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MSc. Thesis

CONTESTATIONS FOR LEFT BEHIND MALES THROUGH TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS?

Gender, remittances, household roles & transnational
spousal relations in Kumasi, Ghana



A study conducted in Kumasi, Ghana on (changes in) household roles and spousal relations in transnational spousal relationships in relation to gender, migration and remittance behaviors

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Abstract

This study has focussed on gender differences in remittance behavior on both sending and receiving side, and the influence of migration of the spouse and consequential remittance behavior on gender-differentiated household roles and spousal relations, whereby both qualitative and quantitative data were retrieved from a cross-sectional non-probability sample of both male and female resident spouses in Kumasi, Ghana. In this study it is argued that left-behind males are challenged in their masculinity and may show difficulties in adaptation concerning individual aspects such as responsibilities, practical changes, time management and the lack of development of household skills. Through the transnational relationship with their migrated female spouse, they may also experience a loss of power, either because their masculine role as principal provider is weakened – invoking a negative self-image – or because they may experience a decline in status from their social environment. Such contestations may be, even in their hardest attempt, a dent in their identity as they are forced to let go of their role as principal provider and have to negotiate a lower position in the spousal power and decision-making divisions while their migrated female spouse comes into contact with a culture with more feminist characteristics than theirs, possibly identifying and acting on her own desire for changes in gender relations and consequently may gain empowerment in the spousal relationship from two directions. Thus, it is argued that experiences as a left-behind male spouse and the experiences of the female migrant may increase the possibilities for gender equality within the spousal relationship. From the male migrant perspective, this study has shown indications of migrated men exercising their masculine role through transnational communications, through which they may attempt to obtain or maintain their status and identity; something they may lack in the country of migration. It is argued that perhaps, some of these men might be overcompensating their drive for ‘male recognition’ through exercising their power on their household back home. Findings in this study have however also suggested that, seemingly related to a higher education, legal status and occupation, experiences in a different culture have positively changed the amount of respect shown by the male migrants towards their female spouse back home.

Keywords *Gender, Migration, Remittances, Remittance Behavior, Left-Behind Males, Masculinity, Female Empowerment, Household, Household Roles, Spousal Relationships, Transnational Relationships, Gender Relations, Power Relations, Decision-making, Spouse, Kumasi, Ghana, Spousal Migration*

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Before you lies my master thesis; a result of joy, effort, cooperation, endurance and experiences. For all those who were special to me in the process, even philanthropic at times, I would like to express a few words of gratefulness.

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I could not have made this trip without the help of my family; my parents and grandparents in specific. Their emotional and financial supports were prerequisites for my journey to Ghana, which they have fulfilled in such a way that I still have not yet figured out how to thank them. Special thanks goes out to my mother– for her care, love and her ability to cope with me for several months while I was in the process of finishing my thesis, and Arend – for mostly the same reasons and his great amounts of patience and respect.

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In Ghana, our scientific journey started at the University of Ghana in Accra. Via our professor, Lothar Smith, we came into contact with Dr. Peter Quartey and Dr. Joseph Teye. Mr. Quartey helped us greatly with improving the interview questions and providing some general information about migration and remittances in Ghana. I thank Mr. Teye for being the significant link in our journey towards Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), Kumasi. He provided us with contact information on a lecturer, Dr. Peter Dwumer, and a student, Thomas Padi. Thomas Padi had set us up with a nice place to stay on the campus of KNUST and has shown ample commitment in making our stay comfortable and worthwhile. Mr. Dwumer in turn set us up with his two teaching assistants¹; Deborah Ansu Pomaa and Michael Opoku. Deborah became my research partner and has shown great commitment towards the entire process of data gathering. Not only did

¹ See Appendix B for further information on our research partners in Kumasi, Ghana

we work well together, we have also become friends in the short but intensive time we spent together. I also wish to thank Michael for his commitment to the research project; it was hard at times, but ever rewarding. As a side note, I congratulate Deborah on becoming a wife and a mother of a healthy child a few months after we finished our fieldwork.

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Ingmar Deenen,

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Contents

Acknowledgements	iv
Figures.....	ix
Tables	ix
Boxes	ix
Images	ix
Plates	ix
Acronyms	x
Common concepts & definitions	xi
Preface.....	xiii
Research project	xiii
Important documents.....	xv
Readers manual	xvi
 1. Introduction	 1
1.1 Relevance	1
1.2 Design.....	3
1.3 Aims	5
1.3.1 Oxfam/Novib	5
1.3.2 Research goals and research questions	6
1.4 Country context – Ghana.....	8
1.4.2 Ashanti culture and gender in Kumasi	9
2. Theoretical framework.....	11
2.1 Key concepts	11
2.1.1 Gender	11
2.1.2 Migration	13
2.1.3 Remittances and remittance behavior	14
2.2 Interaction, interrelation and causality	15
2.2.1 Gender and remittance behavior	16
3. Methodology.....	17
3.1 Research philosophy	17
3.2 Research choices	19
3.2.1 Time horizon.....	19
3.2.2 Grounded theory	19
3.2.2 Triangulation of researchers	19
3.3 Research strategies	20

3.3.1 Secondary research	20
3.3.2 Mixed methods	20
3.3.3 Variables	21
3.3.4 Research units	23
3.4 Research techniques	24
3.4.1 Survey	24
3.4.2 Semi-structured in-depth interviews	24
3.5 Sampling	24
3.6 Analysis	26
3.6.1 Research techniques	26
3.6.2 Sampling	26
3.6.3 Methodical considerations	28
3.6.4 Methodological considerations	28
3.6.5 Data coding	29
4. Analysis	31
4.1 Research population	31
4.1.1 Age	31
4.1.2 Educational level	31
4.1.3 Household	32
4.1.4 Homogeneity versus heterogeneity	34
4.1.5 Motives for migration	35
4.1.6 Future plans	35
4.2 Analyzing techniques	37
4.2.1 Grounded theory	37
4.2.2 Coding paradigm model	38
4.2.3 Empirical findings	38
5. Empirical findings – Cross-gender	41
5.1 Characteristics of remittance sending behavior	41
5.2 Characteristics of remittance receiving behavior	42
5.2.1 Receiving remittances	42
5.2.2 Average monthly amount	43
5.2.3 (In)dependence of remittances	44
5.3 Changing household roles and spousal relations	45
5.3.1 Changing attitudes and behaviors	46
5.3.2 Changing power relations	47
6. Discussion – Contestations to male identity?	49
6.1 Embedded case studies	49
6.1.1 Mark	49

6.1.2 Isaac	50
6.1.3 Emmanuel	51
6.2 Themes	52
6.2.1 Society, culture and masculinity	52
6.2.2 Spousal relations, family, household roles and micro-economics.....	54
6.3 Residing at home or left behind?.....	55
7. Conclusions	57
7.1 Future research, practice and policy recommendations	59
7.1.1 Future research	59
7.1.2 Practice and policy recommendations	61
7.1.3 Policy recommendations in bullet points.....	63
8. Reflections.....	65
Thesis reflection	65
Suggestions for improvement.....	65
Preperations	66
Fieldwork diary	67
Fieldwork experiences.....	67
Extracurricular activities	69
References	71
Appendix A – Interview questions	75
Appendix B – Research partners	80
Appendix C – Descriptive Statistics	81
Male respondents.....	81
Female respondents	87
Appendix D – Plates.....	93

Figures

Figure 2.1	Causality scheme.....	16
Figure 3.1	The research ‘onion’ (Saunders et al., 2006; in Saunders et al., 2009).....	17
Figure 3.2	Interaction, interrelation.....	22
Figure 3.3	Interaction, interrelation and causality in unit of analysis.....	23
Figure 4.1	Household composition.....	34
Figure 4.2	Motives for migration	35
Figure 4.3	Future migration plans of migrants	35
Figure 4.4	Grounded theory building and feedback process	37
Figure 5.1	Receiving remittances	43
Figure 5.2	Average monthly amount of remittances	44
Figure 5.3	(In)dependence on financial remittances.....	44
Figure 5.4	Changing gender roles and power relations	45

Tables

Table 4.1	Age respondents and migrant spouses.....	31
Table 4.2	Education respondents and migrant spouses	32
Table 4.3	Household composition	33
Table 5.1	Receiving remittances.....	43
Table 5.2	Average monthly amount of remittances	43
Table 5.3	(In)dependence on financial remittances	44

Boxes

Box 5.1	Grace about power relations and responsibilities	47
Box 5.2	Sandra about power relations	47

Images

Image 1.1	Map of Ghana (IOM, 2009).....	10
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Plates

Plate 1	Research team: Deborah Ansu Poomah and Ingmar Deenen	93
Plate 2	Ingmar Deenen and Peter Dwumer.....	94
Plate 3	Research team: Michael Opoku and Lieke van der Zee.....	94

Acronyms

CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KNUST	Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ON	Oxfam/Novib
ONEM	Oxfam/Novib Expert Meeting
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNINSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women

Common concepts & definitions

In order to prevent confusion, common definitions as used in this thesis are listed above. Note that definitions concerning variables will be explained more thoroughly throughout this thesis. Also note that some definitions are used more or less specific in this thesis than they may be otherwise.

Topic related

Attitude	“Manner, disposition, feeling, position, etc., with regard to a person or thing; tendency or orientation, especially of the mind” (http://www.dictionary.com)
Behavior	“Observable activity” (http://www.dictionary.com)
Blood-relatives	Genetically related family members
Extended family	Socially related family (e.g. through spousal relationship) members
Gender	Socially constructed, cultural and contextual defined differences, usually based on divisions by sex
Gender relations	Social relation(ship)s differentiated by (aspects of) gender – in this study predominantly referring to spousal gender relations
Household	An undefined amount of people, usually family and/or children and sometimes servants, living together in one house
Household roles	Any tasks or responsibilities concerning household chores, maintenance, groceries, childcare
Migrant’s spouse	See resident spouse
Migration	Act of going from one country or region to another – in this study referring to transnational migration (coincidentally all but one residing in countries of the global north) unless indicated otherwise
Nuclear family	Any combination between mother, father and their children
Perception	“The act or faculty of apprehending by means of the senses or of the mind” (http://www.dictionary.com), therefore based on subjectivity
Remittances	General reference to financial – unless indicated otherwise – means sent back by the migrant to the country of origin – in this research treated as behavior-related and behavior-invoking
Remittance behavior(s)	Behavioral characteristics surrounding the phenomenon of sending and/or receiving remittances (e.g. frequency, amount, agreements) – in this thesis also includes the act of migration, as migration is a prerequisite to remittance behavior
Relative	Blood-relative or extended family member
Residing	Living in a house or a country for a certain period of time that stretches beyond a period of holiday
Resident spouse	Non-migrated spouse
Respondent	Resident spouse
Sex	Biologically originated differences in the physical dichotomy of males and females

Spouse	Married or engaged significant other in a relationship (occasional exception may occur and would imply meaningful partnership)
Spousal relations	In widest sense contains all characteristics of the spousal relationship - in this thesis also strongly relates to gendered perceptions, attitudes and behaviors
Spousal relationship	Relationship between two spouses – in this research limited to man-woman
<i>Thesis & research related</i>	
Fieldwork	On site activities, interviews, inquiries and explorations related to data collection
Primary research	Fieldwork activities and inquiries and surrounding preparational and analytical activities and inquiries (including communications and cooperations)
Research/thesis research	“Diligent and systematic inquiry or investigation into a subject in order to discover, revise” (http://www.dictionary.com) and explore on facts, theories and data
Research operation	Overarching research operation by Oxfam/Novib
Research project	Overlapping research project in Ghana and The Philippines commissioned by Oxfam/Novib
Research team	Deenen & Van der Zee (Ghana) and Gresham & Smit (The Philippines)
Secondary research	Literature research and review
Study	(Combination of) primary and secondary research specific to this thesis
Thesis	This actual document, written by Ingmar Deenen

Preface

Research project

As will be explained further in this thesis, this study is derived from secondary research (Dunsmuir & Williams, 1992) through a literature review on the theoretical and empirical contexts of this study and a primary research project commissioned² by Oxfam/Novib (ON³), a Dutch non-governmental aid organization. This research project was initiated and coordinated by Ton van Naerssen⁴ – acting as representative for Oxfam/Novib – and supervised by Ton van Naerssen and Lothar Smith⁵, as a representative for the Radboud University Nijmegen. The primary research fieldwork of this project has been prepared and conducted by four master thesis students – author Ingmar Deenen (m), Philip Gresham (m), Marieke Smit (f) and Lieke van der Zee (f) – in Human Geography; International Migration, Globalization and Development at the Radboud University Nijmegen.

Focussing on the topics of gender, remittance behavior and changing household roles and spousal relations and aiming to contribute to a better understanding of the relations between gender and remittance behavior, fieldwork for this research project has been conducted through face-to-face interviews and was located in two developing countries; Ghana and The Philippines. Hereby Lieke van der Zee and Ingmar Deenen formed a research team in Kumasi, Ghana, whilst Philip Gresham and Marieke Smit formed a research team in Cebu City, The Philippines. In order to enlarge insights in the phenomena of gender and remittances and due to this research project's aims to contribute to Oxfam/Novib's research objectives, it was decided to conduct a similar and cooperative primary research in both countries, aiming for cross-country and cross-gender comparability.

Even though this study focusses on cross-gender and a male-specific comparison rather than cross-country comparison, the strive for comparable data implies that preparational information on theoretical and empirical contexts, aims, methodology and methods (including a shared questionnaire as guideline for the interviews⁶) were – guided by Oxfam/Novib's terms of reference (Van Naerssen, 2011; listed below under important documents) – shared, defined and/or argumentated by all four of the participating student-researchers in preparation of and during the fieldwork. This cooperation resulted in an individual research proposal (Deenen, 2011; listed below under important documents) which formed an important backbone for this thesis.

In a later stage consequential to the fieldwork commissioned by Oxfam/Novib, the main results of this research project resulted in two analyzing research papers written in cooperation between both members of each research team (Deenen & Van der Zee, 2011; Gresham & Smit, 2011; both listed below under important documents). These research papers⁷ were prepared for the Oxfam/Novib expert meeting on Gender and Remittances in The Hague on the 29th and 30th of September 2011. Hereby a number of experts were present, including all contributors to this research project: Ton van Naerssen, Lothar Smith, Ingmar Deenen, Phil Gresham, Marieke Smit and Lieke van der Zee. Both primary research teams were invited to present their results during this expert meeting and were fully engaged in the entire process of the meeting.

² See section 1.3.1 for details on Oxfam/Novib's role in this research project

³ <http://www.oxfamnovib.nl/en-home.html>

⁴ <http://socgeo.ruhosting.nl/homepages/tvn/homepage.html>

⁵ <http://socgeo.ruhosting.nl/homepages/ls/homepage.html>

⁶ See Appendix A for details of the guidelines on the interviews

⁷ Not officially published, but may be requested through Oxfam/Novib

Even though this thesis is my proof of individual skill and knowledge – which is in part shown by focussing on the male research population within the units of analysis – cooperation and communication in this research project between student-student, student-research partner, student-supervisor and supervisor-supervisor were insuperable, but more importantly, were essential and enriching towards the project's theoretical and empirical development and consequential findings and reportings, in part due to the complexity of the explored phenomena. In addition, these cooperations and communications enhanced personal skills and developments that are linked to teamwork – such as cooperation, communication, leadership, supervision, delegation, networking, attitudes, deadlines, triangulation of insights, etc. – therefore contributing to a broadening and developing experience as a whole.

