).

This study used the descriptive, exploratory and mixed method research designs. The descriptive research approach was used to: collect data on the socio-economic conditions of the return migrants prior to migration; describe their socio-economic conditions in the destination area; examine their preparation before they returned home; compare the socio-economic

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conditions at the destination and the home communities; and ascertain how they were reintegrating in their home communities. The descriptive research design allowed generalisations from the sample so that accurate inferences were made of the characteristics, attitudes and behaviour of the population under study.

The exploratory research design was used to determine the factors return migrants considered for remaining in the home community or remigrating after return; and how social networks and traditional support systems affected their reintegration in the home communities.

The researcher shared in the view of King (2000) that qualitative approach sacrifices statistical coverage for depth of analyses which is more appropriate to uncover the complexity and pattern in return migration decision and reintegration process. For this reason, the study used a mixture of quantitative and qualitative research designs which was a means of providing statistical coverage for depth of analysis which was more appropriate to uncover the complex and multilayered nature of south-north return migration process and decisions (King, 2000).. Such approach made it possible to understand the process of return and reintegration within more general as well as a more detailed epistemology in studying behaviour (King, 2000). It also helped the researcher in discovering trends in the data collected. The quantitative research design was used to quantify and generalise the responses from the sample on the various issues raised in the survey. The quantitative aspect of the study, therefore, used numbers, percentages and other statistical information which helped the researcher to obtain more reliable and accurate information from the point of view of the

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return migrants for analysis, which helped to reduce subjective generalisation. On the other hand, the qualitative aspect helped the researcher, through the interviews and focus group discussions, to gather qualitative data to explain the data collected in numbers and statistical testing. The descriptive approach was used in analysing the qualitative data which gave the researcher the opportunity to obtain data borne out of the interpretation of the experiences of the respondents. The combination of the quantitative and qualitative methods helped the researcher to make better sense of the meanings of the experiences of the respondents. This largely helped the researcher to better interpret the experiences of the respondents within their own world view. The mixed-method, thus, allowed the researcher not only to gather data that emphasized numbers, percentages and other statistical information but also explained the personal views and interpretation of experiences of the respondents.

Philosophical Underpinnings of the Study

The study adopted the interpretive and ethnographic approach in the collection and analysis of data. The task of the researcher, according to interpretivism, is to investigate how those being investigated interpret the world around them, and why they arrive at such interpretations. In order to succeed in this task, the researcher has to see the world through the 'eyes' of the research participant and to empathise with those being studied (Schwandt, 2000). It is against this background that Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991:5) indicate that interpretivist research attempts to "understand phenomena through accessing the meaning that participants assign to them." The value of an explanation is judged in terms of the extent to which it

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allows others to understand the phenomena and make sense of those being studied (Walsham, 1995, 2006).

Interpretive research adopts the epistemological assumption that reality is subject to multiple interpretations. Stated more assertively, reality consists of subjective interpretations and cannot be studied objectively. Interpretive studies, therefore, adopt a nondeterministic perspective where the intent of the research is to gain understanding of the phenomenon within its own peculiar cultural and contextual situations. The phenomenon of interest is examined in its natural settings and from the perspective of the participants. In which case, researchers do not impose their outsiders' a priori understanding on the situation (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991). In other words, interpretive research does not predefine dependent and independent variables on the full complexity of human sense making as the situation emerges (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994). The purpose of interpretive research, therefore, is to understand and analyze subjective interpretations and their consequences.

Interpretive researchers, according to Myers (2013), believe that realities exist in the form of multiple mental and social constructs, and that access to realities is only through social construction, such as language and consciousness, which gives meaning to these realities (Myers, 2013). For Myers (2008), interpretivism focuses on meaning and, thus, gathers large quantities of detailed data to acquire an in-depth understanding of how meaning is created in everyday life in the real world.

As reality exists in multiple forms, it is appropriate to view the interpretivist research domain as a social construction relative to the situation

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under investigation. Williams (2000) has emphasized that interpretivists do not make empirical generalisations. Rather, they make theoretical inferences. That is, they draw conclusions from their data about the necessary relationships that exist amongst categories of phenomena.

Interpretivists believe that social phenomena are not like natural phenomena. They arise out of the interpretations people make. In any situation, there are likely to be different interpretations by different people. Rather than imposing one 'correct' definition on the phenomena, we should, instead, study how people interpret their experience (Myers, 2013).

Like interpretivists, this researcher attempted to understand how people interpreted the world around them and the reasons for such interpretations. Using the interpretivist lens, the researcher explains why people in the study area migrated, reasons for migration and return and whether and how they integrated into their societies. As argued by Weber (1978) and Fisher (1993), the researcher believes that the reasons for migration and return and whether and how they integrated into their societies are likely to be different from one person to another. This is because people interpret the world differently.

Prus (1994) and Brewer (2000) see ethnography as the study of people in their naturally occurring settings. Have (2004) also sees ethnography as a research method in which participants are studied within the natural situations in which they live their lives, trying to minimise the impact of the presence of the researchers on the actions of the participants,

According to Have (2004), ethnography used to be the stock-in-trade style of social and cultural anthropology. An anthropologist, using

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ethnographic research methods, would typically live for a year with an ethnic group in order to describe crucial features of life through a yearly cycle. This would involve a variety of data gathering techniques, including, first of all, learning the language, and, then, doing natural observations and asking for explanations. Currently, the label 'ethnography' is used to indicate any kind of research that involves on-site observation of, and interaction with, whatever kind of population the researcher would like to study, which does not necessarily mean that the researcher should live among the people for a year (Have, 2004).

It is argued that there is a danger that an ethnographic researcher may introduce bias toward perspectives of his or her own culture into the research. Berg (2004), for example, maintains that the researcher's frame of mind, when entering a natural setting, is crucial to the eventual results of a study. One must appreciate the situations of the subjects rather than attempt to correct them. This sort of neutral posture allows researchers to understand what is going on around them rather than become either advocates or critics of the events they witness. In addition, appreciation does not require the interviewers to agree with or even to accept the perceptions of their subjects but merely to offer empathy.

To avoid personal bias in ethnographic research, Spindler and Spindler (1992) suggest that the researcher should understand the behaviour, values and meanings of the people. It is important for the researcher to gain either comprehensive knowledge of the culture of the people, or mastery of the language or technical jargon of the culture, or both.

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The problem of bias can also be minimized when informants are selected based not on the researcher's personal judgement but on identifications made by community members. Also, ethnographers validate findings through consultation with experts and the use of surveys and other techniques not unique to ethnography.

As ethnographers believe in observing people in their natural setting, so did the researcher also approach this current study. In order to effectively interpret, for example, whether and how the respondents were reintegrated into their societies, the researcher observed the people in their natural setting as they participated in their daily activities, and analysed how the respondents themselves assessed their situations**.**

Study Area

The Northern Region, which occupies an area of about 70,383 square kilometres, is the largest region in Ghana in terms of land area (GSS, 2010). It shares boundaries with the Upper East and the Upper West Regions to the north, the Brong Ahafo and the Volta Regions to the south, and two neighbouring countries, the Republic of Togo to the east, and La Cote d' Ivoire to the west.

The Northern Region has a population of 2,479,461 with 50.4 percent being female and 49.6 percent being male. This corresponds favourably with the national average of 51 percent and 49 percent respectively (GSS, 2010). The population increased by 36.2 percent between 2000 and 2010, making it the third fastest growing region after Central (38.1%) and Greater Accra (38.0%) (GSS, 2010). The population has grown steadily from the 1960 figure of 531,573 to the present figure of 2,479, 461 which is approximately

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10.1% of the national population (GSS, 2010). The Northern Region has the fourth highest population figure after Ashanti (19.4%); Greater Accra (16.3%); and Eastern, (10.7%) (GSS, 2010).

The region has a predominantly rural population of 69.7 percent. Kpandai, (90.1%) has the highest rural population with Tamale having the least rural population of 27%. Tamale Metropolis is, therefore, the most urbanised Assembly, with 73.0 percent urban population; followed by Savelugu Nanton (39.7%); West Gonja (32.7%) and East Mamprusi (32.4%). All the remaining assemblies have urban populations less than 30.0 percent (GSS, 2010).

Climate and vegetation

The land is mostly low lying, except in the north-eastern corner around the Gambaga escarpment and along the western corridor. The region is drained by the Black and White Volta and their tributaries, Nasia and Daka Rivers.

The Northern Region has a single rainy season that begins in May and ends in October, making the climate of the region relatively dry, Annual rainfall varies between 750 mm and 1050 mm. The dry season begins from November and ends in March/April, with maximum temperatures occurring between March and April, and minimum temperatures occurring between December and January. The region experiences strong harmattan winds, during the months of December to early February, which have considerable effect on the temperatures in the region. Temperatures may vary between 14°C at night and 40°C during the day. Humidity, however, which is very low, mitigates the effect of the daytime heat (MOFA, 2013). The rather harsh

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climatic condition makes the cerebrospinal meningitis thrive, almost to endemic proportions, and adversely affects economic activity in the region (RCC, 2013). The region also falls in the onchocerciasis zone, even though the disease is currently under control. As a result of the prevalence of onchocerciasis, a vast area of productive land is still under-populated and under-cultivated (MOFA, 2013). The main vegetation is classified as grassland, interspersed with the guinea savannah drought-resistant trees such as the acacia (Acacia Senegal); baobab, shea tree (Bytyrospermumparkia); dawadawa, (Parkiabiglobosa); Neem (Azadiractaindica); Kapok, (Ceibapentandra); and mango (Mangiferaindica).

The region is thus largely rural and the ecology is poor for sustained agricultural activities throughout the year. This combines with poor socio-economic development which limits economic opportunities making the region proned to poverty which serves as a push factor in driving north-south migration. Thus active young persons are likely to move out to the south which promises better economic opportunities.

Ethnicity

The major ethnic groups of the region are the Mole Dagbon (52.7%), the Gurma (27.8%), the Guan (8.6%), the Grusi (3.7%), and the Akan (3.1%). Among the Mole-Dagbon, the largest subgroups are the Dagomba and the Mamprusi, while the Komkomba are the largest of the Gurma, the Chokosi of the Akan and the Gonja of the Guan. The Dagomba constitute about a third of the population of the region (GSS, 2010).

The indigenous languages spoken by the people vary from district to district. The Gonja language is spoken mostly in three districts, namely East

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Gonja, West Gonja and Bole. Dagbani, the language of the Dagomba, is spoken in nine districts. The Kokomba language is spoken mainly in some parts of Saboba, Chereponi, Zabzugu, Tatale, East Gonja and Nanumba Districts (GSS, 2010).

Some of these languages (Chokosi, Bator, Chumuru, Gonja, Kokomba and Basaari) have close association with the Akan, Ewe, and Guan languages spoken in most part of southern Ghana and also serve as the lingua franca on the streets and major markets in the country. Thus, migrants from the Northern Region easily are able to communicate soon after arriving in the south. This is likely to facilitate ease in migration decision. Table 1 presents the distribution of languages and major dialects spoken in the Northern Region showing the size of the population.

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Table 1: *Distribution of Languages and Main Dialects in the Northern Region*

Language	Population	Percent	Main Dialects
Akan	74320	3.1	Chokosi
Ga-Dangme	7688	0.32	
Ewe	40677	1.7	Bator
Guan	204442	8.6	Chumuru, Gonja
			Kokomba, Basaari,
Gurma	651088	27.3	Bimoba
Mole Dagbani	1258657	52.7	Dagomba, Mamprusi
Grusi	88599	3.7	
Mande	12843	0.54	
Others	50664	2.1	

Source: GSS (2010)

Political administration

The Northern Region is divided into 23 districts, two municipalities and one metropolis for the purpose of political administration. Figure 1 is the administrative map of the Northern Region showing all the metropolitan, municipal and districts in the region.

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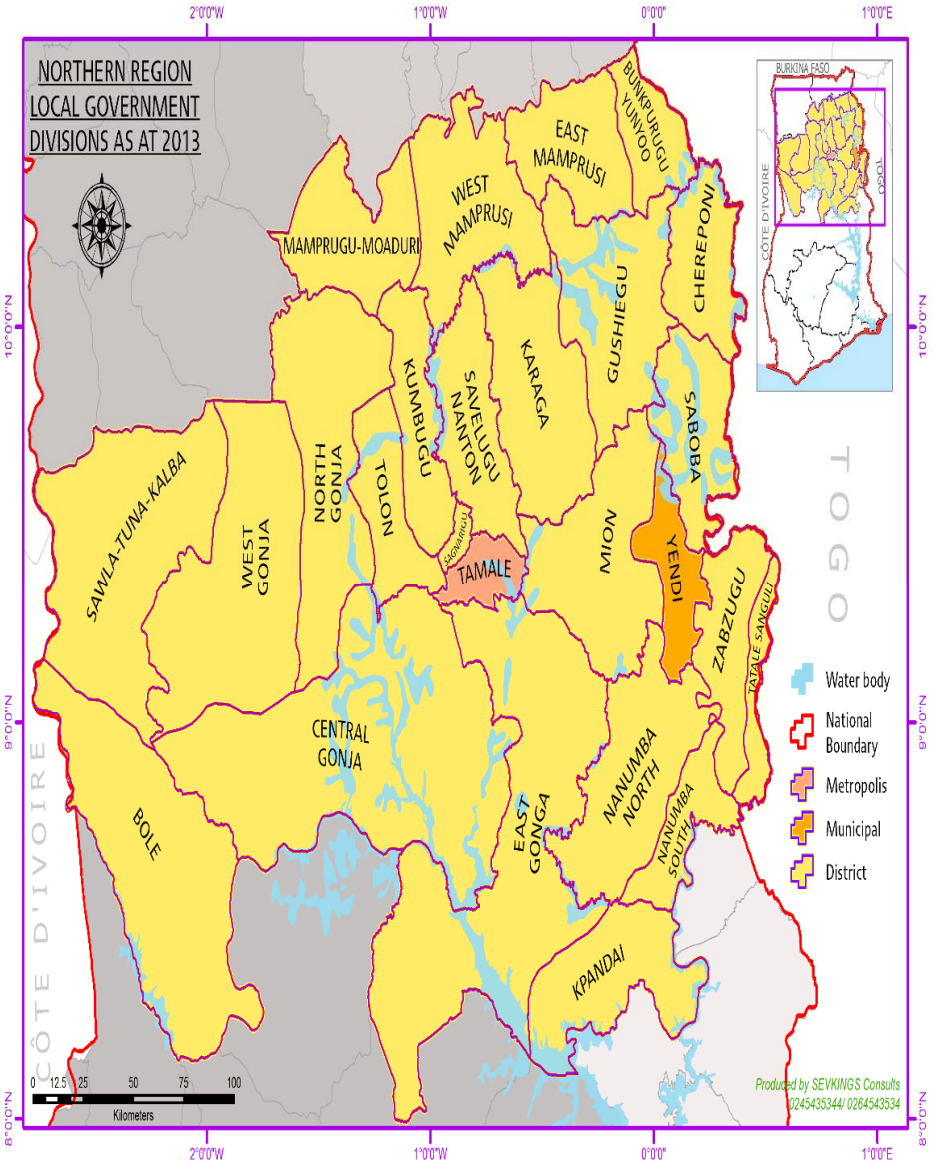

Figure 5: Political administrative map of the Northern Region of Ghana

Source: Department of Geography and Resources Planning, University of Ghana, Legon (2013)

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Table 2*: Distribution of the Metropolis, Municipalities and Districts in the Northern Region of Ghana showing the Population, Capital and Land Mass*

Name	Population	Capital	Land Mass (Km^2)
Bole	61593	Bole	5167
Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	122591	Bunkpurugu	1057.38
Central Gonja	87877	Buipe	8566.36
Chereponi	53394	Chereponi	1498.03
East Gonja	135450	Salaga	7463.11
East Mamprusi	121009	Gambaga	1830.48
Gushegu	111259	Gusheigu	2943.16
Karaga	77706	Karaga	2883.33
Kpandai	108816	Kpandai	2327.89
Kumbungu	49315	Kumbungu	1529.22
MampruguMoaduri	75605	Yagba	2125.34
Mion	71145	Sang	3041.12
Nanumba North	141584	Bimbila	2962.12
Nanumba South	93464	Wulensi	1067.1
North Gonja	45000	Daboya	3734.97
Saboba	65706	Saboba	1783.76
Sagnarigu	148099	Sagnarigu	176.68
Savelugu/Nanton Municipality	139283	Savelugu	1790.7
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	99863	Sawla	5070.39
Tamale Metropolis	223252	Tamale	616.38
TataleSanguli	61927	Zabzugu	628.95
Tolon	63016	Tolon	1354.14
West Gonja	84727	Damango	4764.28
West Mamprusi	92406	Walewale	2659.17
Yendi Municipality	199592	Yendi	1063.01
Zabzugu	61927	Zabzugu	1570.21

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2010) and GIS Platform (2014)

The relatively large land mass compared with the low population figures shows low population density in the region. The low population density in the region means the availability of arable land for agricultural

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purposes and therefore provides opportunity for intensive farming if migrants return with capital to invest in farming.

Cultural and social structure

The region has four paramount chiefs, namely: the Yaa Na based in Yendi; the YagbonWura in Damango; the BimbilaNaa in Bimbila; and the Nayiri in Nalerigu. Each paramountcy represents a major ethnic group. All the four paramount chiefs are members of the Regional House of Chiefs. Each paramount chief has a number of sub-chiefs who are enskinned in consultation with the revered kingmakers to superintend the administration of defined areas of the chieftain.

Islam is the dominant religion of the region with 56.1 per cent of the population professing Islam as their religion. Traditional religion is the next dominant faith with 21.3 per cent, while Christians represent 19.3 per cent of the population.

Social characteristics

Household size and composition

The composition and structure of the Ghanaian household remain largely traditional, even among the most urbanized segments of the society. The complexity and size of the household depends largely on the headship of the household, in terms of both sex/gender and socio-economic status.

The proportion of households headed by females in the region (14.1%) is much higher than the national average (11.0%). Among the districts, Savelugu-Nanton has the lowest proportion of female-headed households (9.4%); West Gonja (16.1%), Bole (16.7%) and the Tamale metropolis (20.1%) have figures in excess of 15.0 per cent. A household in

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the region has, on the average, 7.4 members. Of this number, 44.6 per cent are children of the household head and 21.6 per cent are other relatives. The average household size varies from 6.1 in Savelugu-Nanton, to 9.6 in Gushiegu-Karaga. The Tamale metropolis, the most urbanized district, has an average household size of 6.5 (GSS, 2010).

The relatively high average household size in the region may be a reflection of the housing structure with several round huts belonging to different members of households, on the same compound. The proportion of children in the household varies from 40.3 per cent in the Tamale metropolis to 50.8 per cent in Saboba, and Chereponi. The proportion of other relatives per household varies from 18.8 per cent in Nanumba to 24.7 per cent in the Yendi District. Thus, households in the region present the same level of structural and numerical complexity as will be expected in every traditional settings (GSS, 2010).

This is evidence of the intensity of close family ties among the people which demands also that privileged members are expected to support other relatives and even distant ones who might be less privileged, economically (Lin, 2001; Goodwin, 2003; King, 2004; Arku, Filson & Shute, 2008). Such dense social net works has both positive na dnegativ eimplications for the reintegration of the return migrant. On one hand it would provide opportunity of the return migrant to benfit from the good will of kins i=even if they retrun with failed migration intentions but on the other hand it could pose challenges to the returnmigrant as he or she would be expected to share resources returned with among his or her kins

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Educational attainment

There is a wide gap in educational attainment between the country as a whole and the region. At the national level, 38.0 per cent (33.1% males and 44.5% females) of the population 6 years and older have never been to school compared with 72.3 per cent (66.6% males and 77.9 females) in the Upper West Region. The district with the lowest percentage of the population that has never been to school is Tamale, with 50.8 per cent (42.5% males and 59.0% females). On the other hand, Gushiegu-Karaga has the highest proportion (84.3%) of the population that has never been to school (79.3 per cent males and 89.0 per cent of females).

The high proportion of the population of the region, who have never been to school, ranging from 42.5 per cent to 79.3 per cent for males and 59.0 per cent to 89.0 per cent for females, should be of great concern for the regional administration in particular.

Of the populations who have ever attended school, 47.5 per cent, made up of 43.6 per cent of males and 53.5 per cent of females, have attained primary school level. About a fifth (21.7%), made up 22.2 per cent of males and 21.1 per cent of females, have attained middle/JSS level. Those who attained secondary/SSS level account for 13.3 per cent (15.7% of males and 10.4% of females) and an additional 4.8 per cent (3.7% males, 4.2% females) attained vocational/technical/commercial school level. About the same percentage of both males and females have attained post-secondary school and tertiary levels; the corresponding proportions being 5.1 per cent and 5.5 per cent for males, and 3.9 per cent and 4.6 per cent, for females, respectively. On the whole, the highest educational level attained by the

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majority of the educated in the region, is the primary school (43.6% of males and 53.5% of females) (GSS, 2008).