Parallel to such positive experiences and developments, I feel the need to elaborate on official regulations concerning cooperative writings. These official regulations obliged education officials to generally disallow cooperative writings between (master) thesis students. Even though obligations might be understandable when it comes to the purveyance of evidence of individual skill, the implications of such decisions are deeply rooted in the format, content and reportings of this study and its resulting thesis. Not only have these regulations significantly increased the time spent on this thesis, which was an onerous addition to all the cooperative processes and comparability concerns as described above, it also undermines the empirical cross-gender value of this entire research project. The argument made was that cooperation between Van der Zee and me would result in having a similar thesis. In my opinion, this argument holds little value, because neither of us would have come to such a cooperative – and perhaps somewhat similar – cross-gender result if we would not have cooperated in the first place. A synthetic gender-division, which – in this thesis – has focussed on the males from our sample (see chapter 6), seems very dysfunctional to the actual value of cross-gender comparisons in this study. Because of the intensive cooperative process in this entire research project – in this thesis mostly referring to Van der Zee and author – it was simply impossible to retrieve who argued what, and who argued it first. Neither Lieke nor I have ever felt the need to argue in such a way. Moreover, if we would make a gender division, we would actually have to ‘steal’ insights from each other. We decided we would not let this situation get in our way; we became research partners, companions and friends, which hold much greater value than any (un)necessary obligatory distinctions between us. Working together is not simply a matter of having a 50/50 share (or 25% in case of our team of four); it requires much more effort and feedback, which entail qualities far more useful than the temporary specialization of a master thesis. I sincerely hope this thesis will proof just that.

In me, a question urges: how many graduates will work in an individual setting? Is it not possible to create a thoroughly structured educational system that stimulates cooperation (and thus development in both skill and knowledge) for situations alike? I hope the future will learn to refrain from such individualistic policies, which is something I think science in general could use a little less of. I understand dilemmas concerning plagiarism, corruption and bribery, but there are ample ways to intercept such risks. Besides, riding solo may also have its complications, as has been shown by recent news in the media on data forgery. The feeling that my education is only about me and its consequential one-way process has always been a significant demotivation. I want to see, hear, be and feel the world. I want to inspire the world and talk about it. I'm a social scientist that learns through bidirectional and unidirectional interaction, from images, sounds and scents, but not from

singular information. And yet, even in the lonely process of writing a thesis, I'm bright enough to combine it all.

Because of all considerations above, and the cooperation and sharing of fieldwork, data and the gathered preparations and writings for Oxfam/Novib by yours sincerely and Lieke van der Zee, the reciprocal decision was made to write a cooperative chapter on both research population and analysis of the sex-differentiated data, enabling comparison between both genders (see chapter 4 and chapter 5). In addition, a male-specific chapter (6) will go deeper into the male aspects of the transnational spousal relationships, focussing on several case studies.

While the theoretical and empirical reportings of this thesis are mainly aimed to contribute to the expansion of (social-)scientific literature and Oxfam/Novib's research objectives, the reportings related to personal⁸, cooperative⁹ and fieldwork¹⁰ experiences and decisions are mainly aimed to create a transparent overview of the development of this research and its (cooperative) fieldwork, guided by a desire to write a thesis that aims to support students and (student-)researchers in the future.

Important documents

As has been mentioned above, this thesis draws upon several documents that have been written (in cooperation) by author during the processes of preparation, data collection and/or analysis of this research project. This thesis has expanded, elaborated, reviewed, rewritten and renewed former products written (in cooperation) by author and provides new writings, insights and contributions to all chapters.

Deenen, I. M. (2011). Research Proposal. Preparing the Master Thesis, Radboud University Nijmegen.

Deenen, I. M. & Van der Zee, L. (2011). Gender and remittances: The case of Kumasi, Ghana. Paper submitted to the Oxfam/Novib expert meeting Gender and Remittances, The Hague, 29-30 September 2011.

Providing the guidance and initiation to the research project commissioned by Oxfam/Novib, terms of reference were set by Van Naerssen (2011).

Van Naerssen, T. (2011) Terms of Reference. Oxfam/Novib Research Project Gender and Remittances, July 2010 – October 2011.

Parallel to the paper by Deenen and Van der Zee (2011), three other papers were written in preparation of the Oxfam/Novib expert meeting, of which the paper written by Gresham and Smit (2011) belongs to the research project referred to in this thesis. The other two papers belong to the overarching research operation organized by Oxfam/Novib. Note that these papers have not been published officially, but may be requested through Oxfam/Novib.

⁸ See e.g. chapter 8

⁹ See e.g. chapter 3, 4 and 5

¹⁰ See e.g. chapter 3, 4 and 8

- Gresham, P. & Smit, M. (2011). Gender and remittances: The case of the Philippines. Paper submitted to the Oxfam/Novib expert meeting Gender and Remittances, The Hague, 29-30 September 2011.
- Helmich, R. M. (2011). International migration, remittances and gender in Bolivia. Paper submitted to the Oxfam/Novib expert meeting Gender and Remittances, The Hague, 29-30 September 2011.
- Khoo, A. (2011). Research on the gender aspect of migrants' remittances in Bangladesh. Paper submitted to the Oxfam/Novib expert meeting Gender and Remittances, The Hague, 29-30 September 2011.

Because of the comparative design of this research project and its cooperative preparations as explained previously, thesis structure, research questions, methodology, methods, arguments, literature, sources and data in this thesis may be somewhat similar to - or overlap with – those of the other three theses written by Gresham¹¹ (2011), Smit (2012, forthcoming) and Van der Zee (2012, forthcoming). These theses are listed below.

- Gresham, P. (2011). Heroes at Home? Disputing popular images of nonmigrating husbands of overseas Filipina workers. MSc. Thesis Human Geography, Radboud University Nijmegen.
- Smit, M. (2012, forthcoming). The costs of remittances; implications of international migration and remittances on female household roles in Metro Cebu. MSc. Thesis Human Geography, Radboud University Nijmegen.
- Van der Zee, L. (2012, forthcoming). Changing gender roles and household roles due to migration and remittances: a study in Kumasi, Ghana. MSc. Thesis Human Geography, Radboud University Nijmegen.

Readers manual

As described above, many facets of this research project have resulted in cooperations and (thus) similarities, which were intended, unintended, complied and/or uncoerced. It must however be noted that this thesis as a whole is written individually by author. To this rule, as has been mentioned previously, is one exception: the cooperation and sharing of fieldwork, data and the gathered preparations and writings for Oxfam/Novib by author and Van der Zee have led to the decision to write two cooperative chapters on respectively the research population and analysis of the sex-differentiated data, enabling comparison between both genders. In addition, an intra-sex comparison of the male research population has been made (see chapter 6).

In case similarities or overlappings are of major significance with one or more of the other three theses – such as the guiding questionnaire for the interviews – participating students (Ingmar Deenen, Philip Gresham, Marieke Smit and/or Lieke van der Zee) will be mentioned in a footnote throughout this thesis, mostly referred to by their last names. This footnote will also describe the form of cooperation (written by, edited by, written in cooperation with, etc.) Terms such as 'we', 'us' and 'our' generally refer to two or all of the four students including author. In case any writings are related to the research in Ghana, such as the cooperative section of the analysis, these terms refer

¹¹ Note that the MSc. thesis written by Gresham (2011) is at the time of writing the only official referable thesis, since the others are forthcoming shortly

specifically to Van der Zee (Lieke) and author Ingmar Deenen (throughout noted as ‘Deenen’, ‘author’ or in first person).

A final note to the reader must be made on the topics and its variables explored in this research. This study focusses on gender, remittances, household roles and transnational spousal relationships. Primary research has focussed on gender differences in remittance behaviors and the role of gender and (gendered) remittance behavior in household roles and spousal relations, using a retrospective method of datacollection to indicate perceived and experienced changes since the transnational spousal migration in perceptions, attitudes and behaviors concerning these phenomena. More specifically this study questions what the characteristics of such (gendered) perceptions, attitudes and behaviors imply for men and whether these change after migration of their female spouse. Hereby data was collected using a cross-sectional non-probability sample of both male and female resident spouse in Kumasi, Ghana. Since this description is theoretically – in terms of interrelations and causality – complex and practically – in terms of readability – volumed, I may feel obliged to limit the notation of this description in both length and definitions – most important of which may be found in the list of common definitions below. I kindly ask the reader to keep referring to the description I have just formulated and to refer to the methodology for further explanation of the primary research and its included topics, definitions and variables. I hope for your understanding and I hope you enjoy reading.

1. Introduction

Historically speaking, mankind has been migrating since even before we became *Homo sapiens sapiens*. For a long time in history, migration was nomadic of character, mostly from a human-inhabited place to a place unknown to the local community, searching for new opportunities or to escape conflict, poverty or environmental degradation (Castels & Miller, 2009, p. 2). If this nomadic migration would result in the encounter of alien (indigenous) people, it was a harbinger for conflict, possibly resulting in violence, (cultural and sexual) assimilation and forced displacement of the dominated community. In more recent millenia, (transnational) migration was to a large extent a phenomenon of invasion, colonialization, inequalities, segregation, material gain, slavery, extortion, human trafficking and war, whereby power was mainly exarabated through physical means. During these times, migration from the dominant and richer empires and nation states – since mid 17th century (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 3) – was mainly opportunistic and fortune- and power-seeking, while receiving countries were generally obliged to receive these migrants. Those who migrated *from* the receiving countries where to a large extent forced, either because of threats to their livelihood or to escape forces and influences by people from explorative and invasive nations.

Since the second half of the twentieth century, migration has increasingly become a process of globalization, social transformation (Castles, 2000) and development (Castles, 2000; Van Naerssen, 2011), enhanced by improved means of transportation, communication and financial systems (Urry, 2007; Van Naerssen & Van der Velde, 2007). This does not imply that conflict as cause and effect of migration has disappeared, but it does imply that more and more local communities are integrated into global relationships (Castles, 2000), which fuels their “wish for a piece of prosperity cake” (Van Naerssen & Van der Velde, 2007). In the last decades, decolonialization of the global south and rapid economic growth in the global north have somewhat reversed the process of migration, whereby opportunistic north-south migration slowly became dominated by south-north migration (De Haas, 2005). In addition, remaining countries dictated by captive and repressive powers have embraced a neo-liberal and (partially) democratic system, therefore replacing even more of the forced migration by opportunistic migration and encouraging private, commercial and governmental financial gain. Since the 1980s, movement of people includes all regions of the world (Castles & Miller, 2009) and in 2011, one in every 34 people – more than 215 million in total – on earth was an international migrant (World Bank, 2011).

Such increase – even though it is absolute rather than relative (De Haas, 2005) – in transnational movement of people has resulted in extensive flows of people, capital and information.

1.1 Relevance

One of these flows is an important way for migrants to support people – relatives and friends – in their country of origin: the sending of remittances. Many recent studies and data have stressed the macro-economic impact of remittances (e.g. Addison, 2005), which in most developing countries have long passed official development aid (Awumbila et al., 2011; OECD, 2012). The World Bank (2011) has estimated that in 2010, the *recorded* financial remittances were US\$325 billion – which is more than twice as much as the official development aid in that same year (OECD, 2012) – and in

most developing countries contribute to more than 10 percent of their gross domestic product (GDP) (World Bank, 2011).

As Gresham (2011, p. 2) argues, “the line between societal and academic interests” in migration “becomes blurred”. Even more so for a developing country, relevance of research on migration and its developmental effects may overlap between political, economical, social and scientific domains. In 2003, Black already stated that “it is not surprising that the phenomenon is of interest to development policymakers”; financial remittances may benefit the country of origin through poverty reduction, a direct impact on livelihoods, investment in real estate and investment in micro-enterprises and small and medium enterprises. Remittances also have an economic multiplier effect through increasing consumption and benefit hard currency and exchange rates (Van Naerssen, 2011).

When migrating, many people, even more so for those from developing countries, seek to improve their economical or social conditions and seek to improve the prospects for themselves or their family (IOM, 2011a) elsewhere. In developing countries such as Ghana – the main empirical context of this research - (nuclear) families may have one or more family member that has migrated. Due to high legal, social, cultural and financial thresholds to engage in the process of migration it is most likely that initially one member of the family – or community – migrates. Sending remittances to family and friends in the country of origin is one of the most important methods in improving the prospects and livelihood of their family and more specifically, being the focal point of this study, their spouse and household.

Development aid organizations such as Oxfam/Novib have also become increasingly aware of the importance of migration and remittances. Oxfam/Novib states there is a need to spread information and knowledge on the productive use of remittances among migrants and diaspora organizations in the world, but more specifically in the European Union and in the Netherlands. There have been several diaspora organizations (such as Linkis¹²) in the Netherlands actively involved in discussing recommendations “to reduce the costs of sending remittances, to expand access to financial services and banking services, and to make remittance services more cost-effective and accessible for migrants and their families and friends in countries of origin” (Robert, 2010).

Since the importance of remittances to developing countries has been shown and studied, it is perhaps a good era to engage in studies that explore other (related) aspects to migration and remittances. This study aims to do just that, and in a unique way. Not just because the primary research is quite unique in combining its topics and strategies (see chapter 3), but also because of the relevance of the explored topics. This study differentiates from most studies by adding the dimension of gender to the topics of migration and remittances. Carling (2005) has noted that gender, migration and remittances interact in multiple and complex ways, “rather than being a singular cause and effect” (Gresham, 2011). Carling implies that gender influences remittances and migration, which influence gender relations, which influence the social consequences and representations of migration. Therefore, (gendered) migration may create ‘new’ gendered contestations through the absence of the spouse, whether it is because stereotypical dichotomous gender relations become stronger – presumed in case of spousal male migration, or weaker – presumed in case of spousal female migration. (Gendered) migration is also presumed to influence remittance behavior, which is one of

¹² <http://www.myworld.nl/>

the focal points of this study. Some of these relations have been widely studied, while others have not. One of the relations that remains understudied, is that between gender and remittance behavior (Van Naerssen, 2011).

In most stereotypically ‘gendered’ societies, “women are assumed to be marginally more productive at household activities and raising children (childbearing, caring for the elderly, processing food crops and so forth)” (Faria & Sachsida, 2012) emitting a sense of care and nurture, while men are assumed to be the financial ‘provider’ and ‘head of the household’, emitting a sense of masculinity and power. This familiar stereotypical gendered pattern would generally imply that in most nuclear families, the male spouse is expected to be the designated member to migrate whilst the female spouse resides at home to take care of the house and children. As will be explained further in this thesis, the subjects of gender, remittance behavior, household roles and spousal relationships are considered to be strongly interrelated. Some of these relations might be obvious – such as gender in relation to household roles (Blackden & Wodon, 2006) and gender in spousal relationships – while others might be less obvious, such as gender in relation to remittance behavior. Some of these relations happen on different levels (micro, macro and meso) and some are more context-dependent than others.

Even though some empirical research may be found that shows gendered differences in the sending and receiving of remittances (GCIM, 2005), researches gathering data regarding gender-specific remittance behavior have been scarce, while this could potentially greatly benefit aid organizations such as Oxfam/Novib, for example in their aim for equal rights and treatment (see section 1.3.1). Grounded by several aims, discussed in section 1.3, this study questions how gender and remittance(-behavior)s are interrelated, building on a primary research that questions what happens to aspects of gender, remittance behavior, household roles and spousal relations in Kumasi, Ghana, whereby it focusses on the perceptual, attitudinal and behavioral changes of these aspects since the spousal migration. More specifically this study questions whether such (gendered) perceptions, attitudes and behaviors change for the male research population in this study’s unit of analysis (see section 3.3.4).

In the following introductory sections, respectively the relevance of this study, its design and its aims will be discussed. To conclude this chapter, secondary research will briefly introduce the contextual settings concerning migration and remittances in Ghana and will introduce the *matrilineal* Ashanti culture (Clark, 1999a) which is common to inhabitants of the city of Kumasi.

1.2 Design

This thesis is derived from secondary research through a literature review on the theoretical and empirical contexts of this study and a primary research project commissioned by Oxfam/Novib, a Dutch non-governmental aid organization which will be further introduced below in section 1.3.1. This research project was initiated by Ton van Naerssen – acting as representative for Oxfam/Novib – and was coordinated and supervised by Ton van Naerssen and Lothar Smith as representative for the Radboud University Nijmegen. The primary research of this project has been prepared and conducted by four master thesis students – Philip Gresham (m), Marieke Smit (f), Lieke van der Zee (f) and author Ingmar Deenen (m) – in Human Geography; International Migration, Globalization and Development at the Radboud University Nijmegen¹³.

¹³ See Preface for further information

Focussing on the topics of gender, remittance behavior and household roles and spousal relations and how these phenomena changed since migration of the spouse, and, more specifically, how they interrelate (and change) specific to men, fieldwork for this research project has been conducted in two developing countries; Ghana and The Philippines. These countries were chosen due to several existing institutional connections from the supervisors of this research project¹⁴ and because of both country's relatively high and diverse emigration (Gresham, 2011) and their demographic comparability. To further extend cross-country comparability, it was decided to gather data in the second largest cities of both countries, respectively Kumasi and Cebu City. This primary research would enable several forms of cross-gender comparability within and between the research locations, in addition to the comparability with former studies such as Helmich's (2009) and Khoo's (2011). In addition, the Ashanti region, of which Kumasi is the capital city, is a matrilineal orientated culture (Clark, 1999a), whilst the Philippines is a patrilineal orientated culture. This aspect has been expected to add to the explorative and comparative character of this research project's design.

In order to enlarge insights in the phenomena of gender and remittance(-behavior)s in existing literature and due to the research project's aims to contribute to Oxfam/Novib's research objectives (see section 1.3.1 below), it was decided to conduct a similar and cooperative primary research in both countries, enabling and enlarging cross-country and cross-gender comparability. The strive for comparable data implies that preparational information on theoretical and empirical contexts, aims, methodology and methods (including a shared questionnaire as guideline for the interviews¹⁵) were – guided by Oxfam/Novib's terms of reference (Van Naerssen, 2011) – shared, defined and/or argumentated by all four of the participating student-researchers in preparation of, during and after the fieldwork (in cooperation with Oxfam/Novib and in preparation of the Oxfam/Novib expert meeting, which has been discussed in the preface).

During the preparational phase of the primary research it was decided for each research team to aim for interviewing 20 male and 20 female respondents whose spouse was a transnational migrant and was, in case of this study's specific research, located outside Ghana during the interview. In this thesis, the transnational spousal relationship was considered the case study and unit of analysis while the resident spouse was considered the embedded casestudy and the unit of observation (see section 3.3.4 for details), whereby Ghana served as the empirical context and the Ashanti cultured and matrilineal orientated city of Kumasi was the specific empirical context.

Assuming that respondents would be more open to an interviewer of the same sex, the decision was made to send mixed couples – one male and one female researcher – to each country of study, so both male researchers could interview male respondents and both female researchers could interview female respondents. This meant that author of this thesis has accompanied Lieke van der Zee in Kumasi whilst Phil Gresham and Marieke Smit have gathered their data in Cebu City. Consequently, in the country of study all students would be linked to a research partner¹⁶ of the same sex, resulting in a male-male research couple and a female-female research couple in each research location. However, in conversation with three academic experts on social sciences in both Accra and Kumasi, the Ghanaian research team was told by all of respected that empirically it will not make a difference whether the fieldwork couple is of the same sex or not. Contrary, author and Lieke van der Zee argued that making mixed sex research couples might hold several advantages – rationale of

¹⁴ See Preface for further information

¹⁵ See Appendix A for details of the guidelines on the semi-structured in-depth interviews

¹⁶ See Appendix B for further information

which will be further explicated in section 3.6.2. For this reason, the research team in Ghana had decided to form mixed couples with their local research partners and translators in Kumasi. Since Phil Gresham and Marieke Smit did not receive this advice from their local experts they have stood by the initial plan of making same sex couples with their local research partners and translators in Cebu City.

As a final note I repeat that triangulation and cooperation and sharing of fieldwork, data and the gathered preparations and writings for Oxfam/Novib by author and Van der Zee have led to the decision to write two cooperative chapters (chapter 4 and 5) on respectively the research population (chapter 4) and the analysis of the sex-differentiated data (chapter 5), enabling cross-gender comparison. In addition, an intra-sex comparison of the males in this research been made (see chapter 6).

1.3 Aims

The aims of this research project were guided by Oxfam/Novib as commissioner of this project, discussed below, and resulted in further explication of the research goals and research questions which will be discussed consequentially in section 1.3.2. Initially, research questions were specified in cooperation between all four master thesis students and were, in a later stage, further explicated by author, in cooperation with Lieke van der Zee.

1.3.1 Oxfam/Novib

Oxfam/Novib aims to enhance several basic rights for human beings, namely: the right to the resources for a sustainable livelihood, the right to basic social services such as education and healthcare, the right to life and security considering climate change, natural disasters and conflicts, the right to social and political participation and the right to an identity and diversity and equality – whether the difference is in minority, sexuality or gender¹⁷.

With reference to the right of equality and diversity in gender, Oxfam/Novib has initiated an extensive research operation on gender and remittances, which included the commission of this research project. The overarching research operation involved a number of experts on migration, gender and/or remittances from several countries and included extensive literature reviews by several of these experts which, in combination with this research project and its primary research in Ghana and the Philippines, resulted in an international expert meeting on the topics of gender and remittances. Preamble to the research operation, Oxfam/Novib has defined concrete research objectives:

- To identify the role of gender in remittance behavior between transnational spouses.
- To identify the role of gender in policy, programming and (diaspora) projects that seek to harness the development potential of remittances.
- To formulate policy recommendations and capacity building materials on the gender dimensions of remittances, in order for diaspora organizations to include this in their projects.

This research project of gender and remittances has been commissioned in order to explicate the relationship between gender and remittance behavior in developing countries. It therefore aims to contribute to (policy recommendations and capacity building by) further exploration of, and

¹⁷ <http://www.oxfamnovib.nl/strategy.html>

elaboration on, the combined topics of gender and remittances, focussing on the (changing) gender relations and (changing) household roles of spouses of transnational migrants in Kumasi, Ghana. To further explicate Oxfam/Novib's objectives, ON (Van Naerssen, 2011) has provided the research teams with guidelines on research questions which should contribute to accomplishing the joint research objectives:

1. What are characteristics of gender specific behavior in *sending* migrant remittances?
2. What are characteristics of gender specific behavior in *receiving* migrant remittances?
3. Is there a change of (perception of) gender roles and power relations within the households?
4. What are the consequences of gender specific behavior in remittances for development policies at the local, regional and national levels?
5. What could be the role of the diaspora in gender related remittances and the local, regional and national development?

The explorative design of this primary research project and the focus on transnational relationships will enable insights that may contribute to answering the first, second and third question as proposed by Oxfam/Novib. However, since only the resident part of the transnational spousal couple will be interviewed, answering question 1 is empirically impossible. Section 1.3.2 below will show how this problem has been tackled and will elaborate further on the research goals and research questions.

1.3.2 Research goals and research questions

In order to contribute to Oxfam/Novib's objectives and contribute to extending existing literature, we¹⁸ have formulated a main research question:

In what ways do gendered behaviors, attitudes and perceptions influence remittance behaviors in both sending and receiving remittances and in what ways do (gender) differences related to the act of migration and consequential remittance behaviors affect (gendered) behaviors in and attitudes and perceptions towards the household roles and the (gendered) relations within the transnational spousal relationship in Kumasi, Ghana?

This study will not cover the entire field of causality as described by Carling (2005) – which will be further elaborated on in the theoretical framework of this thesis, but attempts to cover part of the causality question by focussing on post-migration changes in household roles and the (perceived) changes in the (gendered relations of the) transnational spousal relationship. The explorative and in-depth design through both semi-structured interviews and oral surveys with resident spouses of a transnational migrant, as well as secondary research to sketch the theoretical concepts concerning migration, gender, remittances, household roles and relationships may lead to suggestions considering such relations. In order to study the relations between gender, remittances and (changing) household roles and spousal relations in spousal relationships with transnational migrants each aspect of such an extensive question has to be decomposed into several isolated elements,

¹⁸ The main research question in this thesis has been formulated by Deenen and Van der Zee and was re-edited by Deenen

which include argumentations and choices that will be discussed in the methodology section (see chapter 3). Forming the backbone of this research, four subquestions¹⁹ have been formulated:

- 1. What are the (background) characteristics of both spouses and how do migrant, spouse and household relate to each other and their social environment?**
- 2. What are the characteristics (as perceived by the resident spouse) of remittance related behavior in sending migrant remittances?**
- 3. What are the characteristics of remittance behavior in receiving migrant remittances?**
- 4. Is there a change of gender roles within the household's division of household labor since the migration of the spouse, and is there a change in spousal relations (such as power and decisionmaking) between both spouses since the migration? And if so, how are these (gender) roles perceived?**

Formulating the first subquestion resulted in the creation of a short (oral) survey previous to the in-depth semi-structured interview and provided basic characteristics about the migrant, their spouse and the household composition. Important characteristics such as age, sex, education, income and religion were included in this survey and may be important determinants for gender differences (Agyeman-Duah, Manu Asare, Cobbinah, Mintah & Anyinfu, 2006). Other characteristics of their lives which could possibly contribute to gendered differences in their (remittance) behavior were also included. These were characteristics such as motives of migration, ties to the migrant, family composition, spousal communication and ties with (blood-)relatives.

Concerning the first subquestion, most information except personally sensitive information such as income and the migrant's legal status may to a large extent be reliable when coming from a secondary source – the migrant's spouse. The second subquestion would however raise empirical issues if it would be formulated in the same way as Oxfam/Novib's first research question noted previously, simply because we had no direct access to the migrants, as they were outside of Ghana. Instead of exploring the characteristics of gender specific behavior in *sending* migrant remittances by the migrant it was decided to measure the resident spouse's *perception* of characteristics of remittance-related behavior by the migrant. This distinction is important because information on characteristics such as to what extent the migrant sends remittances to other people or the living conditions in the country of migration may be less reliable coming from a secondary source. Because answering the second subquestion is subjected to secondary perception, it is expected to additionally indicate about aspects of the (communicational) spousal relations and therefore may contribute to broader insights on the influence of gender in the spousal relationship (and vice versa).

Subquestion three then returns to the situation of the migrant's spouse. Answering this subquestion may provide insights in the amount of remittances, (gendered) decision-making over the remittances, the (ir)regularity of remittances, and may show how received remittances are decided on, allocated, spend, saved and shared, possibly indicating interrelation between gender, remittance behavior, household characteristics and the spousal relation.

As may be observed, the aspect of gender is explicitly – though unlikely implicitly – absent in the first three subquestions. It was deliberately chosen not to give these subquestions any presumed

¹⁹ The subquestions in this thesis have been formulated by Deenen and Van der Zee

direction when it comes to gender or gendered behavior. The main argument for this is that the answer to these questions may or may not be explained by gender. It is highly likely to find gendered effects when conducting cross-gender or intra-sex comparisons, but this does not imply that such presuppositions should be made.

Subquestion four is the most important question when it comes to both the gender dimension of this research and its retrospective methods. This subquestion resulted in formulating interview questions concerning on the one hand daily activities and assistance in the household and on the other hand retrospective questions considering changes since the spouse migrated. As mentioned, an important aspect of the interview questions belonging to this subquestion are the (perceived) changes of (gendered) behavior and attitudes since the migration. Changes in daily activities, responsibilities in the household and of child care, power relations, decisionmaking and any other (perceived) changes ranging from the character of the migrant to the relationship and happiness with the current situation were included, aiming to explore the interrelations between gender, remittance behavior, household roles and the spousal (gender) relations.

As an additional note, it was expected that the explorative design of this research project and its short oral survey and semi-structured interviews would contribute to new insights and questions that go beyond these proposed research questions.

1.4 Country context – Ghana

Ghana has a population of over 25 million people²⁰. Ghana's GDP in recent years has experienced an unprecedented growth. With a 2011 growth rate of 13,5% (Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 2012) it is the third fastest growing national economy in the world. GDP has grown from 7,624 billion in 2003 (Mazzucato, Van den Boom & Nsowah-Nuamah, 2008) to 12,5 billion in 2006 (Awumbila, Manuh, Quartey, Antwi Bosiakoh & Addoquaye Tagoe, 2011) to 18 billion in 2010 (CIA, 2011²¹) to an estimated 38,6²² billion in 2012 (CIA, 2012).