At the district level, the primary school remains the highest level of education attained by a significant proportion of the populations, ranging from 33.8 per cent in Tamale to 52.4 per cent in West Mamprusi, for the males. The corresponding figures for the females vary from 43.6 per cent in Tamale to 64.8 per cent in Savelugu-Nanton. The middle/JSS level, which is the second highest educational level attained in the region, ranges from 17.8 per cent in Gushiegu-Karaga to 26.4 per cent in East Gonja for males. For females, the proportions that have attained middle/JSS level vary from 14.2 per cent in Gushiegu-Karaga to 25.4 per cent in Tamale (GSS, 2008).

The male-female differential increases with higher levels in educational attainment. The proportion of females is higher than that of males for primary school attainment (53.5% and 43.6%, respectively); and this is the case in all the districts. On the other hand, the proportion of males that have attained the middle/JSS level is higher than that of females in most of the districts, with the exception of Soboba, Chereponi and Tamale. Similarly, male attainment at the secondary/SSS level is appreciably higher than that of females in all the districts. Gushegu-Karaga is the only district in the region where the proportion of females (4.5%) is higher than that of males (4.3%) for the vocational/ technical/ commercial attainment. It is also one of two districts (the other being Zabzugu-Tatale), where the proportion of females is higher than that of males for the tertiary level.

The analysis shows that there is wide disparity between those who have never been to school at the national level (38.0%) and those in the

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region (72.3%). The disparity is great between females who have never been to school in the region (77.9%) and those at the national level (44.5%).

Poor educational attainment is likely to place migrants to the south in the informal and menial jobs which are likely to be more labour driven. Females are less likely to get employment in the jobs that require higher education and therefore easily settle for labour intensive informal sector occupations like carrying of goods that does not require any education nor skills

It is, therefore, necessary to expedite the implementation of on-going programmes geared towards the improvement of educational facilities in the region to raise the educational attainment in the region, particularly with respect to female education. It is equally important to implement such programmes as will sustain the high achievement at the primary school level, particularly for females, through the JHS to higher levels.

Literacy

On the average, about 22.0 per cent of the population 15 years and older, are classified as literate. This figure varies from about 12.0 per cent in Gushegu-Karaga to about 43.0 per cent in the Tamale metropolis. East Gonja is the next highest, with about 20.0 per cent literacy rate, considerably lower than the rate for the Tamale metropolis. Over all, the proportion of the literate population is 12.0 per cent higher among males than females (GSS, 2008, 2010).

Economic characteristics

Agriculture is the main economic activity in the Northern Region. It employs 71.2 percent of the economically activity population compared with

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the national average of 52.0 percent (GSS, 2010). A small number (5.7%) of the economically activity population is engaged in the formal sector as professionals and clerical staff (GSS, 2010). The rest of the population (23.1%) are engaged in the service and commercial sectors, largely as petty traders and transport operators (GSS, 2010). The distribution of economic activities between the districts varies from one district to the other. Agriculture attracts most of the population in the rural districts, while the majority of the economically active population in the urban areas are engaged in the services and commercial sectors. For example, ZabzuguTatale district, which is rural, has 87.7 percent of the economically active population engaged in agriculture, while Tamale Metropolis has only 29.1 percent of the economically active engaged in agriculture with 53.9 percent in the service and commercial sectors and 15.2 percent in formal sector employment (GSS, 2010).

More males are engaged in agriculture and formal sectors, while females dominate in the service and commercial sectors in all districts. The main agricultural activities are in animal husbandry, largely in cattle and other ruminants, such as goats and sheep. The main crops grown in the region are groundnuts, cowpea, soya beans, maize, rice, sorghum, millet, yams and cassava (MOFA, 2013). The main commercial activities are in the distribution and sale of agricultural produce. Large amounts of the agricultural produce are sent to the south of Ghana, while other industrial produce are brought from the south to the region (MOFA). Women are also engaged in the collection and sale of sheanuts and dawadawa fruits, some of

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which are processed and sold in the markets in the region and in the south of the country.

Nearly 68 per cent of the economically active population are classified as self-employed in the informal sector, with 11.5 percent employed in the informal sector. The region has 14.8 per cent of the economically active population working as unpaid family workers, with only 5.7 per cent working as formal sector employees (GSS, 2010). The proportion of unpaid family workers varies from 5.2 per cent in the Tamale Metropolis to 45.3 per cent in Zabzugu-Tatale. A large proportion of the population, engaged in unpaid family work, is engaged in agriculture (GSS, 2010). The poor employment opportunities in the formal sector coupled with the erratic single rainfall pattern which is likely to impoverish the population can push the people, especially the youth, out into migration to the more promising south where they hope to better their livelihoods. (Tanle, 2013). The lack of employment opportunities in the Nortehrn Region is likely t affect the reintegration of return migrants if not improved.

Study Population

The population for the study comprised return migrants and key informants who included community leaders, Assembly members, household heads of the return migrants, and community members in eight selected Assemblies in the Northern Region. These were Nanumba North, East Gonja, SaveluguNanton, West Mamprusi, Zabzugu-Tatale and Chereponi Districts; Tamale Metropolis and Yendi Municipality.

Figure 6 is the distribution of districts and communities used for the study.

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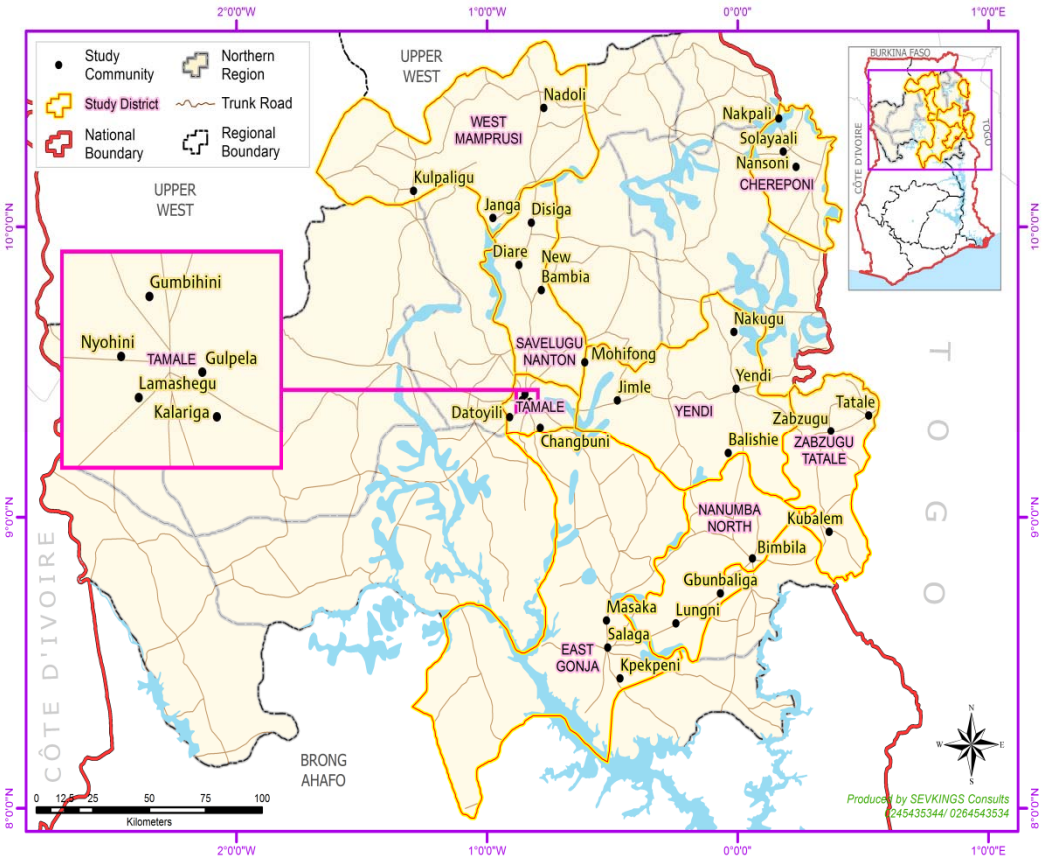

Figure 6: Districts and communities for the study

Source: Institute for Scientific and Technological Information, CSIR (2013).

Sampling Procedures

For the sake of convenience, the study predetermined the selection of a total of thirty (30) communities purposively with six (6), five (5) and three (3) allocated to each of the Metropolis, Municipality and Districts respectively due to variation in population to make the sampling close to proportionate. From a reconnaissance survey, it was found that the average number of return migrants in the 30 communities selected was three. It was therefore decided to use that as the sample size for all the communities. This would have given a total of ninety return migrants which was adequate for a qualitative study. However, in one community there were only two return

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migrant reducing the number of return migrants who participated in the study to eighty nine (89).

The study adopted the sequential mixed sampling technique in selecting one (1) metropolis, one municipality (1), eighty (89) return migrants, forty six (46) household heads, thirty (30) community leaders, and eight (8) Assembly members with thirty five (35) community members joining on their own as follows:

The purposive sampling technique was employed in selecting the Tamale Metropolis and Yendi Municipality as they were the only ones in their respective categories at the time of selection. Six out of the twenty four District Assemblies were selected through the simple random sampling technique from sample frame derived from the 2010 census report (GSS, 2010). This number represented 25 percent of the total number of districts which was deemed to be adequate for a qualitative study (Patton, 2001).

For convenience sake six communities in the Tamale Metropolis, five from the Yendi Municipality and three communities from the six Districts were selected,

The return migrants were selected through referral from either the Assembly members, if available, or the community leaders. After interviewing such a return migrant, he or she led the research team to others in the community who had also returned till the predetermined number of three in each of the 30 communities was obtained. However, only 2 return migrants were found in the Janga community in the West Mamprusi district, thus the original return migrant population of 90 was reduced to 89.

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Table 3: *Sampling Distribution of Return Migrants*

District	Community	No of participants
Nanumba North	Bimbila	3
	Gbunbaliga	3
	Lungni	3
East Gonja	Masaka	3
	Salaga	3
	Kpekpeni	3
Yendi Municipality	Yendi	3
	Nakugu	3
	Balishie	3
	Mohifong	3
	Jimle	3
Tamale Metropolis	Nyohini	3
	Gulpela,	3
	Gumbihini	3
	Kalariga	3
	Datoyili	3
	Changbuni	3
Savelugu/Nanton	Disiga,	3
	New Bambia,	3
	Diare	3
West Mamprusi	Janga	2
	Kulpaligu,	3
	Nadoli,	3
Zabzugu/Tatale	Zabzugu	3
	Tatale	3
	Woribogu	3
Chereponi	Solayaali,	3
	Nakpali,	3
	Nansoni	3
	30	89

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Each of the return migrants was asked to lead the team to interview their household heads. Thus, the purposive sampling technique was used in selecting the household heads of the return migrants. This method was deemed appropriate as the informants were known and selected for their

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specific relationship with the return migrants. It was originally intended to interview the household heads of all the sampled return migrants but only 46 were available to be interviewed on the kind of support they received from the migrants when they were in the destination and since they returned. Their views were also sought on the kind of support they gave and received from the return migrants and how they view migration in general.

The purposive sampling technique was used in selecting the other key informants made up of 30 community leaders representing the number of study communities; and 8 Assembly members who were available at the time of the . The 35 community members interviewed happened to be present in the company of the community leaders at the time of the interview and so joined the focus group discussions on their own. In all, either three or four participants took part in the focus group discussions in each community. This means there was only one group in each community.

Table 4: *Distribution of Key Informants*

Respondents	Number	Percent
Household heads of return migrants	46	38.7
Community leaders	30	25.2
Community members	35	29.4
Assembly members	8	6.7
Total	119	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Sources of Data

The study used both primary and secondary data. The primary data were obtained from the various participants during the fieldwork through in-

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depth interview guide and focus group schedules. The secondary data were obtained from publications of the Ghana Statistical Service, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the Regional Coordinating Council and the respective Assemblies. The Balm Library and The Department of Geography and Resources Management, of the University of Ghana, Legon provided rich sources of secondary data. Additionally, the Central Library of the Institute of Social Studies, in The Hague, and the Public Library in Middleburg, both in the Netherlands, were major sources of secondary data. Books, journals, articles published on the internet were used extensively at various stages of the study.

Data Collection Procedure

Data was collected from one-on-one (in-depth) interview with the 89 return migrants separately and individually. The study also conducted 30 focus group discussions with the community leaders, community members and Assembly members. Voice recorders and cameras were also used in recording voices and still pictures during the interviews and other interactions within the communities. Pictures were taken of striking features relevant to the study. The GIS platform was also employed in determining the land masses of the various districts. Interviews were recorded through hand writing and audio recording for easy of referencing of statements. All instruments were identified by indicating at the back the name of the community, district and interviewer

Instrumentation

The researcher used, primarily, structured interview schedules to gather data from the different categories of respondents. The interview

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schedule for the return migrants covered five sections, namely: bio-data; life in the destination area; return decision and preparation to return; observed changes; and reintegration in home community. The interview schedule was a combination of both closed and open-ended questions (Appendix 1). In all eighty nine return migrants were interviewed on one-on-one.

The interview schedule for the household heads of the return migrants examined the support received from the return migrants while in destination area and their perception since the migrants returned (Appendix 2). Forty six one-on-one interviews were held with the household heads that were available at the time of gathering data. In each of the communities, a focus group discussion guide was used in gathering data from the community heads, Assembly members and other community members (Appendix 3). Thus, a total of thirty focus group discussions were held. The guide examined the perception of the community on migration, the type of benefit the community received from members of the community who migrated, and their reactions towards the return of the migrants. The guide also sought to find out the kind of contribution the return migrants were making to the lives of the communities and what kind of support the communities were giving to the return migrants. Other instruments used were voice recorders and cameras.

Pre-Test of Instruments

The interview schedules and focus group discussion guide were all validated in a pre-test conducted in Tamale Metropolis, Zagyri, Chogu, Kanvile, and Tamale Central, in January 2011. These communities were

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selected outside the selected communities for the study. They were selected for convenience.

The pre-test gave the researcher the opportunity to ensure that items on the instruments yielded the desired responses and to determine the best method of administration. The aim of the pre-test was to establish whether respondents were accessible, whether the site was convenient, whether the instruments would generate enough information. The pre-test also allowed the researcher to evaluate and determine the validity and the reliability of the instruments, as emphasised by Best and Khan (1995). The pre-test further provided clear indicators of expected time frame, cost and likely hazards to be encountered in the field. Further, the pre-testing exercise helped the researcher to eliminate ambiguous and irrelevant questions, rephrase some of the questions to make it more meaningful to the participants.

The study employed the services of eight research assistants who spoke the local dialects. The researcher organized orientation for them to help them appreciate the purpose of the research and maintain objectivity, precision and a high level of integrity in maintaining the confidentiality of respondents. During the orientation, the researcher provided explanation of the purpose of the survey and the usefulness of the results to the community and the individuals involved.

After the orientation, the research team divided themselves into four groups of two members each, and randomly selected four communities within the Tamale Metropolis to administer the instruments. Each group interviewed 25 return migrants, the Assembly member in the community and

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five household heads in each community. The return migrants and household heads were selected through the snowball method.

After the pre-test, which lasted four days, the responses were checked against the objectives of the study to see whether they answered the research questions adequately. Those questions that were found deficient were either changed completely or rephrased. The sequence of the questions was also revised to improve on the coherency and logical flow.

Fieldwork

The field data was collected between 8th and 23rd January, 2013. This was when the structured interviews and focus group discussions took place. Orientation on the purpose and methods to be employed at the data collection stage was organised for the teams that were put together in the previous year. The orientation was done in Tamale, which was the central base for the team, on 8th January, 2013. During the orientation, the objective of each question on the schedule or guide was discussed to help all the team members to have a common ground of understanding and to be able to determine whether the responses from the participants brought out the objectives clearly. It also afforded them the opportunity to decide appropriate follow-up questions in case the initial responses were not adequate. During the orientation, mock interviews were held between the members to check for clarity in translation to the local dialects from English in which the questions had been written. This was necessary, especially, because the interviews were going to be conducted in the local dialects. The group was divided into four teams of two members each. However, two groups went to a community together, such that, while one group engaged the return migrants and their household

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heads, the other group conducted the focus group discussion with the community heads and members. A leader was selected for each of the two teams whose responsibility was to lead the daily debriefing after the team had returned from the field. They were also responsible for writing the final report of observations made by their respective teams and report on them to the researcher. Table 7 depicts the distribution of the communities among the teams and the dates each community was visited. The researcher supervised the process by moving between the teams as the process progressed.

Specifically, on entering the community, the team first located the Assembly members and introduced the team and purpose of the visit and sought their permission to carry out the interview. Subsequently, Assembly members led the teams to the community leaders who always granted permission for the team to work in the community. This process was made easy because of the contacts made in the previous year. The team, thereafter, divided themselves into the original two groups to begin work. While one group located and interviewed the return migrants, the other group conducted the focus group discussion with the community leaders, Assembly and members and community members.

The interview schedule was used in the interviews with the participants. However, in most cases, their responses generated unstructured follow-up questions. The focus group discussions were based on the guide but discussions were not limited to the items on the guide, as various responses called for various follow-up questions to seek clarity and better understanding. Opportunities were also given to the community to ask

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questions and make other comments that were not on the guide but were found to be pertinent to the study.

Daily fieldwork was concluded with debriefings of the research efforts, to compare field and interview notes, and to discuss any difficulties that were encountered in the field. Preliminary thematic notes were compiled in the field and these were cleaned during the daily debriefings which were led by the team leaders. All the teams travelled back to Tamale on 24th January, 2013. The various responses were read through and checked with the objectives of the study and arranged thematically.

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Table 5: *Schedule of Visits to Study Communities for Data Collection*

	Groups 1 & 2			Groups 3 & 4	
Date	MMDA	Community	Date	MMDA	Community
9th	Tamale	Datoyili	9th	Yendi	Yendi
9th		Changbuni	9th		Nakugu
10th		Gumbihini	10th		Mohifong
10th		Nyohini	10th		Mohifong
11th		Gulpela	11th		Jimle
11th		Lamshegu	11th		Balishie
12th		Kalariga	12th		
14th	Chereponi	Nansoni	14th	Nanumba North	Bimbila
14th		Nakpali	14th		Gbunbaliga
15th		Solayaali	15th		Lungni
18th	West Mamprusi	Nadoli	18th	ZabzuguTatale	Tatale
18th		Kulpaliga	18th		Zabzugu
19th		Janga	19th		Kubalem
22nd	SaveluguNanton	Disiga	22nd	East Gonja	Kpekpeni
22nd		Diare	22nd		Salaga
23rd		New Bambila	23rd		Masaka

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

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The respective interviewers provided clarity for responses which were not clear to the researcher. This was necessary, as they wrote in English responses given them in the local dialects. This was to check against misrepresentation, which was possible when translating from one language to the other. Audio recordings were played back and initial decoding and transcribing done. The audio and video recordings were loaded on the lap tops and saved on an external hard disc sent for the purpose of holding back-ups of data. This process which covered two full days ended on 26th January, 2013. The group travelled back to Accra on 28th January, 2013

Ethical Considerations

The researcher was conscious of the implications of divulging, especially, sensitive information respondents were likely want to remain private and the need to respect their private information and this was inculcated in the members of the research team. Therefore, respondents were informed about the overall purpose of the study as well as the possible risk for participating in the study. For instance they were informed of the use of audio recording and the publishing of the results of the interviews, albeit, as an academic exercise. Nonetheless, they were assured of their anonymity to hide their identity. Participants were informed that they could refuse to answer any question they felt uncomfortable with. Permission was taking before pictures were taken. To ensure privacy of respondents the in-depth interviews were conducted on-one-on-one and respondents were assured that no information given would be shared with any other person. In reporting, care was taken not to disclose the community nor identity of the respondents.

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Data Processing and Analysis

The quantitative data was cleaned, coded and analysed with the use of the Statistical Product and Service Solutions (SPSS) (Version 16) software. Measures of central tendency, such as Mean, were computed. However, the analysis used largely descriptive statistics to explain the trend of observations from the interviews. In qualitative analysis, data collection proceeded simultaneously. (Merriam, 1998) The steps in the analyses included: (i) preliminary exploration of the data by reading through the transcripts and writing memos; (ii) coding the data by segmenting and labelling the text; (iii) connecting and interrelating the themes pertinent to the focus of the study; and (iv) constructing a narrative (Patton, 2001).

The combined results were interpreted with an inductive approach, framed theoretically by the functional capabilities approach to human development. This was to identify the personal capacities and environmental situations needed for reintegration.

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CHAPTER FOUR

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF RETURN MIGRANTS, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER MIGRATION

Introduction

The chapter is divided into three broad areas. The first part deals with conditions of return migrants before migration The second part deals with life in the destination area which covers living conditions in destination area; economic activities engaged in at destination area; comparison of some indicators of wellbeing at home communities and destination area; use of income by migrants from destination area, and beneficiaries of remittances sent by migrants. The final part is on challenges and coping strategies at the destination area.