As may be noted from these figures, statistics in Ghana are rarely well documented, and thus are often limited to estimations. The number of Ghanaian emigrants differs per year (Awumbila et al., 2011) and estimations range widely from 1,5 million (Twum Baah, 2005; in IOM, 2009) to three million (Black et al., 2003; in IOM, 2009), who have remitted an estimated US\$ 1,9 billion in 2008 (IOM, 2009), contributing to over 10% of Ghana's GDP in 2010. Moreover, Mazzucato et al. (2008) state these estimates are closest to the 'official' remittances flowing into Ghana, but "much of what comes from migrants is brought through the hands of travellers and goes unregistered" (p. 104). Mazzucato et al. estimate that two thirds of the total remittances entering Ghana from The Netherlands in 2003-2004 were unregistered remittances. This implies that remittances in 2003 were more likely to be closer to US\$ 2 or 3 billion (estimate, Mazzucato et al.) whilst remittances in 2008 could have exceeded US\$ 4 billion, contributing to up to 20 to 25 percent of Ghana's total GDP. Considering that a tenth of all Ghanaians might be emigrants, this number is not necessarily an overestimation. Regardless such hardly documented estimates, remittances to Ghana have been estimated to exceed official development assistance for over 20 years; since 1990 (Awumbila et al., 2011). The CIA (2012) indicates that, next to the main export products of gold and cocoa, individual

²⁰ CIA Factbook (2012) <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html>

²¹ CIA Factbook (2011)

²² This number seems somewhat overestimated, but might be related to a lower exchange rate of the US dollar in combination with Ghana's rapid economic growth in the last few years

remittances are a “major source of foreign exchange”. Hence, there is little (more) need to stress the relevance of remittance-related studies on a developing country such as Ghana. Likely to contribute even more to Ghana’s ‘fashion of migration’ is the fact that English is the educated and ‘official’ language, whereby the number of English spoken people are ample (36,1 % in 2000 census; in CIA, 2012). In addition, Ghana’s boosted economy and a large group of young people – with a nationwide median age of 21,4 years (CIA, 2012) – and Ghana’s ‘culture of migration’ are likely to have significantly increased the use of English language. These factors may contribute to (self-)reinforcement of Ghana’s processes of migration, remittances and (resulting) economic growth.

Even though 71% of Ghanaian emigrants stay within West Africa²³, more and more Ghanaians are emigrating to a wider range of countries (DRC, 2007; in IOM, 2009). The migration rate in Ghana is -0,56 on a population of 1000 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012), indicating that there are just slightly more people emigrating from than immigrating to Ghana. Nonetheless, the IOM (2009) reports that many of the emigrated Ghanaians return either temporarily or permanently to Ghana, implicating strong ties between the transnational Ghanaian migrants and their families and friends. Awumbila et al. (2011) report that these processes of both emigration and return migration may result in a brain drain – especially in the health care in last years – and a ‘brain gain’ (or ‘brain circulation’ as both processes can be seen as somewhat counterbalancing each other) through the return migration of educated “skills, brains and knowledge” (p. 26).

1.4.2 Ashanti culture and gender in Kumasi

As has been mentioned, a unique feature to this study is the focus on the Ashanti (or Asante) culture, which is mainly located in the Ashanti region. As may be seen in Image 1.1, Kumasi (marked with a red dot) is central to this region and is simultaneously the capitol of the Ashanti region.

The Ashanti culture entails a complex structure of culture, values and norms. It combines traditional practices with more ‘modern’ post-colonial Christian beliefs, constituting to a wide range of social and religious practices and beliefs. One form of traditional culture is the belief in witchcraft:

“Ideas of witchcraft permeate society and are inextricably woven into the social fabric of Ghanaian life. Beliefs in the power of sorcery and juju are deeply infused into the Ghanaian psyche through popular stories and myths, frequent newspaper reports of accusations and confessions, the lyrics of songs, films, plays, fear-mongering commercials and the sermons of charismatic religious leaders.”²⁴

Intrinsic to such beliefs in witchcraft are differences in gender; only women can be ‘witches’, which, in case a woman is seen as a witch, has strong implications for her life, living in “often abject living conditions as they work [...] to pay their dues, isolated from their families, psychologically if not physically traumatised, and miles from the lives they once knew (Wan, 2011).” Even though witchcraft plays a larger role in rural areas and is likely to play a less significant role in a large city such as Kumasi, with an estimated population of 1,78 million in 2009 (CIA²⁵, 2012), it is important

²³ Due to increasing selective migration policies (Knabe et al., 2009), permanent migration towards Europe has been in decline in recent years, whilst the USA has seen a slight growth in yearly migrant inflows (OECD, 2010). Such selective policies and the high (financial) threshold for people from developing countries to emigrate overseas have limited migration to the ‘global north’ and contribute to the domination of ‘south-to-south’ migration over ‘south-to-north’ migration.

²⁴ James Wan (2011) <http://thinkafricapress.com/ghana/exorcising-witchcraft-gambaga>

²⁵ CIA Factbook (2012)

to note how (gendered) cultural facets may shape contemporary gender differences and inequalities, deeply rooted in such a society.

Another important aspect in the Ashanti culture is the matrilineal bloodline. Clark (1999a) states that the Ashanti consider parenthood as an essential part of life, contributing to the male and

female gender identity and to 'personhood in the deepest sense'. A fully adult human being must have descendants, and refusing or neglecting to have children counts as a kind of suicide, since it dismisses the final stage of life; becoming an ancestor. Both motherhood and fatherhood have culturally defined biological, social, spiritual and emotional aspects, and both have consequences for a person's practical and work life. Like in many cultures, the conventional Ashanti female gender roles focus on biological motherhood. However, contrary to most (patrilineal) societies, Ashanti assume that this role conflicts with the female gendered expectations within marriage, rather than with (full-time) paid work, implying a double burden on women (Blackden & Wodon, 2006). Clark continues that Ashanti mothers, rather



Image 1.1 Map of Ghana (IOM, 2009)

than staying home with their children, express their “maternal devotion” by working endlessly “to meet their children’s financial needs”. Moreover, she states that women who overemphasize paid work are seen as neglecting their husband, and not their children. The father’s responsibility for the children is, partly since the mother’s role is of such a great emotional importance, less focused on the emotional aspect and more focused on the financial aspect. A more conditional and variable relation between father and child creates a more distant relationship. Nonetheless, the relationship between father and child is a very important one, since a child would lack the protection of the father’s *ntoro* spirit without a close father-child relationship (Clark, 1999a). When it comes to household roles and tasks, the female carries a lot of responsibility. But women also carry a lot of power, especially the elder, since the matrilineal bloodline (the *abusua*) is the most important of all family relations in the Ashanti culture (Clark, 1999a).

2. Theoretical framework

Even though this study will induce its conclusions based on analysis of the primary research conducted in Ghana, this chapter will (briefly) help build a theoretical context around the phenomena studied, aiming to define contents, interrelations and the range or spectrum in which phenomena may vary in their properties and contexts. First, the main concepts used in this research will be treated separately. Second, in part by making use of Carling's (2005) theoretical framework on gender and migration, the rootedness of gender in the studied phenomena will be shown.

2.1 Key concepts

2.1.1 Gender

Reeves & Baden (2000) state the term 'sex' refers to the biological and genetical characteristics that shape the dichotomous categories of male and female. Gender refers to the socially constructed and culturally valued interpretations of these categories. This implies that gender differences may vary between different cultures, contexts, groups, ages and levels of society. Gender does not necessarily include or exclude biological and genetical differences related to sex, but similarities and differences may be both implicit and explicit to the concept of gender. Hence, in social sciences, gender is often a more acceptable term when it comes to differentiated perceptions, attitudes, behaviors, roles, relations and identities of men and women in their cultural and geographical contexts (Reeves & Baden, 2000). In this study, the term sex relates to the methodological and methodical division of the primary research population, whereby sex is one of the primary attributes on which respondents are selected. Since the term gender, measured through its behaviors, attitudes and relations, roles and identities often leads to dichotomous divisions – such as the female as 'nurturing' and the male as 'hardworking' (Adinkrah, 2012) – it regularly appears to be as dichotomous as the concept of sex; the main difference is that gender relates to most, if not all, socially constructed differences between both categories in which relations can be both reproduced and transcended (Nordlander, 2003, in Helmich, 2009). Hence, a form of 'certain uncertainty' exists around the concept of gender, in the sense that some females may show such 'transcending' behavior culturally perceived as 'masculin' while some males may show behavior culturally perceived as 'feminist'.

Hence, the concept of gender entails a problem of measurement and causality, which in this study is enlarged by the assumption that explored phenomena and variables strongly interrelate – as both cause and effect – to aspects of gender. This also contributes to the reason why gender in literature is often used in combination with another term, contributing to both clarification and confusion of the usage of such definitions. Referred to here are terms such as gender relations, gender behavior, gender roles, gendered migration, gendered remittance behavior, etc. Since gendered behavior in individual cases is not necessarily exclusive to the sex it refers to, but on a larger scale will form a social framework contributing to the general expectations on behavior, the term of *gender* in this study refers to most or all found differences between both sexes which may possible, to some or to a larger extent, be explained by the fact that they are based on differences in sex. Further elaboration on matters of gender and causality will be shown in section 2.2.

Klamer (2009, p. 143) describes the dualities of modernism, whereby he sketches a square and a circle. The square in his figure is “the realm of the objective, of science, of facts and logic”, while the circle represents “the realm of the subjective, the personal, the moral, the emotional life”. To the square belong aspects that may be related to traits of masculinity such as “deduction, hard, masculine, public sphere, manager”, while traits of the circle include more feminine traits: “everyday life, abduction, therapist, soft, feminine, personal sphere, leader”. In most historical and contemporary societies, masculinity is often associated with external and public relations, roles and identities, which relate strongly to extravert behavior. Femininity on the other hand is associated with internal and private relations, sensitivity and emotions, which relate strongly to introvert behavior.

Many issues between both genders originate from power and (hence) inequality relating to these traits. Intrinsic to a more masculin, external, ‘hard’ and public way of behaving is (unintended) presence and prevailance in public domains. In the history of societies, an equalizing response from the better half has not been significant enough to counterbalance the negative effects of such external masculine behavior. I am not at all suggesting that masculine traits should be judged, and I will show below how they may have both socially desirable as socially undesirable effects, I am only stating that it is mere logic that they are (still) prevailing in the public domain. In turn, this prevailance may have led to dominance in the private domain through socialization of the youth and other forms of cultural reproduction of gender relations (e.g. in religion, politics, businesses, educational teachings and family relations). Only in recent decades, and moreover in cultures of the global north, through both feminist movements, research on Women in Development (Carling, 2005) as well as growing internal and external desires to adhere to more humanistic and ethical philosophies, appreciation for feministic traits seems to be on the rise, by and within both women and men. In the early stages, gender research was mainly focussed on women. Since the late 1980s, gender research slowly shifted from ‘women per se’ to ‘women in comparison to men’ (Carling, 2005, p. 3). As of now, a gap between more feminine and more masculine observations still seems to persist in gender research. The big question remains whether the ‘gap of empowerment’ can be filled and whether, in the undefined end, there actually is a gap to be filled. Nonetheless, the aim to increase the rights to “identity, diversity and equality – whether the difference is in minority, sexuality or gender” as stated by Oxfam/Novib (section 1.3.1) could at least attribute the possibilities to fill this gap by enhancing gender equality.

Masculinity in Ghana and the Ashanti culture

In Ghana, such aims may be a fruitful contribution, as literature suggests masculinity still seems deeply rooted in Ghanaian and Ashanti cultures. Obeng (2003; in Adinkrah, 2012) notes that Ashanti men’s masculinity emphasizes the “capacity to exercise authority over women and junior males, their ability to accumulate wealth, and their demonstration of personal courage and bravery through heroic military actions or valiant deeds.” Furthermore, Adinkrah summarizes two important terms in the realm of studies on masculinity: ‘*hegemonic masculinity*’ relates to the society’s most powerful men, to which “all” males in a society desire to relate to, to various extents. The term ‘*Presbyterian masculinity*’ relates to certain male ideals such as “hardwork, moderation, law-abiding behavior, monogamous marriage, primary allegiance to wife, children and church, and only secondary to the abusua lineage.” As may be deduced from these terms, the first relates to a thrusting and activating

power, which may lead to socially and societally desirable behavior – if a proper and healthy²⁶ societal framework is in place – and undesirable behavior – in case such desires lead to the strive for power ‘by any means necessary’, even more so in combination with Obeng’s notion of the desire to show “personal courage and bravery through heroic military actions or valiant deeds” – a strive which more often than not leads to counterproductive behavior and, more often than once, has led to the destruction of societal frameworks. The latter ‘Presbyterian masculinity’ rather relates to mostly, if not only, productive socially and societal behavior. Somewhat similar to Christian and Calvinist ways of life, it emphasizes responsibility, moderation and importance of the (nuclear) family and the church, which are most important only after the abusua heritage. These aspects of masculinity are expected to be highly influential on the outcomes of this study, as they shape both gender identity and an important share of the public domain in Ghana and the Ashanti culture.

Gender in spousal relations and household (roles)

First it must be noted that, contrary to some scholars, this thesis does not facilitate complexities concerning definitions of household. Gresham (2011) has made a thorough analysis of the concepts of household (in comparison to the concepts of family) and has resulted in an extensive and inclusive definition. From a pragmatic (Saunders et al., 2009) point of view however, this study does not need to define household in all its possibilities. First of all since the unit of analysis is the spousal relationship, rather than the household entirely, part of the need for such a definition is decreased. Secondly, because to the subquestions that do relate to household, such as the household composition, the subjective perception of the respondent is provides enough answer; it is about how they perceive who is in their household, rather than who is or is not through a theoretical framework of definitions.

In most parts of Africa, women are assumed to be marginally more productive at household activities and raising children (childbearing, caring for the elderly, processing food crops and so forth), and their often lower education and higher aversion of risk contribute to this outcome (Blackden & Wodon, 2006 in Faria & Sachside, 2012)

Blackdon and Wodon (2006) have found that gender relations strongly influence differences in time management between men and women. Furthermore, the widely supported New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) has had numerous references to its statements that the decisions to migrate are strongly related to family decisions, which include both household and spouse (Stark & Bloom, 1985). In this research, gender is expected to strongly influence the spousal relations and the household (roles), as they are shaped through the genderdivisions as described above. In turn, gender will influence decision on where, when, who and why to migrate, bringing about a new division in the household that exceeds (transnational) borders. Furthermore, as will be explained in section 2.2, gender is also expected to have a significant effect on the representations of spousal relations with transnational relations.

2.1.2 Migration

As has been explained in the introduction of this thesis, migration is a large, important and relevant topic in contemporary society and global process. 215 million migrants contribute to the relevance of

²⁶ Note that ‘proper’ and ‘healthy’ are not necessarily applicable to (neo-liberal) systems of the global north

the phenomenon of migration, which implicates all different kinds, sizes and types of flows of people exist. Castles and Miller (2009) have stated (thus) stated that migration is an important cause and effect of macro-processes in communities and societies. An important distinction in this study, is defining different types of migrants, as this is an aspect expect to be highly influential on (gendered) characteristics on sending and receiving remittances. The IOM (2011b) has distinguished five types of migrants: the *documented migrant*, who lawfully enters and remains in the country of destination. The *economic migrant*, who leaves the country of origin in order to improve “his or her” quality of life. The IOM does not explicitly state that the aim for improvement of life quality may also be applicable to the family, which is a very important additional notion in relation to this research. The *irregular migrant* (in some countries considered as *illegal migrant*), who because of either unauthorized entry or unauthorized residence in the country of migration lacks legal status in a transit or host country. Also included in this definition are those who have entered legally, e.g. through a holiday or visiting permit, and are residing in the country beyond the initially allowed period of time. The *skilled migrant*, who because of “his or her skills or acquired professional experience, is usually granted preferential treatment regarding admission to a host country (and is therefore subject to fewer restrictions regarding length of stay, change of employment and family reunification).” And last, the *temporary migrant worker* (or *contract migrant worker*), who may be skilled, semi-skilled or untrained and stays in the country of migration for a certain period of time, usually within the legal demands of a contract.