Conditions Prior to Migration

This section discusses the socio-economic conditions of the return migrants prior to migration. It covers: personal characteristics; living arrangements; economic activities; reasons for migration; and choice of destination area.

Personal characteristics of return migrants

This section discusses the personal characteristics of the return migrants, covering the age before migration and age after return; educational attainment; and living arrangements before migration.

Age composition of return migrants before and after return

The findings in Table 6 show that the majority (77.6%) migrated below the age of 30 years, with 50.6 percent migrating before the age of 20,

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while 27.0 percent did so between the ages of 20 and 30. The results show that the respondents migrated when they were still within the active working age-group and more than half of them migrated during the school-going age. This shows they would have dropped out of school to migrate which could affect their education if they did not continue in the destination area.

Table 6: *Age of Migrants before Migration*

Age-group	Number	Percent
11-19	45	50. 6
20-29	24	27.0
30-39	18	20.2
Above 39	2	2.2
Total	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The findings show that the respondents migrated at a relatively young age. It was explained that the individuals had to migrate while still young in order to increase the opportunities to acquire various endowments in the south and return early enough to be able to invest in the home community.

Table 7 presents the age distribution of return migrants surveyed in the study. The females constituted 76.4 percent of the respondents, while the males constituted 23.6 percent. The majority (82.0%) of the return migrants were not above 30 years old. While 20.2 percent of the return migrants were 20 years or younger, 61.8 percent were in the 21-30 age-group. The mean age for the respondents was 26 years. The mean age for males was 29.9

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years, with that of the females being 23.7 years. The findings, thus, show that the females were younger than the males.

Table 7: *Age Distribution of Return Migrants by Sex*

Age group	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
11-20	4	19.0	14	20.6	18	20.2
21-30	6	28.6	49	72.0	55	61.8
31-40	9	42.8	4	5.9	13	14.6
41-50	0	0	1	1.5	1	1.1
51-60	1	4.8	0	0	1	1.1
61<	1	4.8	0	0	1	1.1
Total	21	100.0	68	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Educational attainment of return migrants

The results of the study indicate that 49.4 percent of the respondents had no formal education, while 21.4 percent primary education, with 20.2 percent having Middle/Junior Secondary School (JSS) education. Comparing males and females, the study found that 47.6 percent of the males and 50.0 percent of the females had no formal education. Out of the total of 21 male respondents, 14.3 percent had primary education with 28.6 percent having Middle/JSS level of education and 9.5 percent having had Senior Secondary School (SSS) or vocational training.

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Table 8: *Educational Attainments of the Return Migrants by Sex*

Level of education	Male		Female		Total	
	No	Percent	No	Percent	No	Percent
No formal	10	47.6	34	50.0	44	49.4
Primary	3	14.3	16	23.5	19	21.4
Middle/JSS	6	28.6	12	17.7	18	20.2
SSS/Voc	2	9.5	6	8.8	8	9.0
Total	21	100.0	68	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Among the female participants, 23.5 percent had primary education, 17.7 percent and 8.8 percent for Middle/JSS and SSS/Vocational respectively. While a higher percentage of the female respondents (23.5%) than males (14.3%) had lower primary education, more males (9.5%) than females (8.8 %) had Middle/JSS and SSS/Vocational education. None of the respondents had had tertiary education. These findings confirm previous studies which have found that there is gender parity at the lower levels of education. The findings in Table 10 show that more of the females had lower educational level than the males. This finding supports the assertion that as the educational level increases, there are more males dominating in school enrolment than females (Stash & Hannum, 2001; Wils, Carrol & Barrow, 2005).

Living arrangements before migration

Issues considered were number of children; status of parents and living arrangements. Considering the number of children of the respondents

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before migration it was found out that 51.7 percent had no children prior to migration, 25.8 percent had one child, 15.7 percent had two children and 6.8 percent had three children (Table 9). These findings are likely to result from the relatively young age at the time the respondents migrated.

Table 9: *Number of Children of Migrants before Migration*

No of children	Number	Percent
No child	46	51.7
1	23	25.8
2	14	15.7
3	6	6.8
Total	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The study also found that 57.4 percent of the respondents had both parents alive, 30.3 percent had one parent alive, while both parents of the remaining 12.3 percent were dead. Before the respondents migrated, 54.8 percent resided with their parents, 20.4 percent lived with their aunties or uncles, 15.3 percent lived with a husband or wife 6.5 percent lived with a sister or brother, and three percent of the respondents were living by themselves.

Reasons for Migration

The study sought to find out from the respondents the reasons for their migration. Respondents mentioned several social and economic factors as reasons for their decision to migrate. The social factors included running away from maltreatment by family, desire to be independent, to prepare for marriage, family pressure and peer influence. The social reasons which informed the migration decision of respondents were: peer influence (24.5%). This was more pronounced among the male (27.8%) than females

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(18.8%); pressure from family to migrate (19.0%). This was also more pronounce among male (20%) than female (17.4%); preparation for marriage (11.4%). This was mentioned exclusively by female; running away from family maltreatment (2.7%) and the desire to be independent (2.2%) which was largely among the male.

The study found that for both males and females, economic hardships in their home communities were the predominant reason (40.2%) for which respondents migrated. Asked to explain what they meant by economic hardships, respondents indicated that economic hardships included lack of employment opportunities other than farming, low yield from their farms, low prices for their farm produce as against high cost of essential basic goods, such as footwear, clothing, kerosene and soap.

The high percentage for economic reasons given by the respondents supports the view that migration is largely due to economic considerations. Various theories have been advanced to explain the reasons why people migrate. These are basically economic and social reasons. Todaro (1969) used the expected income, and Greenwood (1997) his theory of differentials to posit that people are likely to move their labour to areas of higher income levels than their original place of residence. Chen, Chiang and Leung (2003) also explain that people will rationally move to areas that promise higher opportunities of income and wellbeing. Kunfaa (1999) on the other hand, sees the search for employment, which is not available in the place of origin but perceived to be available in the destination area as the main reason for migration.

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Table 10 presents the various reasons given by respondents for migration.

Table 10: *Reasons for Migration by Sex*

Reasons	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Economic hardship	54	47.0	20	29.0	74	40.2
Ran away from family's maltreatment	2	1.7	3	4.3	5	2.7
To be independent	4	3.5	0	0	4	2.2
Prepare for marriage			21	30.4	21	11.4
Pressure from family to migrate	23	20.0	12	17.4	35	19
Peer influence	32	27.8	13	18.8	45	24.5
Total	115	100	69	100	184	100

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Two of the male respondents, who were teenagers at the time of migration, were asked the reason why they migrated they gave reasons which were clear evidence of peer pressure when they said variously among other things:

> I had to go to Kumasi when I was 15 years old because my parents died and I had nobody to take care of me. My aunt who promised to take care of me also failed to do so, and I had to

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> stop school. My friend who migrated to Kumasi came and took me along.

The other one said:

> Most boys in my community had bicycles, but I did not. So when I was going to school, sometimes I had to spend either over one hour walking to school or had to sit on my friend's bicycle. It was my dream, therefore, to own a bicycle so that I can also use it for school. I had to run away from school one afternoon with my uncle's son to Accra in order to work to purchase a bicycle.

Choice of Destination

When asked about their choice of destination, 51.6 percent said they migrated to Accra, while 33.7 percent migrated to Kumasi (Table 11). These two destinations attracted a total of 85.3 percent of the respondents. It is noteworthy that these two destinations are the most populous cities and also most commercialized in Ghana. The two cities, therefore, provided better opportunities to meet the migration intentions of the respondents. Even though Accra was, incidentally, the longest destination from the region, it attracted the highest percentage of the return migrants.

Again, though the distance to Kumasi was longer than most of the other destinations, it attracted 33.7 percent of the return migrants as their destination area. This finding supports the view that distance is not the main consideration in the choice of migration destination area but perceived economic opportunities (Adu-Okoree, 2012). On the other hand, while

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Kumasi was the predominant destination for the male (42.9%), Accra was the predominant destination for the female (64.7%).

Table 11: *Destination Area of Migrants by Sex*

	Male		Female		Total	
Destination	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Kumasi	9	42.9	21	30.9	30	33.7
Accra	2	9.5	44	64.7	46	51.6
Ashiaman	2	9.5	0	0	2	2.3
Bechem	1	4.8	0	0	1	1.1
Techiman	1	4.8	1	1.5	2	2.3
Obuasi	1	4.8	0	0	1	1.1
Tepa	1	4.8	0	0	1	1.1
Kintampo	1	4.8	0	0	1	1.1
Sunyani	0	0	2	2.9	2	2.3
Apesika	1	4.8	0	0	1	1.1
Ejura	2	9.5	0	0	2	2.3
Total	21	100.0	68	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

When a female respondent was asked why she had to migrate to a particular destination area, she said:

> I migrated to Kumasi because I knew that most of the kayayei could speak my local dialect, which is Dagbani. Apart from my local dialect, I can't speak any of the Ghanaian languages and/or English. So, if I didn't reside with them, how can I communicate? Who will introduce

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> me to the job? Who will help me to settle? So, you can see why it was important to stay with members of my tribe.

Reasons for staying among tribe members were not very different from those given by those who migrated to reside with their relatives. This is what one had to say:

> I am not sure what would have happened to me if my sister had not been in Accra. To get an accommodation in the city centre where our job was concentrated was not only difficult, but expensive. Even though we were many in the 'kiosk', it was better than sleeping in a more comfortable place which was far from the city centre. I must, therefore, say that, before one migrates to southern Ghana, there is a need to have a relative there!

Life in the Destination Area

This section discusses the life of the return migrants while they lived in the destination area. It covers: the length of stay; sleeping arrangements; economic activities engaged in; regularity of income; levels of income; use of income; capacity to meet basic needs; remittances sent home; challenges faced; and the coping strategies adopted at the destination area

Length of stay in destination area

The return migrants were asked to indicate the length of stay in the destination area. The results in Table 12 show that most of the respondents spent less than four years at their destinations ((61.8%), 18.0 percent of the respondents spent between 4 and 6 years, 7.9 percent spent between 7and 9

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years, while 12.3 percent spent more than 9 years in the destination area. The pattern was similar between the sexes among those who spent between 7 and 9 and those who stayed longer than 9 years. Thus, there were no differences among the gender when it comes to the length of stay in migration. The findings support the view that most north-south migration in Ghana is seasonal (Nabila, 1986; Cleveland, 1991; Abdulai, 1999).

Table 12: *Number of Years Spent at the Destination Area by Sex*

	Male		Female		Total	
Years	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1-3	9	42.9	46	67.6	55	61.8
4-6	8	38.1	8	11.8	16	18.0
7-9	2	9.5	5	7.4	7	7.9
Above 9	2	9.5	9	13.2	11	12.3
Total	21	100.0	68	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Sleeping arrangements in the destination area

The study found that 64.0 percent of the respondents slept in open space, usually on the corridors of privately owned shops. They were largely made up of the kayayei, who plied their trade on the street and in the markets. The study also found that 13.5 percent slept in rented kiosks, while 11.2 percent lived in compound houses, 9.0 percent stayed with their employers and 2.3 percent lived in hostels (Table 13). While the greater number of males lived in rented compound houses (38.1%), majority of the female (75.0%) slept in places.

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Table 13: *Sleeping Places of Migrants in the Destination Area by Sex*

	Male		Female		Total	
Sleeping place	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Rented compound house	8	38.1	2	2.9	10	11.2
Stayed with the employer	5	23.8	3	4.4	8	9
Open space	6	28.6	51	75.0	57	64
Rented-kiosk	2	9.5	10	14.7	12	13.5
Rented hostel	0	0	2	2.9	2	2.3
Total	21	100.0	68	100.0	89	100

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The female migrants who slept in open places indicated that they were unable to afford the high cost of rent, considering their level of income and the fact that they had to make some savings to be able to remit home. To protect themselves from possible attackers while sleeping, those who slept in open places slept in groups, and wore skin-tight clothes as a measure of security. These measures were taken to ward off the regular attacks from rapists who attempted to sexually harass them.

. The migrants, who slept in either rented kiosks or rooms in compound houses, usually slept in groups of not less than five. The number of occupants in a room determined how much each occupant paid as rent; therefore, the higher the number of occupants in a room, the lower the rent per head. This explained why many people were admitted into one room as long as there was room to stretch one's legs. One male migrant stated:

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> All we needed was to just get a sleep. We were not concerned with comfort, as we were "on a battle field" where one does not need comfort. As long as you can get a place to lay your head and wake up the next morning, that was alright with me. You see, when we are many, we paid less rent, and this made it possible for us to save money for ourselves and remit home. We also felt more secured sleeping together in one room. It was difficult for anybody to attack us when we were sleeping together.

Another male migrant corroborated the above assertion by saying:

> We closed late from work, so the room was meant for only sleeping. We were at the battlefield which meant, we were not there to be comfortable. More so, renting a room was very expensive. So, six of us put our resources together to rent the single room. Despite the inconveniences, including less privacy, we had no choice. I would not have been able to save money if we were less than six to occupy the room.

A female migrant said:

> My sister was staying alone, but when I migrated to Kumasi, she brought me to stay with her. Other relatives, including a niece and a cousin, joined us later. When one of the girls from my hometown, who used to sleep at an open space joined us after she was raped, the occupancy

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rate increased from four to five. My sister helped me a lot, and as I speak, more migrants are staying with her.

Asked about how they felt now that they were at home, all the respondents responded that, at home, they had a place to lay their heads and felt secured. In comparison with their accommodation in their destination areas, all the respondents, except those who stayed with their employers, agreed that they were more comfortably accommodated at home. Those who stayed with their employers reported that they had better beddings in the home of their employers than in the home communities.

Comparison of Economic Activities engaged in before Migration and at Destination Area

To assess the validity of the economic reasons for migration assertion, the study examined the economic activities the return migrants engaged in prior to migration and those engaged in at the destination area. The respondents were asked to indicate only the main economic activity engaged in, prior to migration and at their destinations.

Prior to migration, a total of 50.6 percent said they were not engaged in economic activities. This meant that they were not earning any income. The sex distribution showed that 64.7 percent of female migrants indicated that they were not engaged in any economic activity as against 4.8 percent of male migrants. The main reasons cited for their inactivity were the fact that they did not have the needed capital and the opportunity to be trained as mechanics, electricians and dressmakers. Table 14 presents the distribution of economic activities engaged in by return migrants prior to migration.

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Table 14: *Types of Economic Activities Engaged in by Return Migrants before Migration by Sex*

	Male		Female		Total	
Activity	No	Percent	No	Percent	No	Percent
Dressmaking	0	20	2	2.9	2	2.2
Shoemaking	2	9.5	0	0	2	2.2
Fitting	1	4.8	0	0	1	1.1
Head portage	0	0	4	5.9	4	4.5
Electrical repairing	1	4.8	0	0	1	1.1
Farming only	11	52.3	5	7.4	16	18.0
Petty trading	5	23.8	13	19.1	18	20.3
No employment	1	4.8	44	64.7	45	50.6
Total	21	100.0	68	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The different economic activities the migrants engaged in included: petty trading (20.3%); farming (18.0%); head portage (4.5%); dressmaking (2.3%); shoemaking (2.3%), fitting (1.1%) and repairing of electrical gadgets (1.1%). Females engaged in dressmaking and head portage while males did shoemaking.

Farming (52.3%) was the main economic activity engaged in by the male return migrants. This was followed by petty trading (23.8%). On the other hand, petty trading was the leading economic activity engaged in by female return migrants (19.1%), followed by farming (7.4%).

Most of the economic activities in which the respondents were engaged prior to migration can be classified as low-earning activities.

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Though they were not able to accurately give the amount earned, the respondents suggested that none of them earned more than an average of GHC2 a day. In other words, they were, more or less, living at the subsistence level and, therefore, had a high propensity to migrate. This supports the argument by the Lewis model which posits that "disguised unemployment" will release unengaged labour to the urban area. Both models propose that labour return will be higher in the urban sector than in the rural sector.

The destination areas provided broader employment opportunities for the migrants. Table 15 shows the distribution of the various economic activities the respondents engaged in at the destination areas. Indeed, 95.5 percent of the migrants were engaged in different economic activities. The results in Table 17 show that carrying of load for fee, either as kayayei or truck pusher, was the dominant economic activity engaged in by the respondents in the destination area. The analysis shows that 47.2 percent of the respondents were engaged in this activity. The results also show that 7.9 percent worked on their own farms, with another 7.9 percent working as chop bar helpers. Other respondents were engaged in the selling of fula (6.7%); selling of pure water (5.6%); selling of cooked food (5.6%); and employed as farm labourer (2.2%)

There was gender division of labour as shown in the distribution of economic activities, except for the carrying of loads and truck pushing which dominated the economic activities of both males and females While 52.9 percent of the females engaged in carrying of load, 28.6 percent of the males engaged in truck pushing as the major activity. The high patronage in these

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activities was explained by the fact that these activities required very minimal capital.

Table 15*: Economic Activities Engaged in by Return Migrants at Destination Area by Sex*

	Male		Female		Total	
Activity	No	Percent	No	Percent	No	Percent
Kayayei/ truck pushing	6	28.6	36	52.9	42	47.2
Selling of pure water	0	0	5	7.4	5	5.6
Farm labourer	2	9.5	0	0	2	2.2
Working on own farm	3	14.3	0	0	7	7.9
Chop bar helper	2	9.5	9	13.2	7	7.9
Herdsman	2	9.5	0	0	2	2.2
Garden boy	3	14.3	0	0	3	3.4
Shop attendant	1	4.8	3	4.4	4	4.5
Selling of cooked food	0	0	5	7.4	5	5.6
Selling of fula	0	0	6	8.8	6	6.8
Security guard	2	9.5	0	0	2	2.2
No economic activity	0	0	4	5.9	4	4.5
Total	21	100.0	68	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

For kayayei, all that was needed was a head pan which could be acquired through a hire-purchase arrangement or rented on daily basis. Push trucks were rented on daily basis and usually paid for at the end of the day's work. These activities also ensured a regular daily income. According to the respondents, new arrivals to the trade could get one for use if they agreed to

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enter into a proceeds-sharing arrangement with their leaders. These leaders were those who had been in the business for some time themselves or who had the resources to finance others with whom they shared the day's proceeds in an agreed ratio. Those in such arrangements got some form of relief as new comers, as it allowed them to enter the business while they gained experience and accumulated capital to be on their own.

The results in Table 15 further show that 13.2 percent of females were engaged as chop bar helpers in the washing of bowls and general cleaning of the premises; 8.8 percent sold Fula; 7.4 percent sold cooked food and another 7.4 percent sold pure water. For the males, 14.3 percent worked on their own farms; 14.3 percent of males worked as garden boys; 9.5 percent worked as chop bar helpers, pounding the fufu, 9.5 percent worked as farm labourers; and another 9.5 percent as security guards. It can be observed that the activities of the male respondents were mainly labour intensive, while those of females were largely of service and extension of their household reproductive roles. These findings showed that there was a sexual division of labour as found by earlier studies (Bianchi, et al. 2000; Coltrane, 2000; Baunach, 2002).

As shown in Table 15, 4.5 percent of the return migrants said they were not engaged in any economic activity in the destination area. Those who were not engaged in any economic activity gave various reasons. For example, one female return migrant said:

> I did not know that I was pregnant before going to Kumasi. A few days after my arrival, I was seriously sick and was taken to the hospital by my friends. I was

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told that I was carrying a 3-month old baby. I was advised by the medical officer not to carry any heavy load which prevented me from working as a kayayo. My friends too didn't allow me to go back, till I gave birth.

Plate 1: Kayayei in their normal daily activities in the Agbobloshie market in Accra

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Another female return migrant said;

My auntie took me to Accra and asked me to take care of her children and to stay with her with the promise that, after sometime, she will help me learn a trade. I stayed with her for three years, yet she did not put me into any trade. After the three years, she sent me home with an amount of GHC200 to learn a trade in the village. Unfortunately, when I returned, I could not, because my parents took the money from me.

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The study sought to find out if there were any differences in the economic activities in the destination against their economic those at their home communities prior to migrating. Table 16 compares the economic activities engaged in by the respondents prior to migration with the activities they engaged in at the destination area.

Table 16: *Comparison of Economic Activities Engaged in Prior to Migration and at the Destination Area*

	Home community		Destination	
Activity	No	Percent	No	Percent
Kayayo/ truck pusher	4	4.5	42	47.2
Petty trading	18	20.2	16	18.0
Wage labour	0	0.0	20	22.5
Working on own farm	16	18.0	7	7.8
Artisan	6	6.7	0	0
No employment	45	50.6	4	4.5
Total	89	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The results show that the economic activities the migrants engaged in at the destination area provided quicker returns than those they engaged in at their home communities prior to migration. For example, while 18.0 percent of the migrants were engaged in farming prior to migration, only 7.8 percent did so in the destination area. Considering the fact that farming is a seasonal activity and has a high risk in terms of return on investment, it can be concluded that fewer respondents were subjected to the risk and delay in returns in the form of income.

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An economic activity, which brought in instant income, was the pushing of trucks or the carrying of loads. While, 4.5 percent were engaged in it prior to migration, 47.2 percent were engaged in it in their destination. Again, while in their home communities prior to migration none of the respondents was engaged in wage labour which provided assured income, 22.5 percent were engaged in wage labour in the destination. Again, 50.6 percent of the return migrants reported of not having any employment prior to migration, while only 4.5 percent were unemployed in the destination area. These findings support the view that migration destinations provide better economic opportunities than sending communities (Johnson 1974; Greenwood, 1975; Daveri & Faini, 1999; Chen, Chiang & Leung, 2003; Arzaghi & Rupasingha, 2011).

Regularity of Income Earned

This section compares the regularity of income earned in home communities prior to migration and what prevailed in the destination. The results in Table 17 show that, while the majority (65.2%) of the return migrants earned income daily at the destination, only 24.7 percent earned income on a daily basis prior to migration. Also, prior to migration, 50.6 percent of respondents did not have any source of regular income as compared to only 4.5 percent who faced that situation at the destination. Cumulatively, 87.6 percent had a regular source of income, ranging between daily, weekly, bi-weekly and monthly in the destination area as against 31.4 percent who had a regular source of income prior to migration.

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Table 17: *Regularity of Income Earned*

	Home community		Destination	
Activity	No	Percent	No	Percent
Daily	22	24.7	58	65.2
Weekly	6	6.7	9	10.1
Bi-weekly	0	0	2	2.2
Monthly	0	0	9	10.1
Seasonally	16	18.0	7	7.9
Undetermined	45	50.6	4	4.5
Total	89	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The findings of the study indicate that migrants had better income-earning opportunities in the destination area than in the home community. They support Greenwood's (1997) assertion that the economic motive plays a major role in migration intentions. Greenwood suggests that migration intentions are based on a consideration of the difference between income levels in the home country and that of the destination area. Thus, migrants were likely to migrate to destination areas which would maximize their opportunity in employment and income (Greenwood, 1975; 1985; Collier & Lal, 1984; Stark & Taylor, 1991; Daveri & Faini, 1999; Chen, Chiang & Leung, 2003; Arzaghi & Rupasingha, 2011).

Levels of income

To determine the daily income levels, the amounts earned weekly, bi-weekly, monthly and seasonally were divided by the number of days in each category. The results in Figure 6 show that 76.4 percent of the

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respondents earned an average daily income of between GH₵5 and GH₵10 in the destination area, while only 24.7 percent earned the same level of income in the home communities prior to migration.

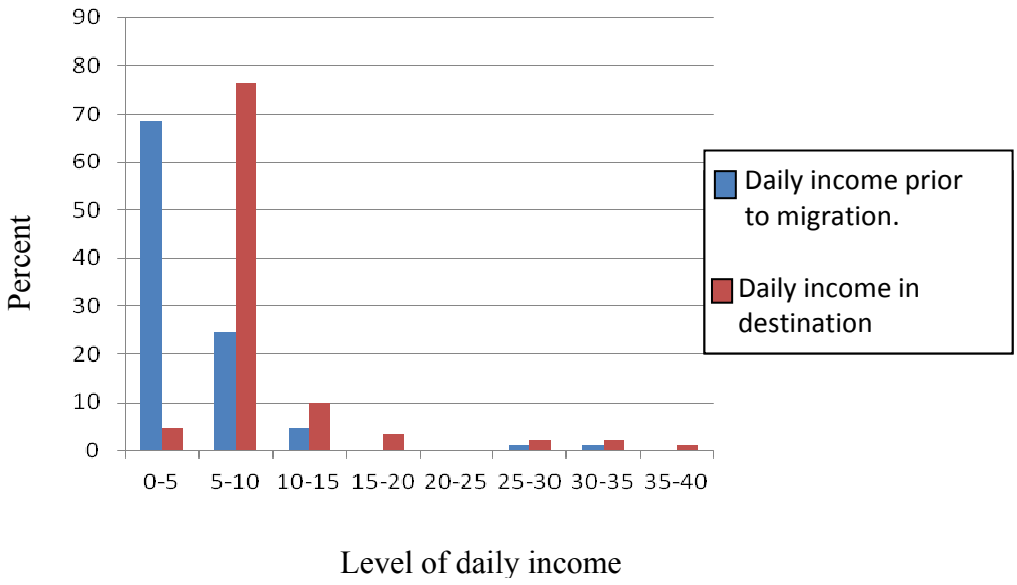

Figure 7: Comparison of average daily income prior to migration and in destination area
Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

On the other hand, while 68.4 percent of the return migrants earned an income below GH₵5 a day prior to migration, only 4.5 percent earned an income below GH₵5 a day in the destination area. These were the respondents who either had no employment in home communities prior to migration or in the destination area. The mean average daily income prior to migration was GH₵4.8, while that in the destination area was GH₵9.5

The results of the t-test showed that there was a significant difference between the daily average income prior to migration and that at the destination area ($t= 77.7$, $P\leq .000$, two-tailed). Thus, the differences in the income levels did not occur by chance but by reason of availability of the income-earning opportunities in the destination area as compared with those

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in the home communities. It can be concluded from Table 19 and Figure 6 that there was a significant improvement in income earned in the destination area over what was earned prior to migration.

Use of Income in Destination Area

The study sought to ascertain how the migrants spent their income based on the items they spent their money on. The findings in Table 18 show that food was the main expenditure item (21.9%) for the migrants. This showed that migrants spent on the most basic need of life. Those who did not spend on food happened to be those who were either working as chop bar helpers or staying with their employers as house-helps. The second most important expenditure was savings (18.8%), which was an indication of the migration intentions of accumulating capital for future investment.

Remittances sent to various kins at home (15.5%), payment for use of the bathhouse (13.2%) and toilet (13.2%) in the destination area were the other major and regular expenditure items made by the migrants. Those who did not pay for the use of toilets and bathhouses were those who stayed in either the homes of relatives or employers. The payment of rent for accommodation (8.3%) was another area of expenditure for some of the respondents. Other items migrants spent on included: clothing (5.5%), bowls (2.2%) and home appliances (1.1%), with books (0.3%) as the least item in the expenditure of the respondents.

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Table 18: *Items on which Migrants Spent in the Destination Area*

Item	Number	Percent
Food	79	21.9
Accommodation	30	8.3
Toilet	48	13.2
Home appliances	4	1.1
Clothing	20	5.5
Bathhouse	48	13.2
Remittance to kins at home	56	15.5
Bowls	8	2.2
Cash Savings	68	18.8
Books	1	0.3
Total	362*	100.0

*More than the number of respondents because of multiple responses.

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Capacity to meet basic needs at home and in destination area

More than half (50.6%) of the respondents were dependent on others for their livelihoods prior to migration. Even though 24.7 percent earned income between GH₵6-10 a day, only 5.6 percent spent that much amount daily on basic needs prior to migration. The bulk (93.3%) of the respondents spent between GH₵1-5 a day, and this included those who were not earning any income (Table 19). The average daily expenditure was calculated by converting the food items into fiscal values at prevailing open market prices, after estimating the per capita food requirements of members of each household. This conversion was necessary, as most of the households

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acquired their food items from their own farms or from other family members or kin. The only exception was for those who were living in urban communities who were able to quote the amount spent in cash.

Table 19: *Capacity of Migrants to Meet Basic Needs Prior to Migration*

Daily income by levels	Income		Expenditure	
(Gh. Cedis)	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No income	45	50.6		
1-5	16	18	83	93.3
6-10	22	24.7	5	5.6
11-15	4	4.5	1	1.1
16-20	0	0	0	0
21-25	0	0	0	0
26-30	1	1.1	0	0
31-35	1	1.1	0	0
36-40	0	0	0	0
Total	89	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The capacity to meet basic needs was determined by comparing expenditure with income. The mean income was GH₵3.8, while the mean expenditure was GH₵3.4. This meant that respondents were barely able to meet their basic needs prior to migration.

Comparing their income with their daily expenditure to determine their capacity to meet their daily basic needs in the destination area, the study found out that, while only 4.5 percent earned between GH₵1 and GH₵5, 88.8 percent spent between GH₵1 and GH₵5 a day. On the other hand,

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while 76.4 percent earned between GH₵6 and GH₵10 a day, only 5.6 percent spent that much a day. The mean daily income was GH₵10.0, while the mean daily expenditure was GH₵4.0. This means that they had the capacity to meet their basic daily needs in the destination area.

Table 20: *Capacity of Migrants to Meet Basic Needs in Destination Area*

Daily income by levels	Income		Expenditure	
(in Gh. cedis)	No	Percent	No	Percent
1-5	4	4.5	79	88.8
6-10	68	76.4	5	5.6
11-15	9	10.2	3	3.4
16-20	3	3.4	1	1.1
21-25	0	0	0	0
26-30	2	2.2	1	1.1
31-35	2	2.2	0	0
36-40	1	1.1	0	0
Total	89	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Comparing the differences in the mean income and expenditure before migration (GH₵0.4) with the difference in the mean income and expenditure in the destination area (GH₵5.9), it can conveniently be concluded that the respondents were able to meet their basic needs in the destination area and had enough to save for other purposes. When the respondents were asked whether the income earned in the destination area enabled them to meet their basic needs better than at home prior to

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migration, all the respondents who earned income at the destination area answered in the affirmative.

Remittances flow from Migrants to Home of Origin

The study sough to ascertain the flow of remittances sent by return migrants from the destination areas. Table 21 is a presentation of the main types of remittances sent home by migrants by sex. The findings show that 57.1 percent of male respondents sent home cash while 33.3 percent sent home farm implements. On the other hand 43.8% of the female respondents sent home clothing while 22.5 percent sent home cash. The cash was sent variously to support the kins left at home to meet not onle immediate needs but also as investment in productive activities from which the migrants hoped to benefit on their return.

It was found in the qualitative data that more of the male sent home remittances to support productive activities of their kins left home while the female sent cash home to support both the immediate needs and productive activities of their kins in caring for the households

When asked why they sent remittances home one male respondent stated that;

> I had to send money to my father at the beginning of the farming season and if I am able I buy him hoe and boots. Once I sent him fertilizer when I was attending a funeral of a late cousin. My father is a farmer and plants yams and sorghum which feeds the household. He sells some of the yams if he gets plenty but he does not sell the sorghum so he is always asking you to send him money to buy farm

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implements. When he ask, I have to send it to him because I am going to inherit his farms as the first son when he is no more.

Table 21: *Types of Remittances sent Home by Sex*

Type of Remittances	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Cash	12	57.1	8	11.1	20	22.5
Farm implements	7	33.3	4	5.6	11	12.4
Provisions	1	4.8	22	30.6	8	9.0
Clothing	1	4.8	38	52.8	39	43.8
Total	21	100.0	72	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

On the hand, one female return migrant had this to say:

> I left behind my mother who is very old and therefore cannot farm. I had to send her money so that she can buy food and medicine for herself and my children left with her. You see I don't have any male sibling who can farm to feed her and the sisters are all married and are living in different villages. My mother is there alone with my children and some of a late sister. I have no choice but to support her even though two of my sisters once a while send her yams, but this is not regular so I have to do so.

It could be deduced from the findings that the male were concerned about productive activities of the parents while the female were more

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concerned about the immediate needs of the family. These findings support the assertion that migrants sent home remittances because of their concern of the welfare of their families (Solimano, 2003; Rapoport & Docquier, 2005). However, these were used on recurrent expenditure and therefore the migrants have to continue to send remittances home as long as they remain in migration

Regularity of remittance

On the regularity of sending remittances to kin, the study found that remittances were sent at different intervals. From Figure 8, it can be observed that, while 26.8 percent sent remittances on a monthly basis, 25.0 percent did so occasionally. It can also be seen that 19.6 percent sent remittances annually, while 14.3 percent did so quarterly, with 8.9 percent doing so half-yearly and 5.4 percent sending remittances at no defined intervals but as and when it became necessary.

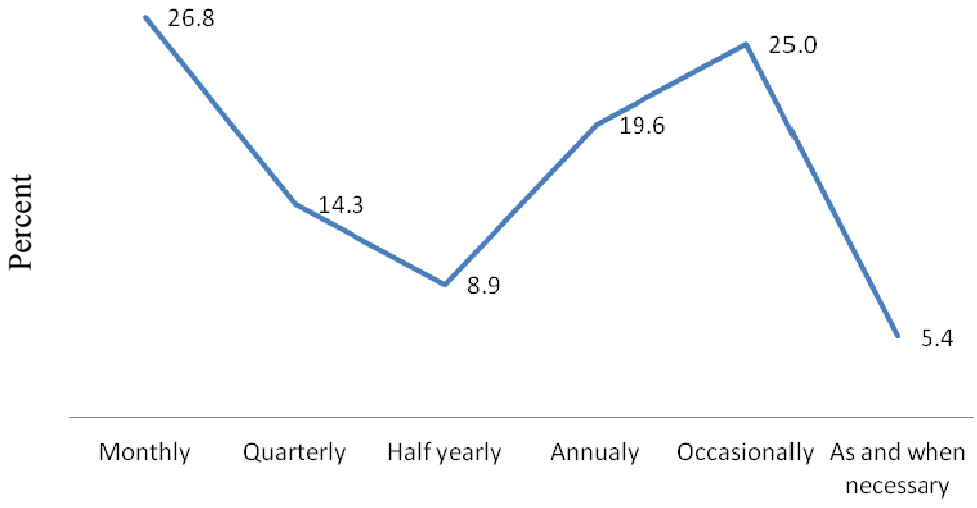

Figure 8: Regularity of sending remittances by migrants

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

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The study revealed that sending remittances to kin left behind was a regular practice among migrants.

Beneficiaries of Remittances sent by Migrants from Destination Area

The study tried to find out the beneficiaries of the remittances sent by the migrants from the destination area. The study found that different members of the social networks of the return migrants benefited variously from remittances sent by the migrants from the destination area. As shown in Table 22, mothers (27.2%) were found to be the highest recipients of remittances sent by migrants, followed by fathers (22.3%), sisters (18.5%) and aunties (7.8%).

The respondents who sent money to relatives and friends said the money was essential for the survival of those the money was remitted to. They also said they remitted, not because the money they earned was too much, but that they were compelled to do so because of the poor economic conditions in which they left their kin.

Table 22*: Beneficiaries of Remittances from Migrants*

Beneficiary	Number	Percent
Mothers	28	27.2
Fathers	23	22.3
Both parents	7	6.8
Sisters	19	18.5
Brothers	7	6.8
Cousins	1	1.0
Grand parents	2	1.9
Aunties	8	7.8
Uncle	2	1.9
Children	1	1.0
Friends	5	4.8
Total	103*	100.0

*More than the number of respondents because of multiple responses

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

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For example, a respondent said:

> I had to send money to my parents biweekly when I was at Techiman. This was because before I left, my mother was sick. So, I had to send money for her to be sent to the hospital. She was admitted for three months and, since she did not have health insurance, I had to foot all the bills. In addition, since she was on a special diet, money was sent regularly. I have not regretted because my mother is healed and she has been assisting me in many ways since I returned.

A male respondent said:

> I did not earn much when I was in Kumasi. But I had to take care of my younger sibling in the senior high school. I had to buy him a bicycle to be riding to school as the school is about three kilometres away from the house. In addition, I had to send him money to purchase meals and study materials. My brother is now in a teacher training college and I know that he will assist me financially when he is done, and starts working.

Out of the 56 household leaders who received cash from their migrant relatives when the latter were at their destination areas, 82.1 percent said that the money was essential for their survival. One of them said:

> When my son was about to leave me for southern Ghana, I was not happy because I was told that there were no job opportunities. I was surprised that within two months he

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> sent money for me to purchase a telephone and engage in economic activities. I bought millet to prepare pito for sale. I am now financially independent. I don't have to ask my husband money to purchase clothes. I am very grateful to my son. See my phone, I can now talk to all my relatives outside home, and my friends now respect me so much because most of my age mates do not have telephones. Migration is rewarding!

A community leader said that the migrants in his community sent money home to help re-roof the chief's palace when it was blown off during a rainstorm. He actually stated as follows:

> We could never have rebuilt the palace if they had not responded to our call and sent us the money promptly.

These findings confirm those of various other authors who have identified migrant remittances to home communities as being very crucial for the family members left behind (Quartey, 2006). It is from the savings made by the migrants that they were able to remit home to either their immediate family members or the larger community. This is what makes migration a family insurance as asserted by Lucas & Stark (1985); Shaw (1988); and Oberai (1989).

Migrant remittances can be said to be a safety net for many families. The money sent was used to meet immediate family needs which ensured the welfare of the families involved. This confirms the findings of Solimano (2003) and Rapoport and Docquier (2005) that remittances to families were to meet the welfare needs of family members left behind at home. In another

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study, Anarfi et al (2000) had found that remittances helped to reduce the economic constraints that might be facing family members and the community at large. This assertion is confirmed by this study with the report of one community leader who said that, but for the timely remittances sent by migrants from the community, they would not have been able to roof the chief's palace which was stripped off in a rainstorm.

Furthermore, this study has found that the remittances were also used to support education of their siblings as was reported by one respondent who had supported the brother through education and is now in a College of Education. The hope of the respondent was that the brother would eventually become successful and take care of him too in the future. This reinforces the mutual support system embedded in social networks of Africans (Mbiti, 1990; Nyasani, 1997 and Lin, 2001). Other studies suggest that strong norms of reciprocity lead people to trust and help one another, and encourage people to engage in mutually beneficial efforts rather than seeking only to gain individual advantage at the possible expense of others (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000; Arku, et al, 2008).

The support given by migrants to their relatives is a reflection of the "Africanness" which Nyasani (1997) call "ubuntu", which refers to hospitality, friendliness, the consensus and common framework-seeking principle. According to Nyasani (1997), it is a natural disposition for mutual sympathy and acceptance.

This is corroborated by a respondent's claim that he did not earn much when he was in Kumasi but he had to take care of his younger brother and buy him a bicycle to travel the three kilometre distance to school and

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hope that the younger brother would eventually reciprocate the sacrifice and take care of him too in future. It is for the same reason that a return migrant reported that she had to bear the full medical bill of the mother who was hospitalized for three months. Her joy was that the mother had recovered and was assisting her in many ways since she returned home.

The findings of the study also support the assertion that migration is largely induced and sustained by economic needs. The migrants were able to remit to both the family members and community largely because their economic status had improved. They were earning more than their daily expenses, and therefore, were able to save some money regularly, which was not possible before migration.

It can be inferred from the study that the low or poor economic conditions in the sending communities and the lack of income- earning opportunities are some reasons for which some people migrate. When they have had the opportunity to earn income, these people make sure that they save some of their earnings to support other members of their families and households in order to relieve them of the hardships back home. This is in line with the altruistic motive which implies that remittances are sent out of love and concern towards the welfare of the family left at home.

Challenges Faced by Return Migrants at the Destination Area

The study ascertained from the return migrants the various challenges they faced while in the destination area. The results in Table 23 show that the challenges faced by the respondents included: sexual harassment (18.5%); robbery (18.5%); bad weather (13.7%); abuse by employer (13.0%); assault (12.1%); lack of social support (6.5%); lack of employment (2.4%) and

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working without pay (1.6%). On the other hand, 13.7% reported that they did not face any challenges in the destination area. For the male bad weather (19.4%); abuse by employer (16.7%); and assault (16.7%) were the main challenges they faced. On the other hand the females were faced with sexual harassment (26.1%); robbery (23.9%); abuse by employer (11.4%) and bad weather (11.4%) as the main challenges.

Table 23: *Challenges Faced by Migrants in the Destination Area by Sex*

	Male		Female		Total	
Challenge	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	10	27.8	7	8.0	17	13.7
Robbery	2	5.6	21	23.9	23	18.5
Sexual Harassment	0	0.0	23	26.1	23	18.5
Abuse by employer	6	16.7	10	11.4	16	13
Assault	6	16.7	9	10.2	15	12.1
Lack of employment	2	5.6	1	1.1	3	2.4
Working without pay	0	0.0	2	2.3	2	1.6
Bad weather	7	19.4	10	11.4	17	13.7
Lack of social support	3	8.3	5	5.7	8	6.5
Total	36	100.0	88	100.0	124*	100

*The total is more than the number of respondents because of multiple responses

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

When a respondent was asked to elaborate why he thought there was no social support, he indicated:

> I was sick and admitted in the hospital, but nobody visited me. It is different when I was in my hometown.

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> For example, two weeks ago, I had malaria and was not even admitted. However, more than 10 friends and relatives visited me and, within a few days, I was okay. The visits were more than medicine!