2.1.3 Remittances and remittance behavior

As has been introduced in chapter 1, both macro-statistics and research (Awumbila et al., 2011) show that remittances have economic impacts on micro and macro levels of societies. Quartey and Blankson (2004; in Awumbila et al., 2011) have assessed how remittances may be of significant importance in times of economic recessions. Kabki (2007) has shown that remittances may also influence families and villages in both economical and social aspects, e.g. through housing, education, businesses and health care. Addison (2005) notes that the effectivity of remittances may have huge positive effects, but may also have negative effects, for example in case of the emigration of high skilled workers – a brain drain (Awumbila et al., 2011), or in case of price inflation or social stratification between migrants and non-migrants (Castles & Miller, 2009).

A general definition of remittances may be that they are a portion of a migrant’s income sent from their destination of migration to the place of origin back home (Nyberg-Sorensen, 2005). However, this definition is limited to both financial remittances, as well as remittances that are sent during the process of migration. Castles and Miller (2009) note that there are, next to economical remittances, also social remittances in the form of attitudes and behaviors that can be transferred to the country of origin. Next to these remittances, I wish to elaborate on the concepts of capital by Bourdieu (in Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). He has noted the existence of social, cultural and economic capital. Hereby economic capital is strongly related to the economical remittances as defined by Castles and Miller. Social capital relates to networks and interhuman connections, while cultural capital relates to the acquirement of skills, education and any other (possible) useful resources that may contribute to a person’s (professional) chances in life. The difference from remittances is that forms of capital may also persist after the migration. This is an important notion towards the social consequences of migration, which will be shortly discussed following.

2.2 Interaction, interrelation and causality

As Carling (2005) noted, gender, migration and social impacts and characteristics are highly interrelated. An important aspect to Carling's causality scheme (p. 5) is that he centers the act or occurrence of migration in his model. In this study however, the act of migrating is already included in the definition of remittance behavior. Nonetheless, Carling makes very useful notions about gender relations. He argues that gender relations and influences affect:

- a) *“the degree of choice in deciding to migrate. [...] In many cases, men make autonomous decisions while women migrate as part of family strategies where they are not fully in control”*
- b) *“(where there is a choice,) [...] the aspiration or desire to migrate”* In some cases desire to migrate may be somewhat equal amongst the sexes, but motivations may be different. In other cases, prospects to migrate might differ between the sexes
- c) *“the ability to realize migration intentions.”* Women have more possibilities as domestic workers and legal employment in Europe and are also more likely to live as undocumented migrants
- d) *“the experience of migration once it has occurred.”* Carling notes migration is a “far-reaching personal experience” with both positive effects such as personal development and the extension of networks and negative effects such as discrimination, racism and sexual harassment linked to the status of being an ethnic minority. Such effects may be highly sensitive to personal and environmental interpretations and representations

Secondly, Carling suggests an often contradictory effect of migration on gender relations. Hereby he is not able to give a thorough direction of the relations, and thus refers to the lack of empirical data on this relation. Therefore, this study might provide an exploration of the topic of gender and migration, perhaps providing another piece of the causality scheme made by Carling.

Thirdly, Carling suggests that the social consequences of migration are affected by gender relations. He states, for example, that if gender differentiations are perceived in characteristics in sending of remittances, it may be induced that they must be a social consequence of previously existing gender relations. Furthermore, these social consequences also relate to a less direct effect, such as that of migration on the children through a double burden for the resident mother.

Fourthly, Carling suggests the influences of gender relations on representations of migration. Hereby he refers to the images and representations of migration made by the media, scholars, policy-makers and the migrants themselves. To the idea of representations, which in this study is also referred to as perceptions, Deenen (2012) has made a summarizing description:

Jackson et. al (2004) [...] mention the movement of symbolism and imaginary geographies ‘*through which we make sense of our increasingly transnational world*’ (pp. 3). These imageries and symbolics – somewhat linked to Delaney's (in Cresswell, 2006) representational spaces – find their source in all kinds of forms of information (stories, pictures, experiences, rumours, dreams, sounds, smells, etc.) from all those who are, were, or will be on the move. This notion is an important addition to Urry's definition of imaginative travel, since these (introvert/psychological) imageries and symbolics create new ideas, desires, needs and expectations, which are essential for people's aims, goals and (social) interactions in life – thus influencing their movement.

Often excluded, forgotten or left behind, such psychological aspects may play an important role in the internal processes that drive attitudes and behaviors. In figure 2.1, a causality scheme has been shown specific to the (interrelated) studied phenomena in this research. Note that, from a pragmatic point of view, this thesis will strive for holistic definitions (Saunders et al., 2009) of the variables, which implies that, regardless difficulties surrounding causality and interrelations, valuable observations and conclusive discussions can be made.

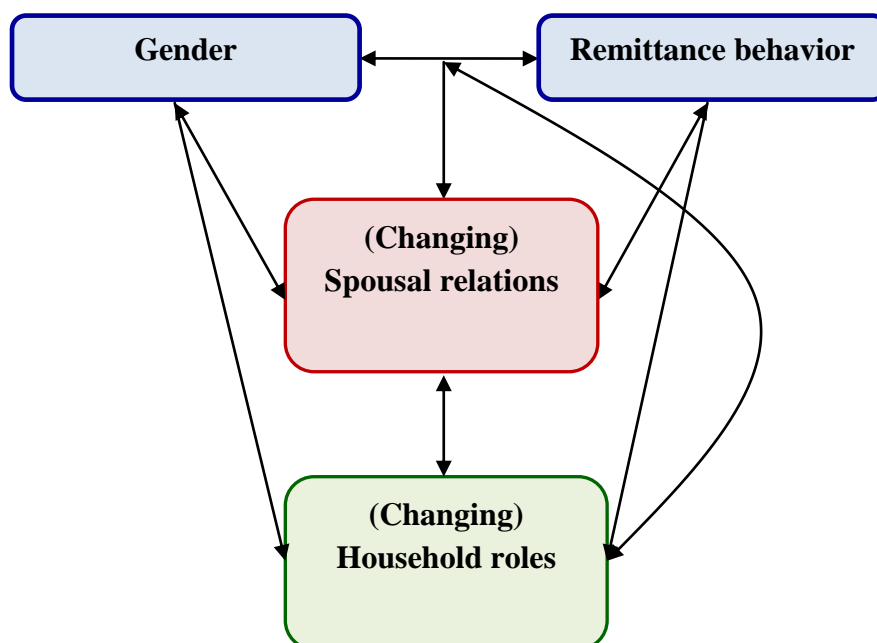


Figure 2.1 Causality scheme

2.2.1 Gender and remittance behavior

“Migrants’ remitting behaviour is influenced by several factors, including but not limited to, gender, age, education, marital status, and position in the family, as well as opportunities in the destination country “ (IOM, 2011a)

Several studies (in GCIM, 2005; in Carling, 2005) have indicated that migrant women transfer a higher proportion of their income than men. Furthermore, GCIM (2005) also reports that some studies indicate that women make the

Women have more chances as undocumented migrant in comparison to men, as they are more likely to get jobs in the domestic sectors (such as cleaning and aupair), while men are more likely to be distrusted (by authorities) or show delinquent behavior (IMISCOE, 2008). However, men may have more opportunities in physical labor and are often more flexible in both their residential demands as their living standards.

In addition to the concepts described above, it is important to note the specific presumed interaction effect between gender *and* remittance behavior. Since the act of migrating, or the residence in the country of origin, in this study is intrinsic to remittance behavior, it may be so that several aspects of Carling’s causality may be intercepted through these variables, or its interaction with the variables of spousal relations and household roles. Note that

3. Methodology

Primary research of this study has focussed on the role of gender in remittance behaviors and the role of gender and (gendered) remittance behavior on the household roles and transnational spousal relationship, using a retrospective (and occasionally prospective) method of datacollection to indicate perceived and experienced changes since the spousal migration in perceptions, attitudes and behaviors concerning these phenomena. More specifically this study questions what the characteristics of such (gendered) perceptions, attitudes and behaviors imply to men and whether these change after migration of their female spouse. In structuring the methodology of this research, the “research onion” (Figure 3.1) created by Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill (2006; in Saunders et al., 2009) and included argumentation by Saunders et al. has been a major source for the methodological sections following.

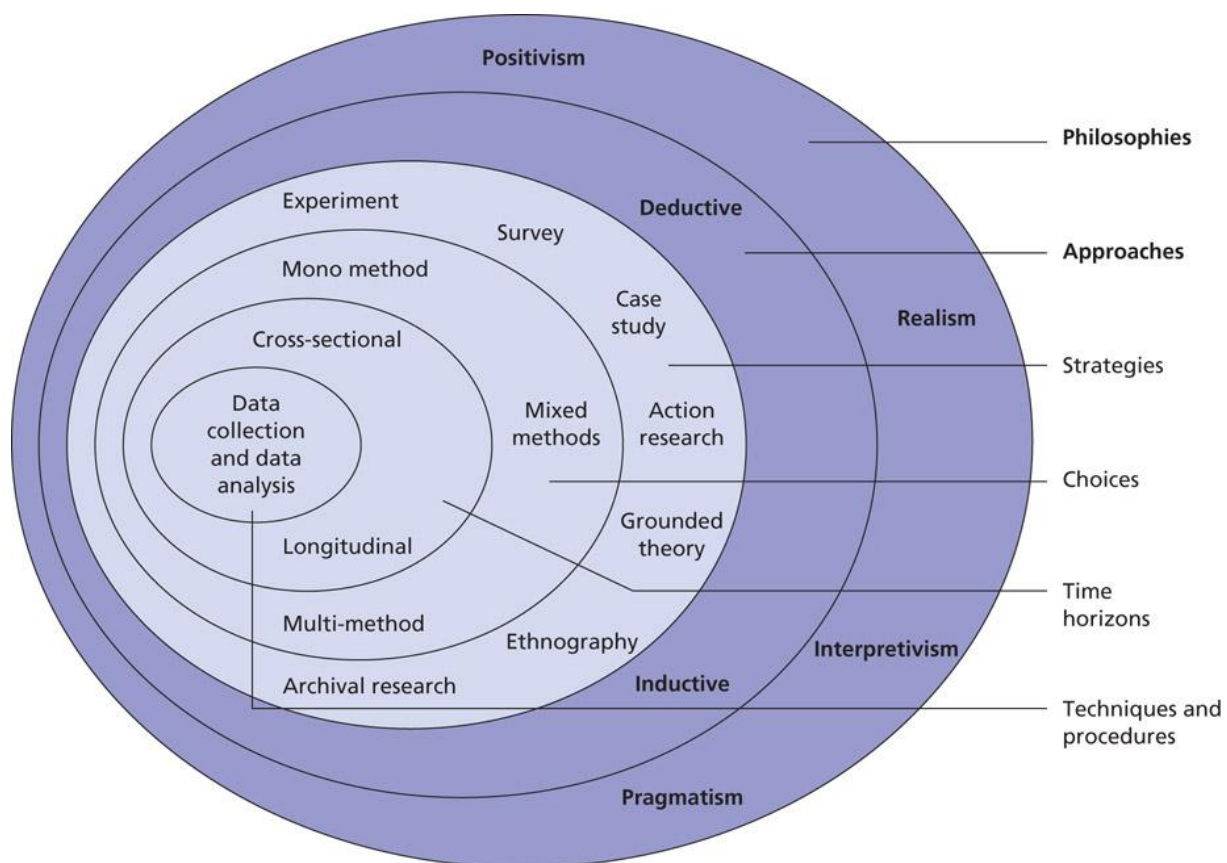


Figure 3.1 The research 'onion' (Saunders et al., 2006; in Saunders et al., 2009)

3.1 Research philosophy

When choosing the guidelines of a research philosophy – the outer layer of the research onion (Figure 3.1), one does not necessarily have to adopt a singular position “in terms of a choice between either the positivist or the interpretivist research philosophy” (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 109). Freely interpreted, Saunders et al. refer here to the concept of *triangulation*. Triangulation means perceiving the research object – or in this case the research philosophy – from two or more angles (‘t Hart, Van Dijk, De Goede, Jansen & Teunissen, 1998), a quality that is applicable to several important

(methodological and methodical) aspects of this research project. Concerning the research philosophy, a pragmatist stance may offer a good triangulation between both postivist and interpretivist research philosophies. The pragmatist philosophy centers the research question(s) as main guideline for determining the epistemology, ontology and axiology (Saunders et al., 2009). In this thesis this implies that this research' focus as described in the introduction of this chapter is the starting point for methodological approaches and decisions. This enables (additional) ways of *triangulation*, *mixed methods* (section 3.3.2) and the development of *grounded theory* (section 3.2.2), all of which will be discussed in the following sections.

Another way of triangulation is applicable to the ontological stance of this study. The first ontological aspect, *objectivism* – linked to the philosophical approaches of postivism and realism – emphasizes the “structural aspects” (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 110) of the investigated phenomena and surrounding contexts. This implies the existence of the investigated phenomena and contexts, independent of (individual) social actors. To explicate in a simple manner: gender, (gendered) migration, (gendered) remittance(-behavior)s and (gendered) household roles and gendered spousal relationships are occurring phenomena, continuously being formed and reformed by historical, contemporary and prospected developments, regardless whether or not an individual actor includes or excludes himself or herself from these phenomena. In this study the structural aspects of migration, gender and remittances may be interpreted as the demographical, geographical, economical, political, social and cultural(-historical) contexts in which these phenomena occur. To contribute to the observation of such contexts secondary research (see section 3.3.1) concerning the empirical and theoretical contexts has been conducted, in addition to, to answer subquestion 1 (see section 1.3.2), a primary research technique in the form of an oral survey included in the interviews (see section 3.4.1). This survey intended to provide factual background data of the respondents, such as age, sex, education, income, religion, motives of migration, ties to the migrant, family composition, spousal communication and ties with (blood-)relatives, thus contributing to defining various aspects of the (specific) empirical context.

The (contrary) second ontological aspect, *subjectivism* – linked to the philosophical approaches of interpretivism (‘t Hart et al. 1998; Saunders et al., 2009) – emphasizes the need to “explore the subjective meanings motivating the actions of social actors in order for the researcher to be able to understand these actions” (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 111). Concerning this study it implies that the phenomena of migration, gender and remittances are analyzed from the perceptions and consequential interpretations and actions of actors seeking to make sense of occurring interactions with the environment. More specifically, it may imply that aspects relating to gender - e.g. gendered culture, gender identity, masculinity (Adinkrah, 2012) – may be – consciously or unconsciously – (de)motivations for (the change in) other (gendered) behavior, such as the division of household roles or (gendered) attitudes towards and perceptions of the transnational spousal relationship. The semi-structured in-depth qualitative interviews (further discussed in section 3.4.2) were chosen in order to discover such relations and provide data to answer subquestions 2, 3 and 4 (see section 1.3.2).