A female respondent who had been abused by an employer elaborated that her madam suggested to her that she would keep her daily wage for her and give her a token if she needed anything so that she could accumulate some savings and not waste the pay. Since she felt it was a good idea that would help her save enough to buy the things she would need for her marriage back home, she agreed to it. After three months of working with the madam, she asked her for some of the money to be sent to her mother who was sick at home. The madam told her the money was in the bank so she should wait. After several days of delay, the girl demanded that the madam should give her the money. However, the madam got angry and shouted at her that she had no money for her, so she could take her to court. Eventually, the madam paid her just the equivalent of one month's pay and sacked her because she had disgraced her in the presence of her customers. She had to leave to join her friends who were kayayei.

Another male migrant similarly reported that he was abused by his employers who refused to pay him or refund wages that had kept as savings for him. After he picked a quarrel with him, he was reported to the police so he had to ran away to escape arrest and eventually lost all his savings with the employer for just demanding an amount from it to buy things he needed for her parents back home.

A rape victim had this to say:

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> You see, when we went to Kumasi, we were told that people, usually those boys who also have come to Kumasi and are staying on the streets, sometimes, come to attack the girls when they are sleeping, so we should be careful. Even though we knew this, we had nowhere to sleep, as we could not afford to rent a room. I was attacked on two occasions. The first time, I shouted and the other girls, sleeping nearby, pounced on him and he ran away. The second time, I was lured to a shelter which was occupied by some boys when it was raining. By the time I realised that they had bad intentions, one of the boys was on me. Even though I shouted, the other guys did not help me. So, he succeeded in raping me. It was a very painful experience and it made me decide to come home.

Coping Strategies of Migrants in the Destination Area

The study explored how the return migrants managed to cope with the various challenges they faced in the destination area. The migrants adopted many strategies to cope with specific challenges they faced at their destination areas. The results in Table 24 show the various strategies adopted by the migrants to cope with the challenges they faced in the destination area. The most important strategy adopted by the return migrants to cope with the challenges they faced in the destination area was enduring the hardship till they returned (29.8%). This was followed by the wearing of tight trousers while sleeping (15.3%) and sleeping together in groups

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(14.5%). Other strategies adopted by the respondents were: changing of employment (11.3%); moving to another location (8.9%); wearing of protective clothing against mosquitoes (8.9%); consulting trusted seniors for suggestions (5.7%); insisting on payment of wages (3.2%); keeping money with seniors (1.6%) and contributing to Susu (0.8%). For the male the second and third most important coping strategy were changing of employment (12.0%) and moving to another location (10.0%). On the other hand sleeping in tight trousers (25.7%) and sleeping together in groups (21.6%) were the second and most important coping strategy.

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Table 24*: Coping Strategies Adopted by Migrants in the Destination Area by Sex*

Challenge	Male Num	Percent	Female Num	Percent	Total Num	Percent
Moved to another location	5	10.0	6	8.1	11	8.9
Wore tight trousers when sleeping	0	0.0	19	25.7	19	15.3
Slept together in groups	2	4.0	16	21.6	18	14.5
Kept money with seniors	0	0.0	2	2.7	2	1.6
Contributed to susu scheme	0	0.0	1	1.4	1	0.8
Consulted trusted senior for advise	4	8.0	3	4.1	7	5.7
Changed employment	6	12.0	8	10.8	14	11.3
Demanded payment	3	6.0	1	1.4	4	3.2
Wore protective against cloth	4	8.0	7	9.5	11	8.9
Endured till I left	26	52.0	11	14.9	37	29.8
Total	50*	100.0	74*	100.0	124*	100

/*Total is more than the number of respondents because of multiple responses

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

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These findings show that migrants adopted different strategies to cope with the challenges facing them. They built alliances among themselves to defend each other in times of difficulties. Those who endured the challenges hoped that they would be able to achieve their migration intentions and go back home. The male somehow were elusive by avoiding situations that could lead them into trouble or conflict.

Summary

The results of the study have shown that migrants migrated at a relatively early age, usually within the productive working age-group of 15 - 32 years, when their productivity was at its highest. The results have shown that the duration of stay in the area of destination indicated that most of the migrants had temporary migration intentions and, therefore, stayed for between one and three years.

The results of the study support the assertion that migration is largely induced and sustained by economic needs. A comparison of their economic capacities at home before migration with conditions in the destination area showed that most of the migrants were able to remit to both family members and the community largely because their economic status had improved. They earned more than their daily expenses and, therefore, were able to save some money regularly, which was not possible before migration.

It can also be inferred from the results of the study that the low or poor economic conditions in the sending communities and the lack of income-earning opportunities were some of the reasons why the respondents migrated. When they had the opportunity to earn income, they made sure that they saved some of their earnings to support other members of their families

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and households in order to relieve them of the hardships back home. This is in line with the altruistic motive, which implies that remittances are sent out of love and concern towards the welfare of the family left at home (Duryea, Órdove & Olmedo, 2005)

The social conditions at home were found to be better than those in the destination area. Migrants were faced with several social problems, ranging from inadequate accommodation, abuse by employers, rape, robbery and isolation in the destination area. The migrants adopted various coping strategies to deal with the challenges they faced. These included: change of employment; wearing of protective clothing; sleeping in groups against rapists; and saving monies with trusted seniors or Susu collectors.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DECISION TO RETURN AND PREPARATION FOR RETURN

Introduction

The present chapter tries to find answers to why and how the migrants prepared to return home. The chapter, therefore, discusses the decision and preparations they made before their return. The chapter discusses in details the reasons for their return and the various capitals, made up of skills and economic assets, acquired in the destination area in preparation for their return.

Decision and Reasons to Return

According to neoclassical migration theory, people migrate as a response to wage differentials between origin and destination areas (Massey et al., 1998). In line with this theory, the higher income in the destination areas was expected to cause migrants to extend the length of their stay in the destination area. Accordingly, return migration would be seen as a consequence of failure (Borjas, 1989; Constant & Masseey, 2002; Cassarino, 2004. However, the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) sees return migration as part of pre-migration plans (Galor & Stark, 1990; Stark & Taylor, 1991). People migrate with the intention to accumulate needed capital for investment in the home of origin. Migrants, therefore, maximise the acquisition and accumulation of human, economic and fiscal capital which they can invest on their return and make them productive in the home of origin (Cassarino, 2004). On the other hand, the structural theorists suggest that the decision to return is based on migrants' assessment of the socio-economic context of the home community (Diatta &Mbow, 1991;

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Thomas-Hope, 1999). Migrants consider the opportunities at home for their reintegration in making their return decision.

The decision to return of the respondents in this study was informed by various considerations. For most of them, it was voluntary but for others they were compelled to do so for various compelling factors, hence could be classified as involuntary.

The study found that some of the return migrants achieved the purpose of migration and these included respondents who migrated because of economic considerations. The finding is in line with the New Economics of Labour Migration Theory (NELM) which suggests that the migrants planned, prior to migration, to return after achieving their economic intentions in the destination area (Galor & Stark, 1990; Stark, 1991). In line with recent studies which give support to the NELM theory (Cassarino, 2004; Alberts & Hazen, 2005; De Vreyer et al., 2009), this current study found that those who migrated with specific objectives returned voluntarily after realising those objectives. One of them put it as follows:

> My brother, we go to work in somebody's town to get money. If you get the money, you go home to 'chop' it there. You see, this is where I belong; there, I don't belong. I only went there to get some money to invest in my farm. I would have spent all if I stayed longer there. I may go back if I need more money. But for now, here is home.

Evidence from the current study also suggests that some of the return migrants considered the social support system in the home communities in

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deciding to return voluntarily. They preferred to return home, where, at least, they could get their families to support them in times of need, to staying in a foreign land with no one caring about them. One respondent intimated:

> If for nothing at all, somebody will give you a plate of food, even if amidst insinuations and you can get a place to sleep. You will not have to spend much to get the basics of life. Even though I could not bring anything home, my mother will never eat and leave me.

This assertion confirms the view of Manuh (2005) that most migrants continue to feel homesick and will want to return home at the least opportunity because "home is home". Hence, migrants focused on social factors in deciding to return home. Arku et al. (2008) maintain that wealth, which is widely used by social scientists as one of the indicators to measure people's well-being, may be less useful with rural Ghanaians. This is in line with the structural theory, which posits that the socio-economic conditions at home are important for the reintegration of return migrants (Diatta &Mbow, 1999; Thomas-Hope, 1999).

In the above instances, the study found that the decision to return was voluntary. Having achieved their migration intentions, the migrants said they returned wholly voluntarily to invest the acquired capital in productive activities back home. Likewise, those who returned because of the better social support at home did so voluntarily after they had compared the conditions in the destination area with what was pertaining in the home of origin

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Others also returned because they failed to achieve the purpose of migrating. One of them said:

> I came home because I thought I was wasting my time in Kumasi. I had been there for more than two years and had nothing to show for the long stay there. I faced several problems there. I could not keep any job for more than one month. I tried to sell "kyinkyinga" but never made any headway with that. Meanwhile, there were constant demands from my family to send money home. I, therefore, decided to come home and join my family in farming or do anything that came my way. It has not been easy as I could not bring any money, but we are managing.

Thus, failure to achieve migration intentions informed the voluntary decision to return home for some of the respondents which is in line with the neoclassical return migration theory (Constant & Massey, 2002; Cassarino, 2004).

There were also those who returned as a result of pressure from the family, especially their mothers, to return to take care of family farms/kraals. For these respondents the decision to return was not theirs. They had to obey their parents.

The results of the study indicate that there were various reasons for the return of the migrants. From Table 25, the most important reason for return was the achievement of the purpose of migration (28.4%), with failure to achieve the migration purpose being the second major reason for the

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return of the migrants (18.9%). Others returned because they were called home: to take care of their family farm/kraal (11.6%); get married (10.5%); and take care of children (6.3%), ailing parents (5.3%) or husband (3.2%). Still others returned because they felt home sick (8.4%) or got pregnant (7.4%)

The reasons for return may be divided into push and pull factors (King, 2000). Some of the push factors were: achieving migration purposes and, therefore, desirous to go home to show their achievement (28.4%); not being able to achieve the migration purpose in the destination area (18.9%) and, therefore, not being able to integrate in the new society; and getting pregnant and, therefore, not able to continue in their economic activities (7.4%). The pull factors included: the call to come home to take care of family kraal or farm (11.6%); going home to get married (10.5%); feeling home sick (8.4%); and returning to take care of children (6.3%), and husband (3.2%).

Table 25: *Reasons why Migrants Returned*

Reason	Number	Percent
Feeling home sick	8	8.4
Failure to achieve the purpose of migrating	18	18.9
Got Pregnant	7	7.4
To get married	10	10.5
To take care of family farm/kraal	11	11.6
Achieved migration purpose	27	28.4
To take care of ailing parents	5	5.3
To take care of children	6	6.3
To take care of husband	3	3.2
Total	95*	100.0

*More than number of respondents because of multiple responses

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

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The findings of the study show that social factors in the home communities pulled the migrants to return. Such migrants returned involuntarily. These factors included calls to come home to get married; take care of family farms/kraals; take care of ageing parents, husbands or children and feeling of home-sickness. These findings agree with previous studies which have found that family ties, especially in societies where kinship obligations are strong, and the feeling of homesickness, are strong pull factors that compel migrants to return home, even though they might not have achieved their migration intentions (Appleyard, 1962; Gmelech, 1980, Manuh, 2005).

Those who achieved their migration intentions may be considered as returning as a result of a mixture of both push factors in the destination area and pull factors from home. On one hand, they were desirous to return home to show their achievements. On the other, the poor social environment in the destination area served as a push factor. Having achieved the economic purpose of migrating, there was no need for them to continue to endure the social difficulties again but rather return to invest their acquired capital and enjoy the social factors in the home communities.

Preparation for Return

This section discusses the preparations made by the respondents in the destination area before their return. The discussion focuses on the types of skills and economic assets they acquired in the destination area prior to return. This is done within the predictions of the New Economics of Labour Migration Theory which predicts that migrants are likely to acquire skills and capital while living in the destination area with the hope of investing

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them in the home communities to be productive (Cassarino 2004; Ammassari, 2004).

Skills Acquired at the Destination Area

The study examined the types of skills acquired by the respondents in the destination area prior to their return. The findings in Table 26 show that 59.6 percent of the respondents did not acquire any employable skills in the destination area. These were those who were either engaged as kayayei or truck pushers. The remaining 40.4 percent acquired various skills. The results in Table 27 show that, of the 36 migrants who acquired employable skills; 44.4 percent acquired trading skills. These respondents were engaged in trade-related activities in the destination area.

Table 26: *Types of Employable Skills Acquired in Destination Area*

Skill	Number	Percent
Driving	2	5.6
Trading	16	44.4
Dressmaking	4	11.1
Auto mechanic	2	5.6
Food processing	5	13.9
Hair dressing	4	11.1
Farming	3	8.3
Total	36	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The other employable skills acquired by the return migrants in the destination area were: food-processing skills (13.9%); hair dressing skills (11.1%); sewing skills (11.1%); farming (8.3%); driving (5.6%) and auto

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mechanic (5.6%). The two respondents who acquired auto mechanic skills had been engaged in the trade before migrating but said they improved on their skills and, therefore, were able to do better on their return.

The study found that the skills acquired were related to the kind of work the respondents did in the destination area. The study, therefore, found a link between the activities engaged in and the skills acquired in the destination area.

Economic Assets Acquired

This section examines the type of economic assets acquire in the destination area prior to return. The results in Table 27 show that 59.6 percent of the respondents acquired at least one economic asset. Bowls (48.8%) were the most important assets acquired by the respondents. The migrants intended to use the bowls in various trading activities in their home communities for which reason they considered them as economic assets. Further probing also showed that others intended to use the bowls to sell cooked food back home. These included respondents who worked either as chopbar helpers or sold cooked food in their destination area, and thereby acquired food-processing skills. However, some of the bowls were used for domestic purposes.

The study also found that others returned with various amounts of money (24.4%) which they intended to use as working capital. Those who returned with working capital had acquired trading and food processing skills and intended to invest in these activities. Other assets acquired by respondents included sewing machines (18.6%); hairdressing equipment (4.6%), training fee (2.3%) and farming tools (1.2%)

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The study found that 40.4 percent of the respondents did not acquire any form of economic asset. Asked about the reasons for returning without any economic assets, a respondent replied:

> I have been sending the little savings I could make home to support my ailing parents. I had to eventually come home to take care of them when I had not planned to do so.

This finding showed that migrants sometimes preferred spending their money on their immediate relatives to satisfying their personal wellbeing. According to Rapport and Docquier (2005), this is borne out of the altruistic motive of concern for the welfare of the family left behind.

Table 27: *Types of Economic Assets Acquired in the Destination Area*

Asset	Number	Percent
Bowls	42	48.8
Hair dressing equipment	4	4.7
Working capital	21	24.4
Sewing machine	16	18.6
Training fee	2	2.3
Farming tools	1	1.2
Total	86*	100.0

*More than number of migrants because of multiple responses

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Some migrants intimated that they used their savings to acquire personal items they needed in preparation for their marriage to which they

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looked forward and for which purpose they travelled. Others said they did not know what they were coming back to do.

A major finding of the study is that some of the migrants acquired various skills and economic assets in the destination area prior to return. This finding supports the view of the NELM theory that migrants who have definite plans to return prior to migration maximise the opportunity to acquire productive assets before their return (Galor & Stark, 1990; Stark, 1991). Such migrants return after accumulating various resources in the destination area, which they hope to invest back home. According to Cassarino (2004), this is expected to make them more productive and make reintegration relatively smooth.

Summary

The chapter has shown that respondents' decision to return was either voluntary or involuntary. The voluntary decisions were personal decisions while the involuntary decisions were pressure from home to return to fulfil social responsibilities. Those who had specific migration intentions returned voluntarily after achieving those intentions. Likewise, there were those who voluntarily returned after considering the social support system in the home of origin which they were missing in the destination area. Others also returned voluntarily even though they had not achieved their migration intentions. For these respondents there was no need to continue to endure hardship when they could return to enjoy the social support in the home community. There were, however, those who returned involuntarily as a result of pressure from home. There were also both push and pull factors considered as reasons to return by the respondents. The push factors included

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failure to integrate in the destination area and getting pregnant, while the pull factors included pressure to return to perform kinship obligations.

The study found that social reasons dominated the decision to return. The chapter has explained that the social conditions at home placed responsibilities on migrants to return It came out that respondents migrated with economic motives and, for that matter, they engaged in income-earning activities which gave them quick returns. None of the return migrants actually went through any form of either apprenticeship or schooling. The study shows that a significant number of migrants returned because they achieved the economic migration intentions. A few returned with some kind of employable skills. The skills acquired were related to the type of jobs they were engaged in while in the destination areas, which were largely trading and food preparation.

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CHAPTER SIX

REINTEGRATION AND SOCIAL NETWORKS OF RETURN MIGRANTS IN HOME COMMUNITIES

Introduction

This chapter examines the process of reintegration of return migrants in their home communities. The issues discussed include the initial plans of the return migrants and how successfully these plans have been implemented. The chapter also examines changes that have been observed and how the changes are affecting the reintegration of the return migrants. Additionally, the chapter examines employment opportunities identified by the return migrants, and the extent to which they have been able to take advantage of those opportunities. The chapter continues with a discussion of the level of satisfaction with the situation of return migrants at home. Other issues discussed include an examination of social networks and how these are affecting the reintegration of return migrants in the home communities. Finally, the chapter looks at the difficulties faced by return migrants and the coping strategies adopted by the return migrants to cope with the difficulties.

Initial Plans of Migrants after Return

This section examines the various plans the return migrants had after their return into their respective home communities. The results in Table 28 show that learning a trade (23.0%) was the most important initial plan of the respondents. This was followed by getting married (14.8%); farming (11.5%); doing business (11.5%). taking care of children (9.8%) and going back to school (9.0%). Other initial plans of the return migrants included:

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going back to old occupation (4.9%), helping husband (4.9%), taking care of parents (4.1%), giving birth and remigrate (4.1%).

Table 28: *Initial Plans of Migrants after Return*

Plans	Number	Percent
Learn a trade	28	23.0
Go back to old occupation	6	4.9
Go back to school	11	9.0
Do business	14	11.5
Take care of children	12	9.8
Give birth and remigrate	5	4.1
Get married	18	14.8
Join Youth employment programme	1	0.8
Establish hairdressing saloon	2	1.6
Take care of parents	5	4.1
To farm	14	11.5
Help husband	6	4.9
Total	122*	100.0

*Number is more than the respondents because of multiple responses

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

When the respondents who had initial plans of going back to school were asked why they wanted to do that, one of them said:

> I decided to go to school when I returned because, when I was staying with my madam, I had to take her children to school every morning and whenever I saw the school children in their beautiful dresses, I wished I was among

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> them. I had always thought that, if I had gone to school myself, I would not have been staying with somebody and taking instructions from younger children. You are respected when you go to school.

Another respondent stated that his decision to return to school was motivated by the way some schoolboys he saw on his way to the Kejetia Market every morning were dressed. He had always admired them and wished he was one of them. These sentiments show that living outside their home communities had exposed the return migrants to new experiences which served as challenges to their perceptions of their own lives, and desired to improve on their capacities in life. This led to the adoption of innovative ideas and strategies. As argued by Mabogunje (1975), such innovative ideas would enhance the human capital endowment of the return migrant.

The study found that respondents felt that they had social responsibility of taking care of their immediate family members. In fact, social responsibilities took priority over their own personal wellbeing and they were, therefore, prepared to sacrifice engagement in any personal plans to fulfil this social responsibility.

Success of Return Migrants in Implementing Initial Plans

The study sought from the respondents who had initial plans on returning whether they had been able to implement their initial plans and, if not, why they had not been able to do so. The findings in Figure 9 show that 36.0 percent had been able to implement their initial plans, while 64.0 percent said they had not been able to do so.

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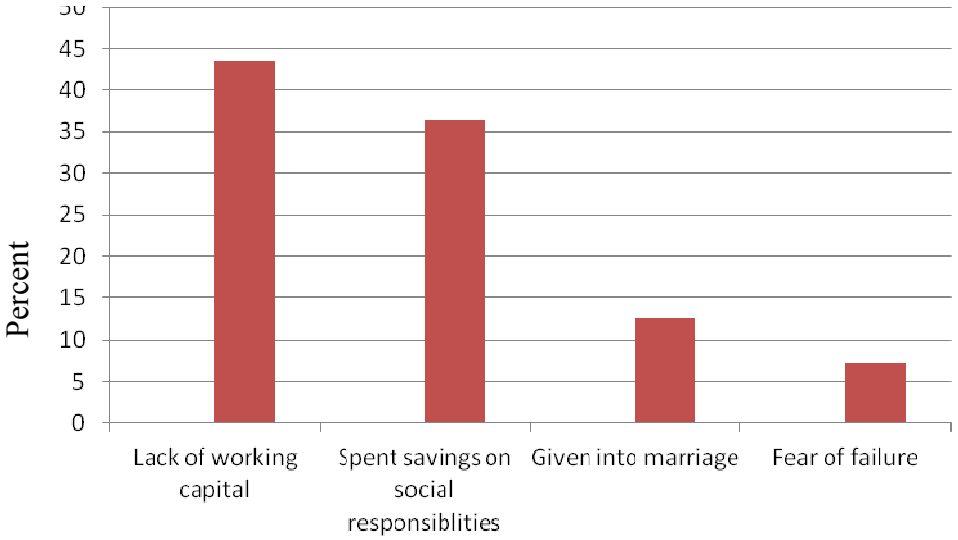

Figure 9: Reasons why migrants had not been able to put initial plans into action
Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

When asked for the reasons why they had not been able to implement their initial plans after their return, the return migrants mentioned various reasons for their failure to do so. Lack of working capital (43.6%) was mentioned as the most important reason. They said they had to spend the savings they had made and had intended to use as working capital in meeting their basic needs at home. This was because they had no immediate source of revenue and yet they had to provide for food and other essential needs for their family members and themselves.

Another reasons they gave for their inability to put their initial plans into action was that they had spent their savings in meeting their social responsibilities (36.4%) which included paying for the medical bills of their parents and school fees for their siblings. Other social responsibilities mentioned included maintenance of the family house which was falling apart and donating at funerals of community members. Other reasons mentioned

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were being given into marriage (12.7 %) as soon as they arrived, and fear of failure (7.3%).

Changes Observed by Return Migrants in their Communities

The return migrants were asked to indicate the changes they had observed in their home communities on their return. The respondents had observed various changes which can be grouped under three headings: infrastructure, economic opportunities, and health (Table 29).

Infrastructure (52.5%) was the most important change observed by the return migrants. In their view, the new houses (16.8%) had enhanced the beauty of their communities, while the connection of the communities to the national grid (12.9%) had provided opportunities for a better learning environment for their children and served as potential for small businesses and industries to grow. They felt that the provision of blocks (11.9%) had provided better opportunities for school children, and were of the view that school attendance would improve. The second major change the return migrants observed in their home communities was improvement in economic opportunities (33.7%). This was made up of better economic conditions of peers left behind (12.9%), employment opportunities (5.9%), shops (5.9%), bigger markets (4.0%), chop bars (3.9%) and the opening of banks (2.0%). The presence of the sanitation company –Zoomlion- was the source of the new employment opportunities.

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Table 29: *Changes Observed by Return Migrants in their Home Communities*

Observed changes	Number	Percent
Infrastructure		
School blocks	12	11.9
New Houses	17	16.8
Electricity	13	12.9
New roads	11	10.9
Subtotal	*53*	*52.5*
Economic opportunities		
Shops	6	5.9
Chop bars	3	3
Employment opportunities	6	5.9
Bigger markets	4	4
Peers left behind were economically better off	13	12.9
Banks	2	2
Subtotal	*34*	*33.7*
Health		
Clinics	6	5.9
Potable water	5	4.9
Health Insurance	3	3
Subtotal	*14*	*13.8*
Total	101*	100.0

*Total is more than number of respondents because of multiple responses

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

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The opening of bigger markets in the communities had not only attracted traders from other communities and, therefore, provided ready market for their farm produce but also provided opportunities for those who wanted to continue with the kayayei job to ply their trade without migrating to the south. The opening of banks in the communities had provided safekeeping of their savings and provided avenues for contracting loans. This, they said, was better than the arrangement they had with the Susu collectors in the destination area, as they could easily locate the person to whom they paid their money.

Table 30: *Observed Changes Helping the Reintegration of Return Migrants*

	Number	Percent
Improved school environment	5	7.6
Improved health care	4	6.0
Good roads helping trading	1	1.5
Electricity helps children to study	7	10.6
Improved business opportunities	10	15.2
Safe keeping of money	4	6.0
Improved access to credit	7	10.6
Improved recreational opportunities	12	18.2
Improved employment opportunities	16	24.3
Total	66	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Improvement in the health sector (13.8%) was also observed by the return migrants. This was made up of provision of clinics (5.9%), potable water (4.9%) and National Health Insurance Scheme (3.0%). The National

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Health Insurance Scheme was promoting good health delivery services in the communities and, hence, improvement in the health of the people. The respondents said the availability of potable water in the communities was protecting the community members against water borne diseases.

Migrants were asked how the observed changes were helping their reintegration. The findings in Table 30 show that the important benefits from the changes were: improved employment opportunities (24.3%), improved recreational opportunities (18.2%), improved business opportunities (15.2%), improved access to credit (10.6%), better lighting for children to study (10.6%) improved teaching and learning environment (7.6%), improved health care delivery (6.0%) and safe keeping of money (6.0%).

Asked how beneficial the availability of electricity had been to them, one respondent said:

> I can now watch television due to the availability of electricity. Even though the reception is not as good as in Kumasi, I am able to hear what goes on in Ghana and watch different films to entertain myself. I am also able to stay on the street with my friends at night.

Another respondent stated as follows:

> Previously, I could not stay out on the street in the night. As soon as night fell, you had to go home. You see, there are many reptiles here, so people were afraid to go out during the night. This meant that you could not sell anything in the night on the streets. Now, with electricity, we are able to sell our wares deep into the

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> night. Most of the men go to their farms during the day, so sales were very slow. But, it picks up in the night when they are back from the farm. Electricity has really helped those of us who sell items in this village.

The provision of schools and health facilities was also helping the respondents. Parents felt that the availability of the schools allowed them to do their business, while their children were left in the schools. With her three children sitting by her, one female respondent said:

> I can now send my children to school, whilst I sell my yams on the roadside without them bothering me. The school is helping me to sell more yams. I can run without any child pulling my cloth when I have to struggle with other sellers to sell to the passengers when the vehicles stop.

Commenting on the benefit of the new clinic in the village, a mother stated:

> We don't have to walk long distances to seek medical attention for our children. I am ok here as long as I can have a clinic to attend

Employment Opportunities identified and engaged in by Return Migrants

Though the changes opened doors of opportunities, 12.4 percent of the respondents said they had not identified any employment opportunity in their home communities. The other returnees identified employment opportunities within the home communities and some took advantage to

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invest their acquired capitals. The results in Figure 10 show that dressmaking and hairdressing were the most identified employment opportunities, claiming 33.4 percent and 19.2 percent respectively. Unfortunately, they command only 18.0 percent and 8.0 percent respectively of opportunities engaged in. Those who had engaged in hairdressing had learnt the trade in the destination area before returning with equipment to set up their own hairdressing salons.

The results also show that petty trading constituted 23.1 percent of employment opportunities identified and attracted 18.0 percent of opportunities engaged by the respondents. The reason for those who saw an employment opportunity in trading but had not engaged in it was largely due to the lack of capital. Other employment opportunities were: driving, which constituted 5.1 percent but attracted 2.0 percent of employment engaged in: carpentry, which constituted 5.1 percent but constituted 4.0 percent of employment opportunities engaged in; and farming which was 14.4 percent of employment opportunities identified, but constituted 50.0 percent of employment opportunities engaged in by respondents?

Though half of the return migrants engaged in farming, some of them did not see farming as a source of employment. To them, an employment was a venture that provided regular income and, since returns from farming were very erratic and sometimes even nil, it was not considered an employment but something done to keep oneself busy. Others also said they farmed just to ensure regular supply of food to the family, while others said they farmed on their family lands to protect the land from being taken over

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by others. Still others said they engaged in farming because their peers were farming and did not want to be seen as lazy.

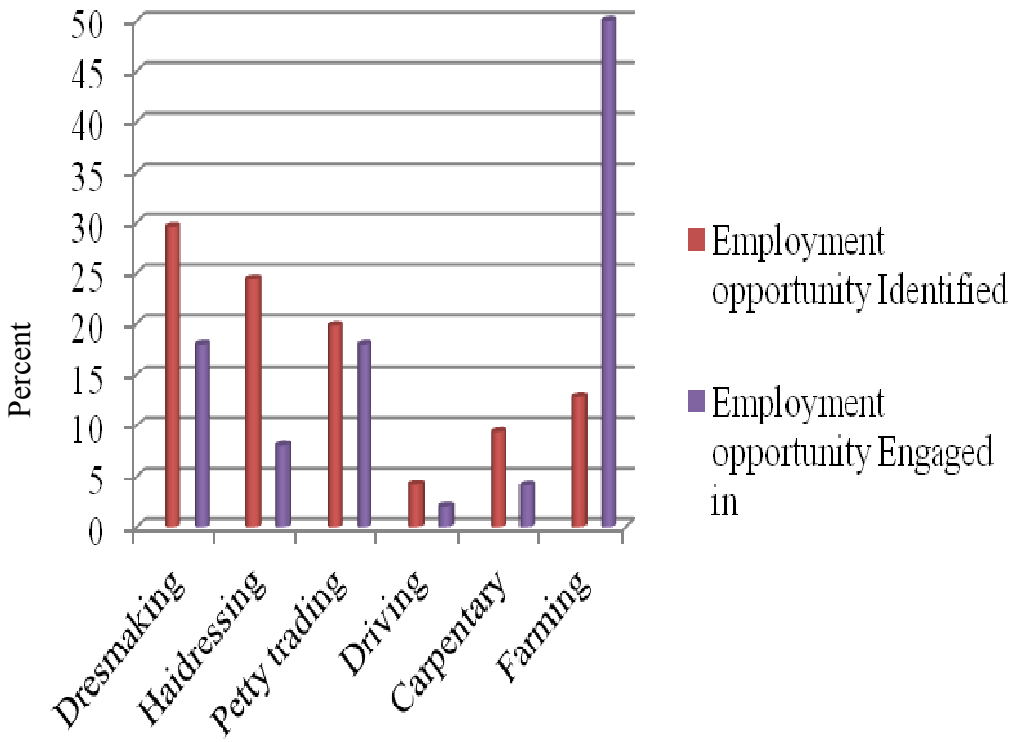

Figure 10: Employment opportunities identified and engaged in by migrants

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Level of Satisfaction of Retrun Migrants with the Situation at Home

Economic conditions and needs of citizens differ within respective environments and vary from one society to another and one country to another (World Bank 2007). So, it is not appropriate to measure levels of satisfaction, using a common economic indicator. It is in the light of this that the level of satisfaction of the return migrants is discussed. This is in line with the interpretivist theory.

Figure 11 shows the satisfaction rating of the 31 respondents who had implemented their initial plans on a four-point Likert scale. Of the number, 6.5 percent said they were very satisfied while 51.5 percent said they were

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satisfied with what they were doing. Another 35.5 percent said they were somewhat satisfied with what they were doing. On the other hand, 6.5 percent said they were not satisfied with what they were doing. Thus, 58.0 percent were satisfied but 42.0 percent were not.

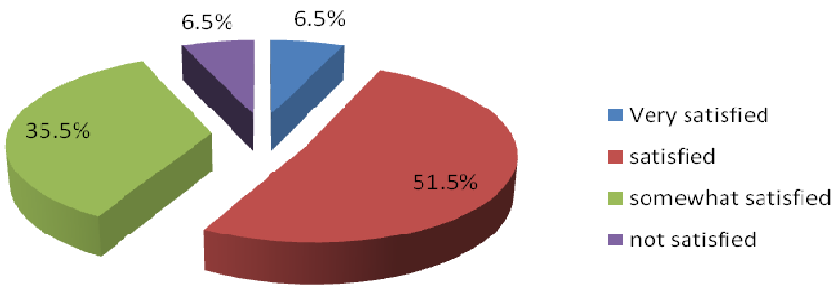

Figure 11: Migrants' level of satisfaction with situation at home n=31

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The return migrants cited various reasons for their satisfaction which were largely attributed to social factors. From Table 31, sense of belonging (35.5 %) was cited as the most important reason for satisfaction with the situation at home. This was followed by closeness to family (32.2 %); and having a good place to sleep (22.6%). On the other hand, 9.7 percent cited the opportunity for earning income as the main reason for their satisfaction.

> In the in-depth interviews, some of the respondents said they were not so much interested in the economic returns from what they were doing. What was most important was that they were now living with their kin.

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Table 31*: Reasons for Migrants' Satisfaction with the Situation at Home*

Reasons for satisfaction	Number	Percent
Closeness to family	10	32.2
Sense of belonging	11	35.5
Good place to sleep	7	22.6
Opportunity to earn some income	3	9.7
Total	31*	100.0

- This is the number of return migrants who had implemented their initial plans

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

When a respondent who derived her satisfaction from social factors rather than income was asked to give reasons for her choice, she said:

> Here, I don't buy many things. I eat what is available and do not pay for the things I used to pay for, like bathing, going to the toilet. If you get something to eat, that is enough.

Another respondent stated:

> If it was for money, I would not have come back. What is it if you get everything and you always feel like a stranger? Here, my family members are always at hand to support me, even if I don't have anything. I am content with the little I earn, but that is not what I care for.

Migrants were asked to compare six indicators of wellbeing between the destination area home communities after return. These indicators were;

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employment opportunities; income levels; accommodation; support in times of need; ability to meet basic needs; and sense of belonging (Figure 11). These indicators, which were the needs of the return migrants, were classified into economic and social. Employment opportunities, income levels, and ability to meet basic needs were economic needs, while accommodation, support in times of need and sense of belonging were classified as social needs.

The results in Figure 12 indicate that the economic needs of the migrants were better met in the destination area than in the home communities. For example, 69.7 of the return migrants saw employment opportunities in the destination area to be better, 59.6 percent said income levels in the destination area to be better and 50.6 percent said that they were better able to meet their basic needs in the destination area. On the other hand, the social needs were found to be better met in the home communities than in the destination area. For example, 78.9 percent found accommodation to be better in the home communities, 70.8 percent found support in time of need to be better in home communities, and 77.5 percent found the sense of belonging better felt in home communities than in the destination area. It can, therefore, be concluded that the economic needs of migrants were better met in the destination area, while the social needs were better met in the home communities.

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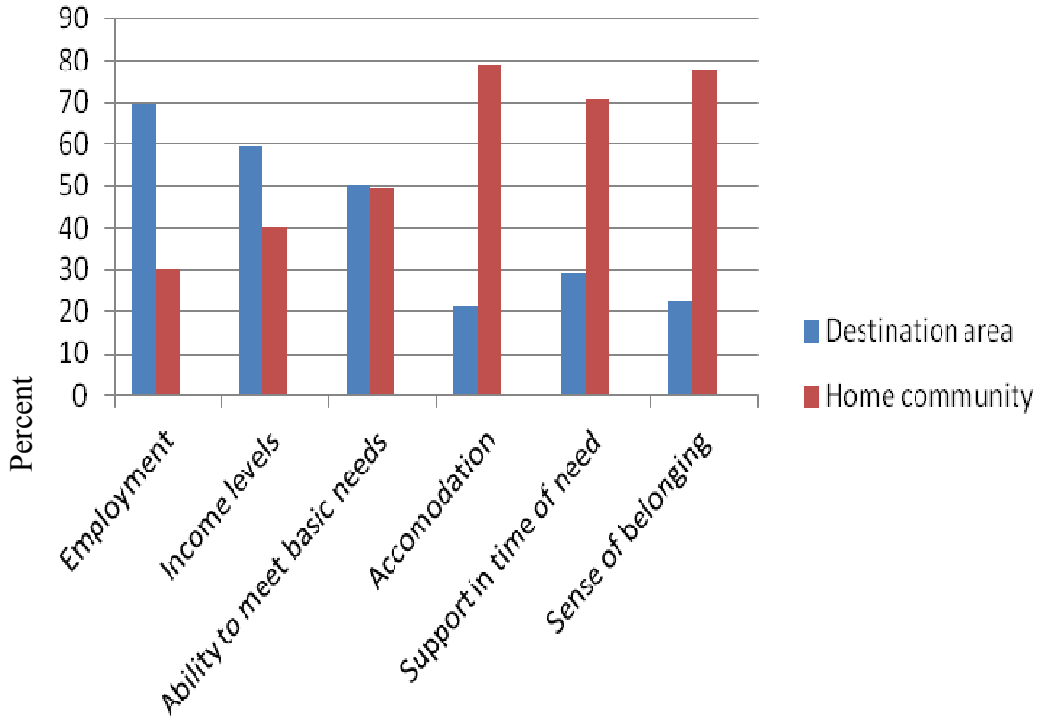

Figure 12: Comparison of socio-economic conditions in destination area with home community on return

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Difficulties Faced by Return Migrants in the Home Communities

The study examined the difficulties faced by return migrants after their return. Out of the 89 respondents surveyed, 34.8 percent said did not face any difficulties in their home communities. One of those who felt that they had no problem explained:

> What can I do, this is home. You have to live with whatever is available and try to manage with that. After all we faced a lot of challenges in Accra. We did not have a place to sleep but we still managed it so why can't we do the same here. There is a problem only if you are lazy and you don't want to work.

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Table 32: *Difficulties Faced by Return Migrants in the Home Community on their Return*

Difficulties	Number	Percent
Lack of social amenities	5	3.1
Lack of employment opportunities	35	21.3
Insufficient income	21	12.8
Lack of farm lands	4	2.5
Lack of market for acquired skills	12	7.3
Lack of sense of belonging	3	1.8
Sense of failure	32	19.5
Difficulty in meeting family responsibilities	51	31.1
Transportation difficulty	1	0.6
Total	164*	100.0

*More than the number of return migrants because of multiple responses

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

On the other hand, the remaining 65.2 percent indicated that they faced various difficulties on their return. The results in Table 33 show that the main difficulties faced by the return migrants were difficulty in meeting family responsibilities (31.1%), lack of employment opportunities (21.3%), sense of failure (19.5%), insufficient income (12.8%), and lack of market for acquired skills.

In addition to the demand for different forms of support, the respondents faced social pressure to conform to the expectations of the society. Once home, migrants were expected, and are indeed under some

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pressure to behave as "migrants" and not to revert to their former roles prior to their migration.

Dahya (1973) has reported how returnees to Pakistan are obliged to distribute plates of sweetmeats to the poorer villages and to pay troupes of singers and dancers to perform to celebrate their return. Watson (1977) has also made a similar observation with Chinese restaurant workers who are expected to make generous donations to community projects and to throw lavish 're-entry banquet' when they return to their Hong Kong villages. Again, in the Philippines, returnees are expected to give large parties and fund local fiestas (Griffiths, 1979; McArthur, 1979). The same is seen among Ghanaian returnees from overseas. Their new status must be evident in what they wear, where and what they eat, among other expectations (Nieswand, 2011). Such extravagant behaviour may be uneconomical, but it has the vital effect of legitimizing the individual returnee's reintegration.

Coping Strategies of Return Migrants in Home Communities

The study examined how the 65.2 percent of the return migrants, who reported difficulties, were coping with the challenges they faced at home. The findings in Table 33 show that taking advantage of any income-earning opportunity that came their way (29.0 %) was the leading coping strategy adopted by the respondents. However, this was found to be irregular and therefore did not give the participants any form of secured income. It was further found that the intention to re-migrate constituted 21.4 percent of the strategies adopted by the return migrants as they considered it better to be in the destination area instead of being in the home community. Taking to

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farming as a food security strategy constituted 19.9 percent of the strategies adopted by respondents to cope with the difficulties they were faced with.

Table 33: *Coping Strategies of Return Migrants*

Strategy	Number	Percent
Resigned myself to fate	8	6.1
Doing anything that comes my way	38	29.0
Have taken to farming	26	19.9
Planning to remigrate	28	21.4
Sold properties returned with	11	8.4
Use bowls to cook for farmers	2	1.5
Ignore the pressure	16	12.2
Travel to other nearby communities to work	2	1.5
Total	131*	100.0

*More than the number of return migrants because of multiple responses

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Other strategies adopted were: ignoring the pressure from the society (12.2%) selling their properties to raise money to either feed themselves or meet urgent family need (8.4%); resignation to the situation (6.1%); and working in nearby communities (1.5%).

The findings of the study show that the strategies adopted by the migrants were largely short-term and were found not to be sustainable. Most of them occupied themselves with activities which were not what they had planned for. The difficulties for the migrants in this study arose from the absence of employment and other income-earning opportunities in their home communities. The capacity of return migrants to earn income was

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critical not only for their own survival but also for their ability to fulfil the social responsibilities imposed on them by their social networks.

The results of the study further show that the return migrants were just managing to survive and that, with the least opportunity, they would remigrate. This is an indication that they had not successfully reintegrated in the home community. This has been the concern raised by authors like Gmelch (1980).

Reasons for Return Migrants to stay in Home Communities

Respondents were asked to indicate the reasons why they would want to remain in the home community. The results in Table 33 show that the sense of belonging (32.9%) was the most important reason for the decision to stay in the home community. Other important reasons for the decision to remain in the community included: desire to get married and raise a family (18.5%); better social conditions at home (15.8%); having achieved the purpose of return (15.0%) and the dislike of the harsh conditions in the destination area (10.9%).