In addition to the simultaneously contrary and complementary triangulation of approaches described above, a third aspect of ontology research – though less significant in both methodical and methodological sense – is applicable to this research. Oxfam/Novib (section 1.3.1) has proposed question 4 and 5, respectively asking what the consequences of gender specific behavior in remittances may imply for development policies at the local, regional and national levels and what

the role of the diaspora could be in gender related remittances and the local, regional and national development. As mentioned, these questions are supported by Oxfam/Novib's ideology of diversity and equality. Adding such an ideological dimension, which has played an important role in the birth of this research project and suggestions for recommendations this study will provide towards Oxfam/Novib's aims (see section 7.1), may be treated as a critical-emancipatoric ('t Hart et al., 1998; Kitchin & Tate, 2000) ontological aspect of this research.

In conclusion, the explorative, triangulated and mixed methodical (see section 3.3.2) approaches and decisions shaped the necessity for a wide ontological approach and provided the basis for further research choices and strategies, as will be discussed below.

3.2 Research choices

3.2.1 Time horizon

The fieldwork of this research has been conducted using a cross-sectional design, which means that a "snapshot" (Gresham, 2011) of the studied object was taken "about a particular situation at a particular time" (Gresham). This period of time covered several months – between April 2011 and July 2012 – during which both research teams have conducted fieldwork in their country of research. As Gresham (p. 47) further argues, "this delimitation was selected as preferential in conducting interviews to fit within the scope of the fieldwork period, sampling methods, and availability of our research partners, as compared to, for example, the longitudinal format of the ethnography."

The aspect of time is (more) significant in two other aspects of this research. First and foremost because we assumed that the subjects of gender and remittances are part of historical processes and developments. This is why the empirical context(s) play an important role in this research project. Secondly, because the fourth research subquestion in this research applies to the post-migrational *change* or *prospected change* of perceptions, attitudes and behaviors concerning the investigated topics related to gender and remittance behavior. This research question in turn resulted in interview questions that applied to retrospective and prospective situations of the respondents.

3.2.2 Grounded theory

Considering the research topics of gender and remittance behavior to be understudied, the aim of this research project is to contribute to the topics in a mainly explorative way ('t Hart et al. 1998). In doing so, a process of theorybuilding and analysis is used that implies continuous feedback (or triangulation) during and after the performance of data collection. This process was stimulated by continuous induction and deduction between data collection, secondary literature and researchers triangulation (discussed below). This is also called *grounded theory* (Saunders et al., 2009). This continuous feedback loop resulted in new insights which in turn influenced the methods and methodology. This also included feedback on questions proposed in the interviews, intercepting possible unpredicted phenomena and contributing to sharpening the focus on important aspects of the investigated phenomena. As a result, grounded theory provides a framework to create new (theoretical) insights during the process of analysis. How grounded theory has been applied to the analysis in this thesis will be explained in section 4.2.

3.2.2 Triangulation of researchers

Concerning the study in Kumasi, Ghana, feedback and discussion was first provided by the research team of supervisors and the research teams of both Ghana and The Philippines. Once in Ghana,

feedback was provided by Dr. Quartey, Dr. Teye and Dr. Dwumer on the interview questions. Furthermore, Dr. Teye advised us to focus on the resident spouse within the transnational relationship, rather than focussing on the household – which was our initial plan. During the fieldwork, the continuous and intersubjective ('t Hart et al. 1998, p. 159) feedback on data collection as formulated within the concept of grounded theory was for a significant part done by way of triangulation of researchers ('t Hart et al., 1998, p. 270). Because several actors took part in the collection of data, gathered data was discussed 'on the spot' between Deenen and Van der Zee, our research partners – who obtained a BA. in Sociology and Social Work²⁷ - and was also in a more distant manner discussed with the research team in Cebu City and the project's supervisor(s) and coordinator. This ensured maintaining comparability and increased insights that enhanced the process of developing grounded theory.

As has been discussed in the preface of this thesis, the main results of this research project were presented by all four participating students during the Oxfam/Novib expert meeting on gender and remittances. Both research teams were invited to present their results during this meeting in order to provide insightfull and new material for discussion. In this way another form of triangulation of researchers took place, since several experts from different disciplines provided feedback and critique on the research project and its findings. Displaying the results to these experts on the subjects of migration, gender and remittances enabled a critical reflection on the research project and showed its valued contribution towards the subjects of gender and remittances and Oxfam/Novib's research objectives.

3.3 Research strategies

3.3.1 Secondary research

The first research strategy applied to this study was conducting secondary research (Dunsmuir & Williams, 1992) through a literature review. This literature review provided the backbone for the formulation of the relevance, theory, methodology and methods in this study, which included an overview of existing literature of the studied phenomena and enabled familiarization with the topics, preparation of the primary research and a (quantitative) sketch of the theoretical and empirical contexts. Since the phenomena of gender, remittances, household and spousal relationships occur on both similar and different research levels (micro, macro and meso) theoretical triangulation is applicable to the different angles used in this study to study the link between case studies and their empirical contexts. Gresham (2011) and author conclude that the Oxfam/Novib research project is largely unique in its format in comparison to most general and generalizing previous studies. Therefore, conclusions in this study will be mostly inductive, based on data collected during the actual fieldwork rather than from the secondary research.

3.3.2 Mixed methods

The interpretive and intersubjective character of this research requires a qualitative methodical approach. The more objectivist and structural aspects of this research – whereby the case studies are approached in relation to their contextual settings – require a quantitative approach. Therefore this research makes use of a mixed methods approach, which may also be called a methodical triangulation ('t Hart et al., 1998), entailing both quantitative – by conducting structured oral surveys

²⁷ See Appendix B for further details on our research partners in Kumasi, Ghana

– and qualitative – by conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews – data collection techniques and analytical procedures. The use of mixed methods in this research is extensively combined; a mostly qualitative analysis is used for sketching the research population, a mixed methods analysis is used for the cooperative cross-gender chapter (5) and a more qualitative methods analysis is used in chapter 6, providing elaborate case studies on several male respondents. Further details on how these methods led to the choice of research techniques are described in section 3.4.

3.3.3 Variables

As has been noted by Carling (2005) – and has been shown in chapter 2 – defining causality may be difficult concerning topics of gender, migration and remittance(-behavior)s. In this study, these difficulties are enlarged by the added variables of household roles and spousal relations. As may be seen in Figure 3.2 below, almost any relation between the variables is theoretically possible. Another problem is that gender may provide explanation, but there may also be other (large) influential effects on the studied phenomena. Therefore, it is first important to formulate what the separate variables actually intend to investigate. In this study, the separate variables (or aspects) are intended to investigate or explore²⁸ the following:

- **Gender** intends to explore perceptions, attitudes and behaviors through the socially constructed aspects of the dichotomous sexes. This may also include (gendered) expectations. In this research, gender is treated as intrinsic
- **Remittance behavior** *includes* the act of migrating and intends to explore (gendered) perceptions, (gendered) attitudes and (gendered) behaviors concerning sending and/or receiving transnational remittances
- **Household roles** intends to explore (gendered) attitudes and (gendered) behaviors concerning tasks, roles and responsibilities in the household, including childcare. In addition, experienced and perceived changes – since the spousal migration – of these attitudes and behaviors are explored by asking the respondent in retrospect to elaborate on the situation before migration and (perceived) changes since migration in the spousal relationship
- **Spousal relations** intends to explore (gendered) perceptions, (gendered) attitudes and (gendered) behaviors concerning power relations and decisionmaking, communication between spouses and (gendered) attitudes on feelings towards and appreciation of the relationship. In addition, experienced and perceived changes – since the spousal migration – of these attitudes and behaviors are explored by asking the respondent in retrospect to elaborate on the situation before migration and (perceived) changes since migration in the spousal relationship. This variable also entails (gender-related) aspects of the (by the respondent perceived) behavioral and *attitudinal changes* of both resident and migrant spouse – since migration of the migrant spouse.

A note of concern is that all explored variables in this research may be both cause and effect of gender, possibly resulting in new, more or different perceptions, behaviors and attitudes related to studied variables. However, this research attempts to work around the problem of causality through

²⁸ Note that the term ‘measurement’ is not used in this thesis. The explorative character and secondary observations by the unit of observation are indications for preference of terms such as ‘exploration’ and ‘investigation’

focussing on interrelations rather than causality. This is done by building upon several considerations and methodical aspects:

- Exploring the (perceived) changes of the related variables since the migration by using retrospective interview techniques (interview questions 31 through 49 – see Appendix A)
- Considering gender as both intrinsic and extrinsic effect of the formulated variables (remittance behavior, household roles and spousal relations) and considering a feedback effect of these variables on the properties of gender(-related perceptions, attitudes and behaviors)
- Considering gender and remittance behavior to have both a separate and interaction effect on the variables of household roles and spousal relations (see Figure 3.2)
- Exploring (planned, anticipated or hoped) future changes which may indicate attitudes towards gender, remittance behavior, household roles and the spousal relationship
- Exploring an inter-sex and intra-sex gender comparison, which aims to provide insights in which (gendered) perceptions, attitudes and behaviors have become stronger or weaker since the migration – and its consequential remittance behavior. Therefore, the focus is not so much on the causality of the variables; it is rather on the inter-gender and intra-sex retrospective comparison that should explain possible relations.

Even though the unit of analysis (see section 3.3.4) may limit some of these explorative investigations on data concerning the migrant, the oral survey and the semi-structured in-depth interviews were expected to contribute to ample explorative insights on these variables and their developments.

As mentioned, and as may be derived from enumerations, elements of this primary research are expected to strongly interrelate. Nonetheless, this research has aimed to measure what can be measured through intersubjectivity and exploration, rather than aiming to create a fully ‘postivist-proof’ causal framework. Hence a scheme as provided in Figure 4 may contribute to clarification of definitions but by no means serves as a presupposition.

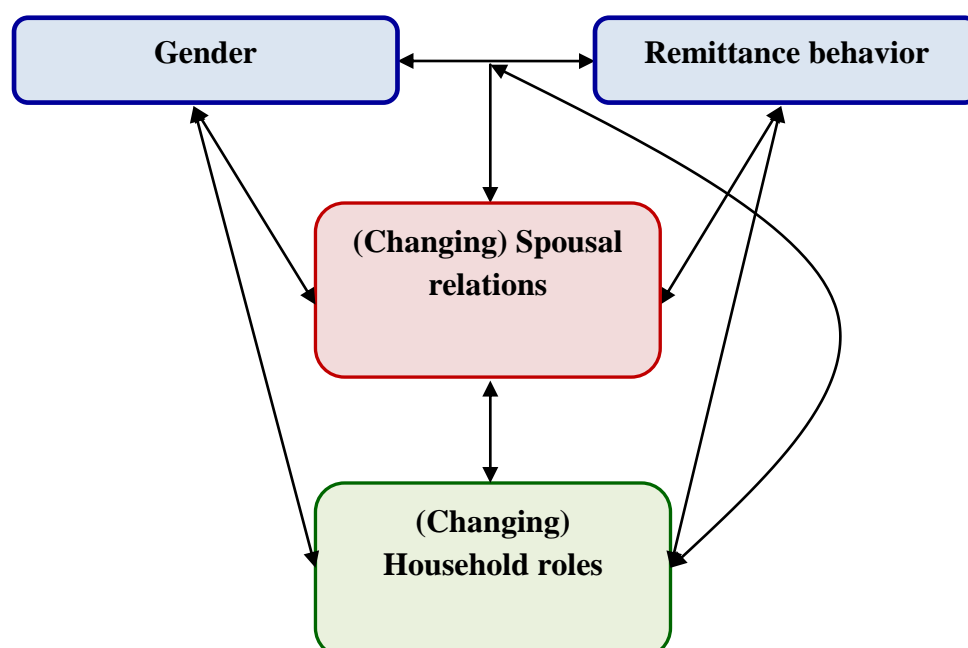


Figure 3.2 Interaction, interrelation and causality

3.3.4 Research units

The complexities of causality in these phenomena also translate to choices in defining the unit of analysis and case studies. In this thesis, it has been chosen to consider Ghana as the empirical context of this research, which characterizes the demographical, geographical, economical, political, legal, social and cultural(-historical) (macro-)contexts applicable to the variables explored in this research. Kumasi and its matrilineal culture are considered the specific empirical (meso-)context, since it is characterized by the matrilineal Ashanti culture as an important aspect to gender-related attitudes, behaviors and perceptions. However, when choosing the unit of analysis versus the unit of observation and choosing the case studies versus embedded case studies (Saunders et al., 2009), the complexities of this research become apparent. One might consider Ghana (or The Philippines) as a case study, since both countries define a large part of the contextual settings of their inhabitants. As explained above, doing so for the case of Kumasi might form a risk when inducing results of the research. One might also consider Kumasi and/or its Ashanti culture as a case study. However, this research is still too specific to regard Kumasi or the Ashanti culture as a case study.