A respondent who said that he had achieved his return intention stated:

> I went to Kumasi to buy enough bowls so that I can get married to my husband. I was able to achieve that and even saved enough money to start my own business. What then is the need to go back to Kumasi? Initially it was difficult, but things are getting better now.

The findings of the study emphasised the importance of membership in the social network in facilitating reintegration. Opportunities at home might not be favourable for return migrants, but their sense of being

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members of their communities might enable them to stay at home. For these respondents, the fact that one had family relations to fall on in times of need provided them with better security than living in a foreign land with no one to turn to in difficult situations. The finding supports the "home is home" concept (Manuh, 2005). The reasons given by return migrants to remain in the home community were largely social factors. Thus, the social environment becomes a safety net for the return migrants to want to stay as outline in the conceptual frame work in figure 4

Table 34: *Reasons for which Migrants Preferred to Stay at Home*

Reason	Number	Percent
Sense of belonging	48	32.9
To marry and raise family	27	18.5
Better social conditions at home	23	15.8
Achieved purpose of return	22	15.0
Ill- health	2	1.4
Have to fulfil family responsibilities	8	5.5
Dislike harsh conditions in destination area	16	10.9
Total	146*	100.0

*****More than the number of respondents because of multiple responses

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Reasons why Return Migrants would want to Re-Migrate

The study sought from the return migrants the factors that would influence their decision to re-migrate. Various factors were mentioned as possible reasons for return migrants to re-migrate. The results in Table 34 show that lack of employment opportunities at home (22.4%) was the main

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reason why return migrants would want to re-migrate. Other important reasons why return migrants would re-migrate included: lower income levels in the home communities as compared with the destination area (19.0%); inability to achieve return intentions (17.2%); dissipation of resources returned with (16.4%); difficulty in meeting basic needs (15.5%); and family pressure (9.5%).

Table 35: *Reasons why Return Migrants would want to Re-Migrate*

Reason	Number	Percent
Difficulty in meeting basic needs at home	18	15.5
Lack of employment opportunities at home	26	22.4
Higher income earnings opportunities in destination area	22	19.0
Could not achieve purpose of return	20	17.2
Dissipated all resources returned with	19	16.4
Too much pressure from family members	11	9.5
Total	116*	100.0

*More than the number of return migrants because of multiple choices
Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The views of the community members were also sought on migration. The majority said they would encourage other members of the community to migrate. It is against this background that one of them said:

> Look at that store, right behind you. Do you know the owner? It is for my niece who returned from Accra two years ago. She sells many things including sugar and Milo. Most importantly, she has employed my son and pays him monthly. Is that not great! If it was possible, I would also migrate to bring money

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home. I asked my son to migrate, but he is unwilling to do so.

Migration is good!

Social Networks and Reintegration of Return Migrants

Dense networks and strong ties among community members can best describe community integration. Guest and Stamm (1993) have examined pathways of community integration following a residential move. They are: social and community integration; formal residential integration; and personal integration.

In this study, participants were asked to estimate their involvement in four specific paths of reintegration as follows:

- Engagement in employment and other income-generating opportunities: Engagement in employment and other income-generating opportunities was measured by involvement in economic and income-earning activities
- Acceptance by the home society:

  Acceptance by home society was measured by return migrants being consulted by other members of the society; being given position of trust; receiving visits from other members of the community; sharing experiences with other members of the community and being visited by community members.
- Involvement in community activities:

  Involvement in community activities included participation in social functions, such as naming ceremonies, marriage ceremonies and funeral ceremonies; participation in communal labour

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organised by the community; and participation in community meetings; and

- Membership in social groups:

  Membership in social groups was measured by the participation in the religious life of the people in the mosque, church or local shrine as well as local gender-based groups.

Using these paths as models from which to evaluate reintegration, return migrants in this study were asked to indicate which of the indicators of reintegration into the community were true for their situations. The findings in Table 36 show that the leading indicator for the reintegration of the return migrants was involvement in community activities (35.5%), This was followed by acceptance by the community (27.9%), membership in social groups (23.2%) and engagement in employment opportunities (13.4%).

Involvement in community activities covered participation in social functions (14.7%); participation in communal labour (11.7%) and participation in community meetings (9.1%).These findings suggest that the return migrants were actively involved in the life of the community.

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Table 36: *Indicators of Reintegration of Return Migrants*

Indicator	Frequency	Percent
Engagement in employment opportunities	78	13.4
Subtotal	*78*	*13.4*
Acceptance by the home society		
Consulted by community members	21	3.6
Given position of trust	33	5.6
Sharing of experiences with others	35	6
Visit by community members	74	12.7
Subtotal	*163*	*27.9*
Involvement in community activities		
Participation in communal labour	68	11.7
Participation in community meetings	53	9.1
Participation in social functions	86	14.7
Subtotal	*207*	*35.5*
Membership in social groups		
Participation in gender-based group meetings	53	9.1
Participation in the religious life of the community	82	14.1
Subtotal	*135*	*23.2*
Total	583*	100.0

*More than number of participants due to multiple responses

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

Acceptance by the home society included: visits by community members (12.7%); sharing of experiences with others (6.0%); given position of trust (5.6%); and consulted by community members (3.6%). These were

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considered as an indication of acceptance by the community Members of the community also felt that they had accepted the return migrants as part of their communities. This was evidenced by the participation in the life of the communities. One elderly person put this sentiment as follows:

> I visited a return migrant who was sick a few months ago. I was surprised to see that many community members, including the chief, visited him with gifts. I stayed there for about one hour, and when I was leaving, many of the community members were still there and more were coming.
>
> Even though I am an elder, I never had such visitations when I was sick. I asked myself whether I also have to migrate to the south so that, when I return, many people can visit me when I am sick.

The return migrants belonged to various social groups (23.2%). Membership of a mosque, church or a shrine (14.1%) was the leading social group membership of the return migrants. The findings of the study support the assertion that the African is intrinsically religious and that religion defines the life and work of the African (Mbiti, 1990; Nyansani, 1997). Thus, membership in the religious life of the community (14.1%) was more important than membership in gender-based groups (9.1%) as indicators of membership in social groups. The social groups in the communities mutually provided various forms of support to their members. The support included helping each other in the construction of their houses, weeding their farms, donating various items in times of childbirth and funerals. The social groups

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also planned and executed various activities for the development of the communities.

Return migrants were engaged in various forms of employment and income-generating activities (13.4%), and this was cited as evidence of their reintegration. This suggests that the return migrants had been embedded to the socio-economic environment in the home community and were engaging the capitals they returned within productive economic activities (Refer to conceptual framework in figure 4).

Types of Support Received by Return Migrants from Members of their Social Networks in Home Communities

The study investigated the type of support received from members of the social networks of the return migrants. The results in Table 38 show that accommodation (43.3%) was the major support return migrants had received from their kin. This was followed by prayers (13.5%); encouragement (11.5%); food (9.6%); love and concern (7.7%); link to jobs (5.8%); trading capital (3.8%); financial assistance (2.9%); and school or training fees (1.9%).

Parents (26.9%) and siblings (25.0%) were the main sources of the support received by the return migrants. Uncles/aunties (16.4%), old friends (14.4%), churches and mosques (10.6%) also provided some support for the return migrants.

Accommodation (43.3%) was the most important assistance received by the return migrants from members of their social networks. This was followed by prayers (13.5%), encouragement (11.3%), and food (9.6%). Financial assistance constituted only 2.9 percent of the support return

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migrants received from the social network. Thus, the return migrants received more social support than economic assistance.

The results in Table 37 show that the social networks of return migrants included not only their parents, siblings, uncles and aunts but also other members of their larger community and religious institutions, such as the church and mosque. This affirms the assertions of both Mbiti (1992) and Nyasani (1997) that the African's view of the family goes beyond spouses and their children. The findings of the study have also affirmed the view that members of the social networks are prepared to support each other in times of need (Arku et al. 2009).

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Table 37: *Types of Support Received by Return Migrants from Members of their Social Networks*

	Parents		Siblings		Uncles/Aunts		Old friends		Community		Church/Mosque		Total	
Support	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Food	5	17.9	0	0.0	3	17.7	1	6.7	1	14.2	0	0	10	9.6
Financial	3	10.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0	3	2.9
Sch./Training fee	2	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0	2	1.9
Link to jobs	3	10.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.7	2	28.6	0	0	6	5.8
Accommodation	9	32.1	16	61.5	10	58.8	8	53.3	2	28.6	0	0	45	43.3
Encouragement	2	7.1	4	15.4	4	23.5	2	13.3	0	0.0	0	0	12	11.5
Love and concern	2	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	28.6	4	36.4	8	7.7
Prayers	2	7.1	2	7.7	0	0.0	3	20.0	0	0.0	7	63.6	14	13.5
Trading capital	0	0.0	4	15.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0	4	3.8
Total	28	100.0	26	100.0	17	100.0	15	100.0	7	100.0	11	100.0	104	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

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Types of Support given to Members of Social Network by Return Migrants in Home Community

This section discusses the support return migrants gave to members of their kin and community. The results in Figure 13 show that financial support (32.9%) was the main support given by respondents to their kin. The provision of food (21.3%), sharing of experience (16.9%), clothing (9.8%) and paying for the training fee of members of social network (5.3%) were the other types of support given by return migrants.

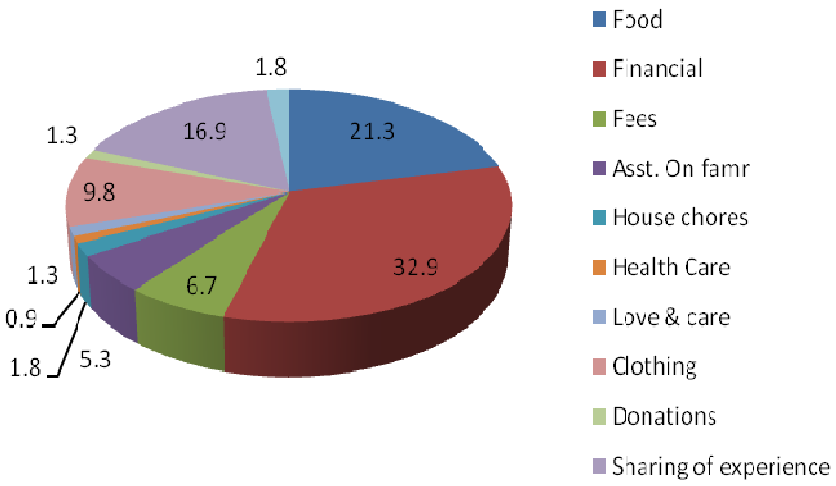

Figure 13: Types of support given to members of social network by return migrants

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The study next investigated the beneficiaries of the support given by the return migrants. The findings in Table 37 show that the main beneficiaries were: parents (26.7%); siblings (26.2%); old friends (20.4%); uncles and aunties (10.2%); the community (8.5%) and church/mosque (8.0%). The main

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types of support given to the various beneficiaries were: financial assistance (parents); financial assistance and school fees (siblings); food and financial assistance (uncles and aunties); food and financial assistance (old friends); sharing of experience (community); and financial assistance (church/mosque).

The findings of the study support the view that migrants feel obliged to support their family members with whom they share a common identity. They recognise the fact that it is the membership in the family that gives them identity. They are, therefore, willing to share their resources with them (Mbiti, 1992,; Nyasani 1997). The study also found that the return migrants gave significantly to their old friends. The finding agrees with the view of Aristotele and Madrid (2004) that friendship is a virtue that people will want to maintain.

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Table 38: *Beneficiaries of Support given by Return Migrants*

Beneficiaries	Food		Financial		Fees		Farm		Chores		bills		concern		Clothing		Donations		Experience		Service		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Parents	6	12.5	26	35.1	0	0	8	66.7	2	50.0	2	100	3	100.0	13	59.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	60	26.7
Siblings	6	12.5	17	22.9	15	100	1	8.3	2	50.0	0	0	0	0	3	13.6	0	0	15	39.5	0	0	59	26.2
Uncles/Aunts	14	29.2	7	9.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	10.2
Old friends	18	37.5	10	13.5	0	0	2	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	18.2	0	0	12	31.6	0	0	46	20.4
Community	4	8.3	3	4.1	0	0	1	8.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100.0	8	21.0	0	0.0	19	8.5
Church/Mosque	0	0	11	14.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7.9	4	100.0	18	8.0
Total	48	100.0	74	100.0	15	100.0	12	100.0	4	100.0	2	100.0	3	100.0	22	100.0	3	100.0	38	100.0	4	100.0	225	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

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Analysis of Support Received and given by Return Migrants to Members of their Social Networks

This section compares the support given by return migrants to members of their social networks with what the return migrants received from members of the social networks. The results in Table 39 show that the return migrants gave 68.4 percent and received 31.6 percent from members of their social networks This shows that the return migrants gave more than they received from members of social networks.

A Further analysis of the results shows that migrants gave more economic support (72.9%) than social support (27.1%). The economic support was made up of: financial assistance (32.9%); food (21.3%); clothing (9.8%); fees (6.7%); assisting on farms (5.3%); donations (1.3%); and medical bills (0.9%). The social support consisted of: sharing of experience (16.9%); helping in household chores (1.8%); and service in the church or mosque (1.8%). (Figure 12).

On the other hand, 76.0 percent of the support received by migrants was social, while 24.0 percent were economic. The social support consisted of: accommodation (43.3%); prayers (13.5%); encouragement (11.5%); and love and concern (7.7%). The economic support was made up of: food (9.6%); link to jobs (5.8%); trading capital (3.8%); financial assistance (2.9%) and training fees (1.9%) (Table 36).

The findings of the study show that return migrants were able to give economic support to the members of their social network. On the other hand, they benefitted from the social support from their kins in meeting their social needs as the home environment had relatively poorer capacity to support the

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return migrants in meeting their economic needs. The return migrants could, therefore, benefit from the social wealth of the home communities but had to share their economic resources with the members of the home community.

Table 39*: Comparison of Support Given to and Received by Migrants from the Members of their Networks*

Network member	Given to		Received from	
	No	%	No	%
Parents	60	26.7	28	26.9
Siblings	59	26.2	26	25.0
Uncles/aunts	23	10.2	17	16.4
Old friends	46	20.4	15	14.4
Community	19	8.5	7	6.7
Church/Mosque	18	8.0	11	10.6
Total	225	100.0	104	100.0

Source: Field survey, Adu-Okoree (2013)

The ability to fulfil the social responsibility in supporting others earns the individual social approval and dignity and stands him or her better chance of receiving support from others when the individual is in need. Thus, those who refuse to help others may be shunned by society and be considered as being wicked. Indeed, one is expected to return a favour to all people from whom they had received one kind of favour either directly or indirectly. In re-echoing this assertion a return migrant said:

> My brother, you don't know when you would also need others to support you. Here, we are all one so you can't keep your food when others are hungry. You need to

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share the little you have with others who need your help.

It is only wicked people who don't want to share

However, even though the return migrant might not have received any favour from an individual, the migrant is still expected to extend a favour to the individual as long as the migrant is perceived by society to be in a better position (Adu-Okoree & Arku, 2014). Such gestures of goodwill facilitate the reintegration of return migrants back in the home community.

Putnam (1995) describes reintegration in terms of social capital and the reciprocal benefits that one receives. Thus, return migrants mutually shared resources with members of their social networks. The mutual sharing of resources contributed to the building of trust and trustworthiness, friendship, and connectedness, which together built a sense of identification, acquaintances recognition and belonging. These are virtues, which are socially approved of in building social capital and serve as a glue that holds individual migrants together with their social networks, and facilitates their reintegration (Putman, 1995).

The results in Table 40 show that the migrants and their parents gave almost equally to each other. While migrants gave 26.7 percent of their support to their parents, they received 26.9 percent of their support from parents. Similarly, they gave almost equally (26.2%) as they received from their siblings (25.0%). There was, therefore, mutually beneficial relationship between return migrants and their immediate relations. On the other hand, while respondents gave 10.2 percent, they received 16.4 percent of support from their uncles and aunts. Thus, migrants benefited more from their uncles and aunts than they did. These findings demonstrate the reciprocal

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relationship between members of the family as well as the importance of the family to the reintegration of the return migrants. The findings further show the importance of the social network to the reintegration of the return migrants considering the mutual support enjoyed between them.

The reverse was true for the exchange of benefits between the return migrants and their old friends. The return migrants gave 20.4 percent and received 14.4 percent from their friends. This shows that the return migrants valued the relationship with their friends and were ready to support them. This finding emphasizes the importance of friendship in social networks.

Explaining why return migrants gave various supports to their friends, a respondent said:

> When I was travelling to Kumasi, I had no money. It was one of my old friends who gave me money and supported my parents, whenever they were in need, till I returned. Even though I have refunded his money to him, I have to also show appreciation by sharing what I brought with him. Who knows, tomorrow I will need his assistance again.

Social networks could be a drain on the resources of the return migrant such that, instead of investing in productive activities, resources may be dissipated in the form of gifts and other social responsibilities. The study, therefore, sought from the return migrants how the sharing of their resources was affecting their economic status. Some of the return migrants indicated that it was wasting their resources. One return migrant had this to say:

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> As soon as I got home, everybody rushed to me with one problem or the other. Unfortunately, I could not refuse the help they needed from me. Before I realised, all the money I came with was gone and there was nothing left to start the business I had planned to do. Now I have to buy the ingredients of the food I prepare for sale on credit. Sometimes I feel embarrassed but there is nothing I can do.

Another return migrant said:

> Since I came I have assumed the position of the breadwinner of the household because my father is very old and cannot do anything to bring in food or money. All my siblings now depend on me for their school fees. Thus, all my resources have been drained in supporting the household.

The findings of the study have shown that there were mutually beneficial exchange of support between the return migrants and members of their social networks. Thus, return migrants were able to have some of their needs met by the members of their social networks, which facilitated their reintegration. This was in line with findings in previous studies that show the existence of reciprocity in social networks and which enables members of social networks to meet their needs from other members of the social network (Adu-Okoree & Arku, 2014). Putnam (1995), for example, maintains that social networks facilitate coordination and cooperation for

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mutual benefits among rural people, and serve as an adhesive putting rural people together and uniting them.

Furthermore, the findings of the study show that, even though one may agree with the assertions on the importance of social networks in smoothing reintegration, huge expectations by family members could hinder successful reintegration. Finally, the findings of the study show that the socio-economic context of the home community is an important factor that affects the ability of return migrants to utilize the skills and capital they acquired in the destination area in order to ensure successful reintegration (Diatta & Mbow, 1999; Thomas-Hope, 1999).

Summary

This chapter discussed the plans return migrants made in preparation for their reintegration into their home communities. It discussed these in the light of initial plans, and factors that enhanced or mitigated against the implementation of the plans. The analysis was done within the conceptual framework which recognises that the health of the social and economic environment of the home community affects directly the extent to which return migrants are able to reintegrate. It was found that the success or failure to implement migrants' plans was based largely on social factors, economic opportunities, the changes in the community and the capital they had acquired.

The study found that the majority of return migrants planned and prepared for their return, though a few did not. It came out that learning a trade was the most important initial plan of the majority. While some had

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returned to marry. others had returned to take over family farms and/kraals and still others had to go back to school.

The study found that some return migrants successfully reintegrated into their communities because they were able to put their savings into use and become economically successful due to the healthy nature of the community brought about by the changes that had taken place as well as the support they received at home. Others were not successful because they had not planned to return in the first place, especially those who got pregnant.

The findings of the study also showed that return migrants were likely to re-migrate for economic reasons but continued to stay in home communities because of the better social conditions at home. The study also found that migration was encouraged because it conferred prestige on migrants. It was thought that return migrants often brought both economic and social changes into their communities.

The findings also showed that return migrants faced various challenges in their home communities some of which were lack of employment opportunities and expectations from their families and other members of their social networks to conform to the perceptions held about return migrants by society. These expectations put a lot of strain on the resources of the return migrants and led to the dissipation of the resources instead of investing them in productive ventures. These challenges hindered successful reintegration, especially the social responsibility to share their earnings dissipated their savings leaving them with nothing to start their businesses.

Return migrants were also obliged to share their resources with their community members, especially their immediate family. Similarly, the

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migrants received various types of support from the members of their social networks.

Thus, there was reciprocal relationship between the migrants and their social networks. This reciprocal relationship is an essential aspect of the African society. However, while the migrants gave mainly economic support, they received social support. The migrants adopted various strategies to cope with the challenges they faced, even though others simply resigned themselves to fate. Thus, the social and economic environments enabled the return migrants to be embedded in the home communities and were able to participate actively in both the economic and social lives of the home communities as indicated in the conceptual framework in figure 4.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter concludes the study by summarising the major findings, drawing conclusions from these findings and making recommendations. It highlights the contribution of the study to knowledge and also suggests important areas that need further research.

Summary

The main objective of the study was to examine how the socio-economic environment of home communities helped in the reintegration of return migrants from the Northern Region of Ghana. The macro-methodological theory underlying the study was interpretivism. The task of the researcher, according to interpretivism, was to investigate how the respondents interpreted their experiences and how they arrived at such interpretations. The study adopted the ethnographic method which enabled the researcher to be part of the population being investigated in the collection of the data within their natural environment. It used the descriptive approach in analysing the data, as the work was largely qualitative.

A multiple case-study approach was used in selecting respondents because conclusions from multiple cases were considered to be more compelling and robust. The research was conducted in 30 communities which constituted the cases in order to enhance the reliability of the conclusions. Mixed and multi-stage sampling techniques were used in selecting the respondents. Purposive sampling method was used in selecting the Tamale Metropolitan and Yendi Municipal Assemblies. Random

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sampling was used in selecting the other six districts, while the snowball method was used in selecting 89 return migrants. The purposive sampling technique was used in the selection of 46 household heads and eight Assembly members who had the needed information. The accidental sampling technique was employed in selecting 35 community members

Data was obtained from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were obtained from the various participants through one-on-one interviews and focus group discussions. The secondary data were obtained from publications of various authors and relevant institutions. The main instruments used in the collection of data were both structured and unstructured interview schedules and discussion guides. Audio recording gadgets were used to record in-depth interviews. Quantitative data was analysed with the Statistical Product and Service Solutions (SPSS, Version 16) software, while qualitative data was organised into themes pertinent to the focus of the study. The combined results were interpreted with an inductive approach, framed theoretically by the functional capabilities approach to human development

Main findings of the study were as follows:

Socio-economic conditions of return migrants before migration

1. The majority (77.5%) of the return migrants migrated and returned while they were still within the productive age group of 20 - 40 years. The mean age of the males was 29.9 years while that of the females was 23.7 years.
2. A substantial number (40.2%) of the return migrants migrated because of economic hardship in the home community. Other reasons for

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migration were: peer influence (24.5%); pressure from family members (19.0%) and preparation for marriage (11.4%)>

3. More than half (50.6%) of the return migrants were not economically active prior to migration. The average daily income at home prior to migration was GH¢3.8; while the average expenditure was GH¢3.4.
4. The majority (51.7%) of the return migrants had no children before they migrated and more than half (54.8%) of the return migrants lived with their parents before they migrated.
5. Accra (51.6%) and Kumasi (33.7%) were the leading destination of the return migrants.
6. The majority (61.8%) of the migrants migrated with the intention to return.

Economic and social conditions of return migrants in the destination area

7. The return migrants were economically better off in the destination area, with 95.5 percent being economically active as against 49.4% prior to migration.
8. Carrying of goods for fee (47.2%) was the main economic activity in the destination area. Others were: working on the farm (7.9%); working in chop bar (7.9%); selling of fula (6.8%); and selling of pure water (5.6%).
9. The mean daily income in the home community prior to migration was GH¢3.8, while the mean daily expenditure was GH¢3.4. On the other hand, the mean daily income in the destination area was GH¢10.0, while the mean daily expenditure was GH¢4.0..

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10. Migrants remitted at various intervals, with 26.8 percent remitting on monthly basis, 19.6 percent annually, 14.3 percent quarterly and 25.0 percent as and when necessary.

Preparation made by migrants before their return.

11. Though 28.4 percent of the migrants had well-planned migration intentions and returned after achieving those intentions, 59.6 percent of the respondents did not adequately prepare for their return. However, 59.6 percent acquired various forms of assets prior to return, while 40.4 percent did not acquire any asset.

Reintegration process of return migrants

12. Only 36.0 percent of the return migrants had been able to implement their initial plans after return.
13. The observed changes in their home communities were: infrastructural development (52.5%); health (26.7%) and economic opportunities (20.8%);
14. While 87.6 percent had identified employment opportunities, only 56.2 percent had engaged in any employment opportunity
15. A substantial number (42.0%) of the return migrants were satisfied with the conditions in the home communities with the: sense of belonging (35.5%); closeness to family (32.3%); and a good place to sleep (22.6%) as the main indicators of satisfaction with the conditions at home.
16. Involvement in community activities (35.5%); acceptance by home community (27.9%); membership in social groups (23.3%) and

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engagement in employment opportunities (13.4% were the indicators of reintegration

Comparison of social and economic conditions in destination area and home communities after return

17. Employment opportunities (69.7%); higher income levels (59.6%); and ability to meet basic needs (50.6%) were better in the destination area, while accommodation (78.9%); and support in times of need (70.8%) were better in the home communities.

Factors considered by migrants for remaining in the home communities or r-emigrating.

18. The main reasons why return migrants wanted to remain in the home communities were: sense of belonging (32.9%); to get married (18.5%); better social conditions at home (15.8%); and having achieved return intentions (15.0%)

19. The main reasons why return migrants wanted to re-migrate were: lack of employment in the home communities (22.4%); higher income-earning opportunities (19.0%); failure to achieve return intentions (17.2%); dissipation of resources returned with (16.4%) and difficulty in meeting basic needs (15.5%) social networks and reintegration of return migrants

20. Migrants gave 68.4 percent and received 31.6 percent of the total exchange of support. They gave 72.9 percent and received 24.0 percent economic support, while they received 76.0 percent and gave 27.1 percent of social support.

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21. The main beneficiaries of support from return migrants were parents (26.7%); siblings (26.2%); friends (20.4%); and uncles and aunties (10.2%).

22. The main providers of support to the return migrants were; parents (26.9%); siblings (25.0%); uncles and aunties (16.3%); old friends (16.3%) and church/mosque (10.6%)

Conclusions

The majority of the respondents migrated and returned within the productive ages of between 20 and 40 years. Females returned younger than male.

Economic hardship in the home community was the predominant reason for migration as most of the migrants were unemployed and those employed did not earn enough. Majority of the respondents had no children and most of them lived with their parents prior to migration. Accra and Kumasi were the two main destination areas, even though they were the farthest among all the listed destination areas. Thus, distance was not the main determinant of choice of destination but rather the commercial and industrial status of the location. Migrants went to Accra and Kumasi because they provided better employment opportunities. Most of the migrants had temporary migration intentions to achieve specific purposes and return after achieving those purpose

The economic status of the return migrants improved in the destination area but their social conditions were poorer in the destination area. Migrants had better income-earning opportunities in the destination area. Thus, migrants had higher capacity to meet their basic needs in the

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destination area than in the home communities. Migrants were able to remit at different intervals to their kin back home. They remitted out of love and concern towards the welfare of the family left at home. This also affirms the group interest and community orientation of the African as represented in this study by the respondents; they were prepared to share the little they made in migration with those left at home. The decision to return was largely voluntary. Those who returned voluntarily did so either because they had achieved their migration intentions or had failed to do so and, therefore, found no need to continue to waste their time in the destination area.

Some of the return migrants did not adequately prepare before they returned. Some of them dissipated their savings, while fulfilling their social obligations Return migrants had observed some changes in their communities when they returned but these changes were largely infrastructural which were of little economic benefit to them. Some return migrants were able to put their acquired capital into productive use and became economically successful thus smoothing their successful reintegration into their communities. Such returnees were successful because they were able to identify employment opportunities that had been created through the changes that had taken place in the community as well as the support they received at home. Others were not successful because they did not plan to return but were compelled to do so to fulfil social obligations or got pregnant; Others did not succeed in reintegrating in the home community because of the fear of failure and so were unable to put their savings into any profitable venture, while others could not reintegrate because they dissipated their savings in assisting members of their social networks

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Some of the return migrants were satisfied with the conditions in the home communities. But they alluded to mostly social reasons for their satisfaction. These included: the sense of belonging; closeness to family; and a good place to sleep. The economic needs of the return migrants were better met in the destination area, while their social needs were better met in the home communities. For most of them, the social needs were more important integration indicators than the economic needs.

Some return migrants would want to remain in home communities because they thought the social factors were better at home. Others considered the economic factors which were better in the destination as the reason to remigrate. Thus, though economic opportunities at home might not be favourable for return migrants, the sense of being members of their communities might enable them to stay at home.

The sense of belonging was crucial for the reintegration of the respondents in this study. Return migrants were engaged in reciprocal support system with their kin, which was found to be mutually beneficial to the return migrants and the members of their social networks. However, return migrants were found to have given more than they received. The home communities offered more social support than economic support to the return migrants. On the other hand, the return migrants gave more economic support to the home communities. Through this mutually beneficial support system between return migrants and the members of their immediate families, return migrants had some of their needs met by members of their social networks that served as an anchor for their reintegration.

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Return migrants were also obliged to share their resources with their community members, especially their immediate family. This was to enhance social capital, an essential aspect of African society. This supports the assertion by Putman (1995) that social networks are mutually beneficial among rural people and bind members of the social networks together. The mutual sharing of resources contributed to the building of trust and connectedness between the return migrants and members of their social networks.

Though the negative effect of social networks affected return migrants' ability to invest, its advantages cannot be overemphasized. For example, they fell on the social capital and network relations, such as siblings, uncles, aunts, and friends, within their communities for various kinds of support. This demonstrates that social capital is mutually beneficial to all members of the society. This must be taken into account in policy reorientation to promote harmonious coexistence and trust among community members.

Return migrants were generally satisfied with the social conditions at home. However, lack of economic opportunities might compel some of them to re-migrate. Even though economically it might not be sound, the African society is very rich in social capital in which there is mutual trust and support for each other. The study has shown that nobody is an island in him/ herself. This is what Mbiti (1990) meant, when he said, "I am, because we are, and since we are, therefore, I am: This is a cardinal point in the understanding of the African view of man" (Mbiti 1990; 106). Return migrants, therefore,

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supported their kin economically, whenever possible, and received social support from their kin when they were disadvantaged.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, some recommendations have been made to facilitate the reintegration of return migrates into their communities:

1. Improvement in employment and other income-earning opportunities in the home communities must be pursued if we would want return migrants to remain in the home communities. Government policies and programmes for the Northern sector must be directed towards creating healthy economic opportunities in these communities. Effective implementation of the Savannah Accelerated Development program can create an enabling environment that can be a pull factor in the Northern Region for the return of north-south migrants and even engender south-north migration in the long term.
2. Conscious efforts should be made by the National Development Planning Commission to balance the spread of development interventions between the south and the north to curb the north-south migration pattern.
3. Migration has a great potential to propel rural development, if properly managed. Seasonal migration that allows the utilization of idle labour during the off season can be encouraged as that enhances the income of idle hands. On the other hand efforts should be made to provide more efficient irrigation systems in all communities to ensure year round agricultural production. This will address the push factor of idleness during the offseason period experienced now.

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4. Migrant remittances are very essential for the upkeep of family members left at home. These remittances are made possible by the savings migrants make in the destination area. The living conditions and security of the migrants in the destination area are critical to keep them working. The Department of Social Welfare should provide decent hostels in the urban areas where the migrants ply their trade at a reasonable fee. Organised daily savings schemes can be arranged by registered savings institutions to safeguard the earnings of the migrants.
5. The state, through the appropriate institutions, should put in place policies which would protect vulnerable migrants from abuse from their employers and other social deviants. The mandate of the Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (DOVVSU) of the Ghana Police Service should be enlarged to take care of such abuse.

Contribution to Knowledge

According to Philips and Pugh (1994), original contribution to knowledge is a necessary sequel to a doctoral research but it does not have to be an enormous breakthrough in the subject area. Rather, it should demonstrate that you have a good grasp of how research is done in your area of study. Silverman (2005) has also submitted that in demonstrating independent critical thought by the researcher, contribution to knowledge could be displayed in four areas: developing a concept or a methodology; thinking critically about your approach; building on an existing study; and being prepared to change direction.

The present study has generally contributed to the debate in the literature on the subject matter of reintegration of return migrants in

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particular and on migration studies in general. Specifically, the study has modestly made the following contributions to knowledge:

First, most studies on return migration have focused on international migration, focusing largely on skilled and educated migrants. The present study has thrown light on the dynamics of internal south-north migration return involving persons without much education and skills.

Second, previous studies on integration have largely focused on the migrant in the destination area. Few studies have looked at the reintegration in the home community after return. The present study has added to the few existing literature on reintegration of return migrants in the home community.

Third, the study has demonstrated that the individual can reintegrate only if the social and economic environment provides him or her with the needed opportunities which would be combined with the capabilities of the individual to function and take part in the life of the community.

Fourth, the study has demonstrated the importance of the traditional reciprocal support systems which provide anchor for the reintegration of return migrants. It has challenged the view that traditional values are inimical to development. The study calls for the protection of these traditional values in the face of modernity, urbanization and individualism that are characterising the modern societies.

Fifth, the study has confirmed earlier findings that the destination area provides better economic opportunities for migrants (De Graft-Johnson, 1974; Greenwood, 1975; Arzaghi & Rupasingha, 2011). It has also confirmed the importance of migrant remittances for the wellbeing of family

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members left behind by migrants (Quartey, 2006; Rapoport & Docquier, 2006).

Finally, even though some previous studies have shown that migrants move to cities closet to their home of origin (Caldwell, 1969; Rhoda, 1979; Findlay, 1987), the present study has confirmed that it is the economic opportunities that determine the migration destination

Limitations of the Study

In the researcher's view, the results of the study have fairly well responded to the main objectives and the key questions the research set out to answer. In spite of the contribution to knowledge presented in the previous section, there are grey areas that need to be acknowledged.

The first recognisable shortcoming emanated from limiting the study to only eight out of the twenty one MMDAs. A larger number of communities could have enhanced the results. However, this approach would have had enormous time, logistic and financial implications that was beyond the means of the researcher and the scope of the research

Another limitation was the use of respondents who were unskilled and had low level of education. The broadening of the scope could have affected the direction of the findings.

A corollary to the first two limitations is the difficulty in generalizing the findings and conclusions of the study as a fair representation of the dynamics of reintegration in the Northern Region, let alone the country.

Areas for Further Research

1. Further research is needed on the reintegration of return migrants under different socio-economic conditions at home

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2. The study focused on unskilled and less educated migrants. Further research is required on skilled and educated return migrants.
3. The study was on internal north-south migration. Further studies on international return migration would be desirable
4. The study was on internal north-south migration. Further studies on internal south-south, north-north and north-south return migration would be desirable

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR RETURN MIGRANTS

This study is being undertaken to gather information to assess how return migrants are reintegrating into their home of origin after their stay in another destination. The study is purely for academic purpose and we undertake to keep all information given as confidential and pledge to protect the anonymity and privacy of all participants. The true identity of individual participants will be hidden under pseudo names.

DISTRICT:
Community:

SECTION A: BIODATA

1. How old are you? ……

2. What is your highest level of education?

(1). None (2) Primary (3). JHS/Middle

(4). Secondary/Vocational (5). Tertiary.

3. Number of children ……

4. Are your parents alive?

(1) Both of them are living (2) Only father is living

(3) Only mother is alive. (4) Both of them are dead

5. With whom did you live before migration?

(1) Both parents (2) Father only

(3) Mother only (4) Brother/Sister

(5) Uncle/Aunt (6) Distant relation

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(7) A non- relation (8) Living alone

(9) Wife/Husband (10) Other (Specify)

SECTION B:LIFE IN DESTINATION AREA

6. How old were you when you migrated?

…….

7. How long did you stay in the destination?

…….

8. Why did you migrate?

……

……

9. Where did you migrate to? ……

10. What informed your choice of destination?

…….

……

11. With whom did you stay in the destination? ……..

12. What economic activity were you engaged in before you migrated? …….

13. How regularly were you paid or earned an income before migrating?

……

14. Was the income earned at home able to meet your basic needs?

……

15. Were you able to save at home? …….

16. What economic activity (ies) were you engaged in at the destination area? State all.

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……

……

17. How regularly were you paid or earned? (1) Daily (2) Weekly

(3) Bi-weekly (4) Monthly (5) Quarterly (6) Yearly

18. What was your average income?

.....

19. Was the income earned in destination able to meet your basic needs?

……

20. How much of your income did you spend daily at the destination? …….

21. Were you able to save in the destination? …….

22. What were the main items you spent on?

……

23. Were you remitting home when you were at the destination? 1. Yes 2. No

24. How frequently were you remitting relations left at home?

(1)Monthly (2) Quarterly (3) Twice a year (4) Annually

(5) Occasionally (6) As and when it was necessary (7) Never

25. Whom were you remitting to? …….

26. Why did you remit the people you did? ……

27. How essential was your remittance to the survival of the beneficiaries?

(1) Not very essential (2) Not Essential

(3) Neither essential nor not essential (4) Essential (5)Very essential

28. Where was your place of abode (accommodation)? …….

29. Why did you have to live at where you did?

……

30. How many of you stayed in one room? ……..

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31. Why did you have that number in one room? ……

32. What were some of the challenges encountered while in the destination?

……

……

.

33. How did you cope with the challenges?

……

34. What were some of the extraordinary difficulties you encountered while in migration?

……

35. How did you cope with the difficulties? ……

SECTION C: RETURN TO HOME COMMUNITY

36. What motivated your return?

……

37. What employable skill(s) did you acquire before returning home?

……

38. Did you bring any economic assets home? . 1. Yes 2. No

39. If yes, what economic assets did you bring home?

……

……

40. If No, Why?

……..

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41. How are you using the assets brought home, if you did?

……

……

42. What were your initial plans after returning?

……

43. Have you been able to do what you intended doing? (1) Yes (2) No

44. If yes, how satisfy are you with your performance?

……

45. If No, what has prevented you from doing so?

……

……

SECTION D: OBSERVED CHANGES

46. Have you observed any changes in the community from the situation before you migrated? 1. Yes 2. No

47. If Yes, what changes have you found in the community since you return? List them.

……

……

48. How is the observed change helping to you to reintegrate in the community? ……

……

49. What employment opportunities have you found in the community? List them.

……

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……

50. Have you engaged yourself in some of these employment opportunities? Yes/No

51. If yes, which of them?

.....

52. If no, explain why you have not.

……

SECTION E: REINTEGRATION

53. Which of these social/community activities are you engaged in? Tick as many as you engaged in.

    (1) Funerals

    (2) Communal labour

    (3) Community Meetings

    (4) Marriage ceremonies

    (5) Naming ceremonies

54. Which of these is true of your acceptance by the community/family? Tick all those which are true to your situation.

    (1) Consulted by members on important matters

    (2) Given position of trust

    (3) Invited to social functions

    (4) Receive visits from other members

What kind of support have you received from the following relations of yours?

55. Parents

56. Siblings

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57. Uncles/Aunties

58. Community members

59. Church/Mosque

60. Old friends

What type of support have you been giving to the following relations of yours since your arrival?

61. Parents

62. Siblings

63. Uncles/Aunties

64. Community members

65. Church/Mosque

66. Old friends

67. To what extent is the sharing of resources with the different members of your social network affecting your plans?

.....

.....

.....

.....

68. What kind of problems are you facing the community after your return?.....

.....

.....

.....

69. How are you coping with the problems you are facing?

.....

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.....

.....

.....

Between conditions at destination and home, which was better? Tick the better location

S/N	Indicator	Condition in destination	Condition at Home
70	Employment opportunities		
71	Income levels		
72	Ability to meet basic needs		
73	Accommodation		
74	Support in times of needs		
75	Sense of belonging		

76. What factors would you consider in deciding to remain at home even if **B** is better than **A**? State

……

…….....

77. What are some of the difficulties you have faced/are facing in your community after your return?

……

……

78. How are you coping with the difficulties you are facing?

.....

.

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.....

.....

....

79. W hat do you consider as most important for your reintegration in the community? (Arrange in order of preference)

(1) Employment opportunities

(2) Social relations

(3) Social amenities

(4) Marriage

(5) Money

80 Given the opportunity, will you remain in the community or remigrate? (1) Yes (2) No.

81.If Yes, Give your reasons.

……

……

……

82. If No, Give reasons

……

……

……

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APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD OF MIGRANTS

1. Were you aware that your relation was travelling to another place?
2. Did you have any contact with your relative while in migration?
3. Did the relative send anything to you while in migration?
4. What kind of remittance did you receive from your relative?
5. What were you to use the remittances for?
6. In which ways was the relative supporting the household when in migration?
7. Could the household survived without the remittances from the migrant?
8. Were you aware that the relative was returning?
9. How did you receive the relative on arrival?
10. Is the relative able to help you in any way since return?
11. Considering what you were getting from the relative compared to what you get from the person, will you prefer the individual to go back to migration or stay here with you?
12. Will you also want to migrate?

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APPENDIX C

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY MEMBERS

1. Has any members of the community travelled to any place outside the community?
2. How do you generally receive the information that one of your kin has travelled out of the community?
3. Did the community benefit from anything from the members while in migration?
4. In which ways do you think the community was benefiting from the members when in migration?
5. How did you receive the return of a migrant back into the community?
6. What support do the return migrants give to the community?
7. What kind of support do the community members give to return migrants?
8. Why will the community want to support a return migrant?
9. How can the community help the migrant to resettle in the community?
10. Considering what you were getting from the relative compared to what you get from the person, will you prefer the individual go back to migration or stay here with you?
11. Will you encourage other members of the community to migrate to other places?

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