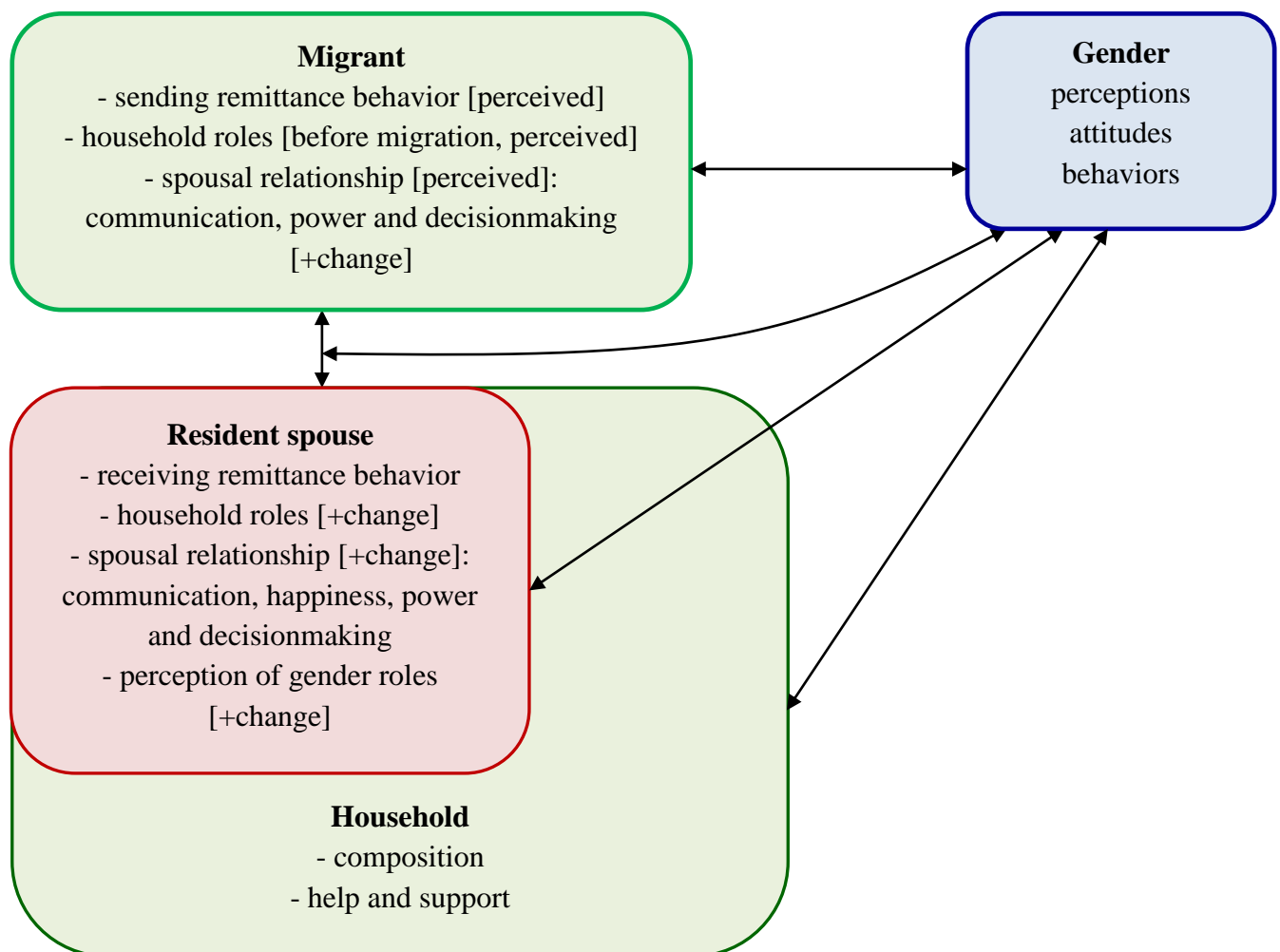


Figure 3.3 Interaction, interrelation and causality in unit of analysis

It has therefore been decided in this thesis to regard the transnational spousal relationships as both the units of analysis and the case studies (micro-level). Hereby the resident spouse may be considered the embedded case study and the unit of observation. These decisions were made in order

to maintain cross-country and cross-gender comparison as much as possible, and to offer some clarification to the complexity and specificity of this research. Since this research focusses on the interrelation between gender and remittance behavior and the consequential effect of (gendered) remittance behavior on the (changing) household roles and the (changing) spousal relations observed through the resident spouse (see Figure 3.3), the transnational relationship is a logical case study and unit of analysis, since it entails all of the investigated variables. Using these arguments and taking into account the specificity of this research, explorative findings may not be generalizable but will reveal the complexity and variety of the topics of gender and remittances and thus may contribute to expanding knowledge, methods and possibly the formulation of useable policy recommendations.

3.4 Research techniques

3.4.1 Survey

Relating to subquestion 1 (section 1.3.2) the first technique of collecting data is the most quantitative aspect of this research and consists of a small oral survey at the beginning of each interview. This survey is the most structured part of the interview and will inquiry the respondent's age, marital status, educational level, religion, occupation, tribe, motives of migration of the spouse, household composition and several other variables as may be found in Appendix A. The survey method has been chosen in order to ease analysis (see chapter 4) and in order to maintain cross-gender and cross-country comparability, whereby a clear overview of background characteristics provides insight in the homogeneity and heterogeneity of the research population.

3.4.2 Semi-structured in-depth interviews

Relating to subquestion 2, 3 and 4 the second research technique is the use of semi-structured, in-depth interviews. This technique has been chosen in order to concur to the explorative and complex character of this research, as described above. In preperation of the fieldwork, an early form of the guiding questionnaire was prepared. However, as has been mentioned previously, many questions were added in conversation with Ghanaian experts; respectively Dr. Joseph Teye, Dr. Peter Quartey and Dr. Peter Dwumer. In addition, the grounded theory approach and the triangulation of researchers would provide continous feedback on the questions and methods used during the interviews, significantly improving both interview questions, interview skills and contributing to the explorative character of this primary research. It was argued to interview each respondent two or three times in order to build up a trustworthy relationship and increase the possibility of retrieving sensitive information such as income, relationship aspects and the migrant's legal status. This would also decrease the chance of having biased answers because of fear, shyness and/or socially expected answers. This way of interviewing would significantly contribute to the explorative character of this research and would result in a more open atmosphere during the intervies, allowing opinions, knowledge and feelings and leaving room for an 'open end', all of which would contribute to full and elaborated answers, resulting in new insights and extra information on the respondents and their lives. Analysis of the research techniques used in this research will be discussed further below in section 3.6.1.

3.5 Sampling

In the preliminary stages of this research project, it was decided to strive for 80 respondents, half of which would be conducted in Cebu City and half would be conducted in Kumasi. This implied that

each of the students would interview 20 respondents, whereby – as argued above – it was aimed to interview each respondent twice, or three times if necessary, resulting in approximately 40 to 60 interviews. Further analysis will be discussed below in section 3.6.

Sampling of this research has been done through a non-probability sampling technique. The following definition of this sampling technique matches perfectly with the explorative aims of this research:

To answer your research question(s) and to meet your objectives you may need to undertake an in-depth study that focuses on small, perhaps one, case selected for a particular purpose. This sample would provide you with an information-rich case study in which you explore your research question and gain theoretical insights. Alternatively, limited resources or the inability to specify a sampling frame may dictate the use of one or a number of non-probability sampling techniques (Saunders et al. 2009, p. 233).

Taking into consideration the time horizon, the explorative aims, research techniques, limited (financial) resources, accessibility, the specificity of the research population and the objectives formulated by both research teams and Oxfam/Novib, this sampling technique was considered most relevant (and sensible). This sampling technique however does decrease the possibility of generalization (external validity) beyond the research population, because there is no randomized selection. The selectional demand of having a migrant spouse that is at the time of interviewing resided outside the country of research (Ghana in this study) for a longer period of time means that a generalization to a population beyond migrant spouses cannot be made, since it is too specific, both in methodical sense as in theoretical sense – as the absence of a spouse is presumed to have a major influence on the resident spouse's life. In addition, the specific context of the matrilineal Ashanti culture in Kumasi limits the external validity further. Since this research is built around aspects of gender, matrilineality is considered an important determinant for gendered behaviors and attitudes, which means that a generalization to a population beyond the Ashanti region cannot be made. However, relating to the verification principle of scientific research, generalizations can be made towards theory (Saunders et al. 2009), which is an important aspect of this research.

To enhance the reliability of this research, all data retrieved from the interviews (see section 3.6.5), as well as fieldwork developments and activities (see chapter 8), have been carefully documented, contributing to the repeatability of this primary research. During the interviews, ample notes have been made, which were soon after documented digitally.

Under the overarching technique of non-probability sampling, three types of sampling have been combined; convenience sampling, purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Convenience sampling entails beginning in a location where it is easiest to start, for example in busy or central places, or a familiar neighborhood. Purposive sampling, whereby we aimed for a homogeneous sample, refers to the search for migrant's spouses, preferably within the same neighborhood and contextual settings in order to enhance comparability between and within the sexes. These two sampling types were expected to result into snowball sampling, by retrieving more information on where to find potential respondents; either through networking by ourselves and our research partners, inquiring local people or through the networks of the respondents. How this took shape will be discussed in section 3.6.2 below.

Apart from preliminary inquiries and research into the local cultural and behavioral contexts, norms, values and habits, it was decided that, financially supported by Oxfam/Novib, we needed a research partner to overcome the possible difficulties surrounding cultural differences, sampling methods, language and reciprocal fears and other biasing emotions, feelings and thoughts. Further information (the selection of) our research partners will be discussed in section 3.6.2, while a short profile of our research partners may be found in Appendix B.

3.6 Analysis

This section will discuss the major methodological and methodical findings and considerations that evolved from the process of conducting a primary research.

3.6.1 Research techniques

Soon after arriving in Ghana (see chapter 8 for a fieldwork diary) interview questions were added in conversation with Ghanaian experts; respectively Dr. Joseph Teye, Dr. Peter Quartey and Dr. Peter Dwumer. In addition, the grounded theory approach and the triangulation of researchers provided continuous feedback on the questions and methods used during the interviews, significantly improving both the interview questions and interview skills. This also contributed to a more open flow and less structured way of interviewing, which was something that was aimed for since the start of the research. This way of interviewing has significantly contributed to the explorative character of this research and resulted in a more open, calm and trusted atmosphere during the interviews, in part fostered by the increasing skills in conducting interviews. This enabled the allowance of opinions, knowledge and feelings – tears have been shed during at least two of my interviews – and left room to leave the interviews ‘open ended’, all of which contributed to full and elaborated answers, resulting in new insights and extra information on the life of a migrant’s spouse. The ‘sensitization’ and empathy that increased with every interview provided insights on the actual and honest feelings of the respondents, which assumably play an important role in their (gendered) behaviors, attitudes and perceptions.

Initially, it was argued to interview each respondent two or three times in order to build up a trustworthy relationship and increase the possibility of retrieving sensitive information such as income, relationship aspects and the migrant’s legal status. This would also decrease the chance of having biased answers because of fear, shyness and/or socially expected answers. We however soon discovered that multiple interviews had a contrary effect, leading to annoyance by several respondents, seemingly because they were hesitant to provide such information. Mainly the female respondents – towards both Van der Zee and myself – looked suspicious of our intentions, regardless the fact that we had a local (and very friendly) research partner. This is why we decided to aim for one interview per respondent. During the first interviews conducted, I have however interviewed several respondents twice.

3.6.2 Sampling

The overarching research project has resulted in a grand total of 70 units of observation and, thus, 70 respondents. 11 male and 19 female respondents were gathered in Cebu City in the Philippines (Gresham, 2011), while 18 male and 22 female respondents were gathered in Kumasi, Ghana. This thesis will focus merely focus on data collected in Ghana, as will be explained shortly explained in the conclusions of this thesis, but as has been explained extensively in previous sections,

triangulation and reflection of both methods and results have resulted into a cross-country comparable design.

Mixed research couples

An important aspect of our research was the connection to our research partners. Not only did they support us in the practical and communicational processes of sampling and conducting the interviews, they also provided us with additional information on context, culture and habits. As has been explained previously, their area of study (Sociology and Social Work) was closely related to our research subjects, providing us with triangulative insights in personal, educational and scientific sense.

As mentioned in section 1.2, previous to our journey to Ghana we presumed that – through social and cultural arguments – both Van der Zee and I should be linked to a research partner of the same sex, whereby we would both interview only respondents of our own sex. However, in conversation with the three experts mentioned (Joseph Teye, Peter Quartey and Peter Dwumer), we were told by all of respected that empirically it will not make a difference whether the fieldwork couple is of the same sex or not. Moreover, we argued that mixed research couples could provide an extra dimension to the gender comparison, since the presence of a mixed research couple could enable a wider array of triangulation, understanding and thoughtful improvisation through (open) interview questions and could therefore contribute to the exploratory dimensions of this research project. Also, mixed couples were likely to be of greater practical value, since men whose spouse has migrated were expected to be less common than women, hence providing a much greater challenge to the male research couple(s). For this reason, author and Van der Zee have decided to form mixed couples with our local research partners and translators in Kumasi. As noted previously, Phil Gresham and Marieke Smit did not receive this advice from their local experts and have therefore stood by our initial plan of making same sex couples.

Non-probability sampling

To initiate the sampling process, convenience sampling was a technique called upon by our research partners. After initial introduction, they soon proceeded to make inquiries in an area familiar to them and close to the university (Ayeduase, Kumasi), enhancing practical and social convenience and enhancing the contribution to the aim of acquiring a homogeneous research population. This strategy was combined with purposive sampling, which also entailed the search for a homogeneous group of migrant's spouses. Both types of sampling resulted naturally in snowball sampling; either through networking by ourselves and our research partners, inquiring local people or through the networks and acquaintances of the respondents.

Concerning the male research population however, an additional notion must be made. First of all, male respondents with a migrant spouse were extremely hard to find, which may be linked to the concept of hidden populations (further discussed in chapter 6). Secondly, the males that we did find were rather heterogeneous in age, education, income, household composition, and even neighborhood²⁹. This finding is even more striking when compared to the female research population, which was relatively homogeneous in age, education, income, household composition and, because they were easier to find, lived closer to each other. As time passed, we became more pressured to find male respondents, which for me even led to (successful) convenience sampling,

²⁹ Explanatory suggestions may be found in section 4.1.4

whereby I started looking for respondents in the area we resided (Atonsu, Kumasi). Since these findings significantly influence the data of our primary research they will be discussed more thoroughly in chapter 4 (section 4.1.4). For a more detailed story on the search for (male) respondents and the fieldwork in general I refer to chapter 8, whereby I (critically) reflect on the processes and experiences linked to the data collected for this research.

3.6.3 Methodical considerations

As with any research, especially the first, there is ample room for improvement. Additional to those discussed above, some considerations for improvement of the interviews which Van der Zee and author have noted during and after the process of datacollection are discussed below:

- We might have wanted to add a question about whether or not the migrant's spouse was also sending money to the migrant ('reversed remittances'), especially if their children were abroad with the migrant. This might have added an extra dimension towards insights on gender and remittance behavior
- We might have wanted to ask whether or not – and how often – respondents were churchgoing instead of asking whether or not they were actually religious. All respondents stated they were religious, as well as their partners. In Ghana, as in most religious countries, being religious may vary widely from going to church never or rarely to going to church several times a week
- We have both started our interviews with female respondents and ended with male respondents, which might have been biasing when it comes to the quality of the interviews regarding the female respondents, since we lacked the experience as interviewer in the earlier stages of the fieldwork. Moreover, I have personally noticed that my interviews were clearly improving over time
- We might have wanted to refrain from skipping of questions during an interview. Some personally sensitive data such as income of the respondent, income of the migrant, legal permit and personal assets is missing because we were hesitant in asking these personal questions. In retrospect, this hesitation might be justified but might have also been overcome by improving our interviewing techniques
- As mentioned in section 3.6.1., some respondents, especially the female respondents, seemed to be very hesitant in giving out personal information, especially personal information considering their male migrant spouse. This is probably what enhanced our hesitation on asking personal questions. The male respondents on the other hand seemed somewhat more open to such questions
- Mr. Dwumer has helped us a lot in the last phase of our extensive and pressured search to find male respondents. Even though I am very grateful, I wish he would have helped us somewhat earlier

3.6.4 Methodological considerations

Since the Ashanti culture is specific to the Ashanti region, whereby matrilineality is an important aspect of family life, *external validity* is limited to the contextual characteristics of the Ashanti region. Furthermore, there is no *control group* in this research, so we can study (post-migrational) changes in perceptions, attitudes and behaviors, but we cannot make any generalizations.

As may be found in the questionnaire in Appendix A, a fifth subquestion was formulated, namely: *are there other forms of remittances (e.g. cultural/social remittances) and in what way are they characterized by gender-specific behavior?* This subquestion was meant as an explorative question and was expected to add to our knowledge about the influence of (non-financial and non-material) remittances on the spouse and household in the country of origin. We expected that migrants might also transfer attitudes, ideas, norms and values to their country of origin which could However, interviews were very unfruitful concerning this subquestion. This observation was so significant, that author has refrained from analysis of this subquestion.

3.6.5 Data coding

During the interviews, extensive notes were made on the respondent's answers, resulting in extensive handwritten notes. Shortly after every interview, these handwritten notes were digitally processed, whereby a 'quotebook' was made, which intended to collect interesting, typical, untypical and funny or sad answers to the interview questions. During and after the interviews, a process of open coding (see section 4.2) was used, which resulted in a datamatrix. This datamatrix consequently resulted in reportings of the main descriptive statistics, which may be found in Appendix C. In order to enhance transparency (and repeatability) of this study, the digitally processed interviews, the quotebook and the data matrix will be administered to the Radboud University Nijmegen.

4. Analysis

Collected data of the primary research in Kumasi, Ghana has been pooled and was categorized³⁰ and coded using grounded theory (see section 3.2.2, section 4.2 and Appendix C) and resulted in this shared chapter on the research population of both male and female respondents, written by Deenen and Van der Zee³¹. The research population has been placed in the analysis section because the (variety in the) contents of the primary research sample may be considered as research observations. Furthermore, the actual (background) characteristics of the research population adhere to subquestion 1, formulated in section 1.3.2, and may indicate relations to other variables treated in this study.

4.1 Research population

Data collection in Kumasi, Ghana has resulted in analyzable data of 22 female respondents (n=22) whose spouse is a transnational migrant and 18 male respondents (n=18) whose spouse is a transnational migrant. In following sections the general characteristics of the respondents are presented. Besides background and household characteristics, attention will be given to the motives of migration, future plans of the migrants and the relative homogeneity of the female research population in comparison to the male research population. Note that, even though most interview questions have resulted in analyzable data, some data may be missing due to lack of response or refusal to answer by the respondents. In case such missing data occurred, it will be indicated by an asterisk (*).

4.1.1 Age

Table 4.1 illustrates the ages of the respondents and their spouses interviewed in Kumasi by both Deenen and Van der Zee. The majority of the female respondents are between 31 and 39 years of age. The age of the male respondents varies between 22 and 73, with a mean of 43³². Notable is that the males interviewed in this research are on average 7 years older than the interviewed females, but are also more or less the same age as the male migrants. The spouses of the male respondents – the female migrants – are on the other hand, with a mean of 41 closer to the age of their husband than the female respondents.

Sex	Age (mean)	Age (range)
Female respondents (n=22)	36	21-50
Spouses female respondent (n=22)	42	29-60
Male respondents* (n=17)	43	22-73
Spouses male respondents* (n=17)	41	21-65

Table 4.1 Age respondents and migrant spouses

**1 missing (n=17)*

4.1.2 Educational level

In Table 4.2 the level of education of the respondents is shown. As may be observed from the second column, the male migrants in our research population are higher educated than their spouses in Ghana. Of the resident women, 27%

³⁰ Note that the variables concerning spousal relations have been left out in this analysis. These will be treated shortly in chapter 5 and more in-depth in relation to the male gender in chapter 6

³¹ Future reference from chapter 4 in this thesis may be noted as (Van der Zee & Deenen; in Deenen, 2012)

³² One male respondent was not willing to tell his own age and that of his wife

have had tertiary education against almost 60% of their migrated husbands. Of the male respondents, 72% have had tertiary education, against 50% of their migrated spouses. As mentioned previously, via the KNUST University of Kumasi, and particularly lecturer Peter Dwumer (see section 3.6.3 above), snowball sampling resulted in interviewing several lecturers of the university who spouses to a migrant, which might have created a bias in the research towards higher educated male respondents. Nevertheless, information about their migrated spouses is still very valuable. As may be seen in Table 4.2, the male respondents are highest educated of the observed units of analysis. They are followed shortly by the male migrants, which are of more or less comparable level of education as the female migrants. As mentioned previously, the female respondents in this research score lowest in their level of education.

Education	Female respondent (n=22)	Spouses of females (male migrants)* (n=21)	Male respondent (n=18)	Spouses of males (female migrants) (n=18)
None	2 (09%)	0 (00%)	0 (00%)	0 (00%)
Primary	4 (18%)	3 (14%)	2 (11%)	3 (17%)
Secondary	10 (45%)	6 (29%)	3 (17%)	6 (33%)
Polytechnic/tertiary	2 (09%)	3 (14%)	4 (22%)	4 (22%)
Bachelor	3 (14%)	7 (33%)	3 (17%)	3 (17%)
Master	1 (05%)	2 (10%)	5 (28%)	2 (11%)
Phd.	0 (00%)	0 (00%)	1 (05%)	0 (00%)

Table 4.2 Education respondents and migrant spouses – abs. and (%) to category

**1 missing (n=21)*

4.1.3 Household

In table 4.3 the household composition of the respondents is displayed. The female respondents' composition is relatively homogeneous, as 16 of the 22 (73%) of the women have children, which all have at least one child living in their household. The remainder of the women do not have any children. With one exception – whereby respondent's single child lived with her sister because respondent experienced financial problems, all children of the female respondents resided with their mother in the same house³³.

Out of the 18 male respondents, 13 (73%) have children, which is relatively equal to the female respondents. However, the household composition of the male respondents is very different. As may be seen in Table 4.3, only six male respondents have children living at home, of which five have children below the age of 18. Of the 7 male respondents that have children living outside their

³³ In two cases the female respondent and her family lived in a house with two other families

household, children either lived with the migrated spouse (2 cases), with the sister of the migrated spouse (3 cases), or were grown up (2 cases).

In Ghana and Kumasi it happens quite often that people live with more family members in one household than only those belonging to the nuclear family. In figure 4.1 it may be observed that among the female respondents, 10 (45%) had one or more (blood-)relative living in their household. In most cases they lived like this before migration of the male spouse, implying that there is not much change for the women in the household, even more so because most Ashanti men provide marginal or no help in the household. It does however mean that she can count on support and assistance from the others living in the house – mainly the female residents.

Of the 18 men, seven (39%) were living with one or more (blood-)relative(s); either a cousin, a niece, their parents, their sibling(s) or in one case even his daughter and granddaughters, of which mostly – in accordance with Helmich (2009), who states that in most households the role and position of migrant women is largely take over by residents other than the migrant husband – the female residents helped to take over the role that the migrated spouse (or mother) used to have. This means that for the male respondents daily activities barely changed since the migration of their spouse. In a few cases however (4 out of the 10 men who have lived together with their spouses), the male respondents did engage in (some) traditionally more female gender roles. However, only two of these men had children living at home during the time we interviewed them. These cases seemed to be mainly linked to a more equal and communicative relationship between husband and wife, but also to the lack of helping (blood-)relatives, resulting in the emergence to cope with the practical necessities like food and hygiene for themselves and their children. In the cases where the man did live alone with his children, the children – especially the girls – would usually provide help in the household chores like washing, shopping and sometimes cooking.

It is striking, however, to notice that five men of the 13 that have children, organized for these children to live outside their own house (see figure 4.1). This occurred only once among the female respondents – whose child is living with her sister because of financial issues. Most notable is that the resident women take full responsibility when their husbands migrate. The men, on the other hand, do not take over the role of the mother, but seem to strife for fulfillment of this role by employing another female (blood-)relative.

All of the above indicate that not only *household roles* are related to gendered migration; also *household composition* is. A concern for the male sample in this research is that only 10 of the 18 men have lived with their spouse previous to her migration, making observation concerning changes since the migration even more difficult.

Household	Female (n=22)	Male (n=18)
Children < 18	10	5
Children > 18	0	1
Both	6	0
No children in HH	0	7
No children at all	6	5

Table 4.3 Household composition

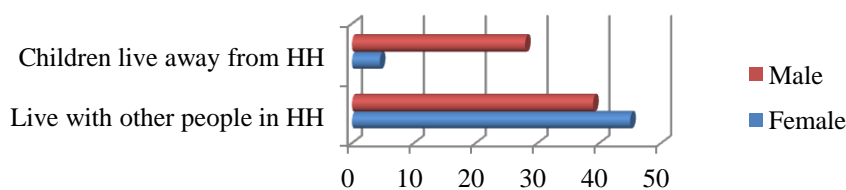


Figure 4.1 Household composition (%)

4.1.4 Homogeneity versus heterogeneity

An important observation derived from analyzing the (background) characteristics of the research population is the relative homogeneity of the female population in comparison to the male population, which mostly concerns educational level and household composition. The majority of the female respondents were not highly educated – two had no education, four have completed primary school and 10 have completed secondary school as highest level of education. This leaves only six (27%) female respondents who were educated beyond what could be called ‘high school’. The level of education among the male research population differs more significantly. Two male respondents completed only primary school, and three have completed secondary school. The remaining 13 (72%) all finished some form of tertiary education.

Furthermore, as has been described in section 4.1.3, the household composition of the male respondents is highly heterogeneous. From old and living by himself (in two cases) to young and living with his mother, to middle aged and living with his children. Since the male respondents were so hard to find, as has been described section 3.2.2, we suggest that this may be seen as an indicative research observation (see Figure 4.3 – selective coding), possibly relating to hidden populations (Heckathorn, 1997) which relate to a perceived decrease of masculinity (pride, status, power, independence, respect) or relating to a process of transformation, whereby the higher educated women become more empowered and perhaps appreciated. Furthermore, various people during and outside the interviews stated that it was the responsibility of the man to take care of his family in the financial sense. As suggested in the introduction, we assume that this might influence the decisions on which spouse is going to migrate – usually with preference to the male. On the other hand, the male migrants were also higher educated than their resident spouses, which is another important factor in deciding who is going to migrate. This implies that overall in Kumasi, and perhaps Ghana, it is likely that – in spousal relations – it is more often the male counterpart that migrates.

Another part of the explanation of a heterogeneous male population may be found in the very intensive purposive snowball sampling. Our entire research team had exhausted local networks in order to obtain male respondents. Eventually, two people in our networks played an important role in finding almost half of the male respondents: Peter Dwumer (a university lecturer with a highly educated network) and a pastor (who provided mainly lower educated male respondents in relation to those provided by Peter Dwumer). In addition, there were two other highly educated male respondents who were, coincidentally, coincidentally also (former) teachers at the university. This might be another important part of the explanation for our biased and heterogeneous male research population.

Contrary, the female respondents were easy to find, and therefore it was also possible to interview such a homogeneous group, which was a desirable methodical aspect to this research.

4.1.5 Motives for migration

Exploring the subjects of power relations and decision-making within the spousal relationship, the respondents were questioned about the motives of migrate for their spouse and whether or not they were part of this decision. As pictured in figure 4.2, the motives were of mainly economic and financial nature. Two out of three, for both male and female migrants, decided to migrate for this

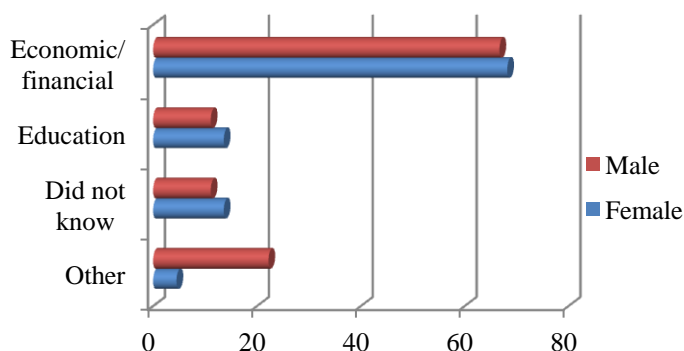


Figure 4.2 Motives for migration (%)

reason. The other reason to leave Ghana was to further their education, sometimes in combination with financial reasons. Two male and three female respondents could not provide an answer to this question. The main reason for not being able to answer this question was that their spouse migrated a long time before they were together, implying that they were not part of the decision-making process. Of the 22 female respondents, 15 women decided

together with their husband that he was going to migrate. Three women did not take part in the decision making process and four women got to know their husband long after he had migrated (they met when he came back to Ghana for a visit). The male respondents who had lived together with their spouse before migration were all part of the decision that she was going to migrate. An interesting observation is that more than half of all the respondents made use of their transnational network in order to choose a country of destination. Twelve spouses of female respondents (55%) and ten spouses of male respondents (56%) had a friend or family member at the destination of migration.

4.1.6 Future plans

An issue often discussed in migration literature is brain gain (Awumbila et al. 2011). This means that emigration does not necessarily mean the loss of skilled members of society (brain drain). Besides migrants returning money, Awumbila et al. also noted that Ghana experiences a brain gain, whereby

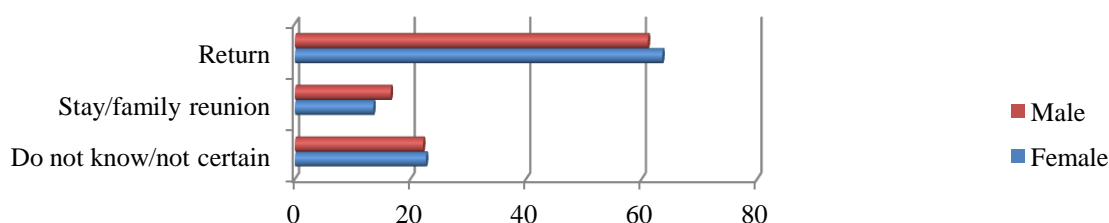


Figure 4.3 Future migration plans of migrants (%)

return migration results in gaining knowledge and skills; and perhaps even cultural insights and attitudes, which will be discussed in section 5.4.1. Among the spouses interviewed we established that 14 male migrants and 11 female migrants (about two in three) are planning to come back to Ghana in the near future³⁴ (within five years), which confirms sources such as Awumbila et al. (2011) and IOM (2009) on return migration.

³⁴ A note must be made about the fact that the unit of observation is the resident spouse. We regularly found that resident spouse, even more for the female respondents, could provide little information on their spouses situation in the country of migration. This may indicate difficulties concerning their knowledge about the actual intentions of their spouse.

4.2 Analyzing techniques

4.2.1 Grounded theory

Figure 4.4³⁵ shows how grounded theory (see section 3.2.2) has been used to analyze the research data (Flick, 2009). Starting at the top, the first step of the analyzing process is open coding, whereby the interviews are re-read in order to create codes for observed categories. The open coding resulted in both a codebook and a thorough datamatrix, whereby all respondents and all data were gathered in one table (see section 3.6.5). The most important characteristics were coded in the descriptive statistics, which may be found in Appendix C.

In the second step, axial coding, the paradigm model has been created and colors are given to the model (see section 4.2.1) to relate findings to causes, context, consequences and (behavioral) strategies concerning the studied variables. Further elaboration will be made in the empirical chapter. During all steps of this model, theory may be built continuously.

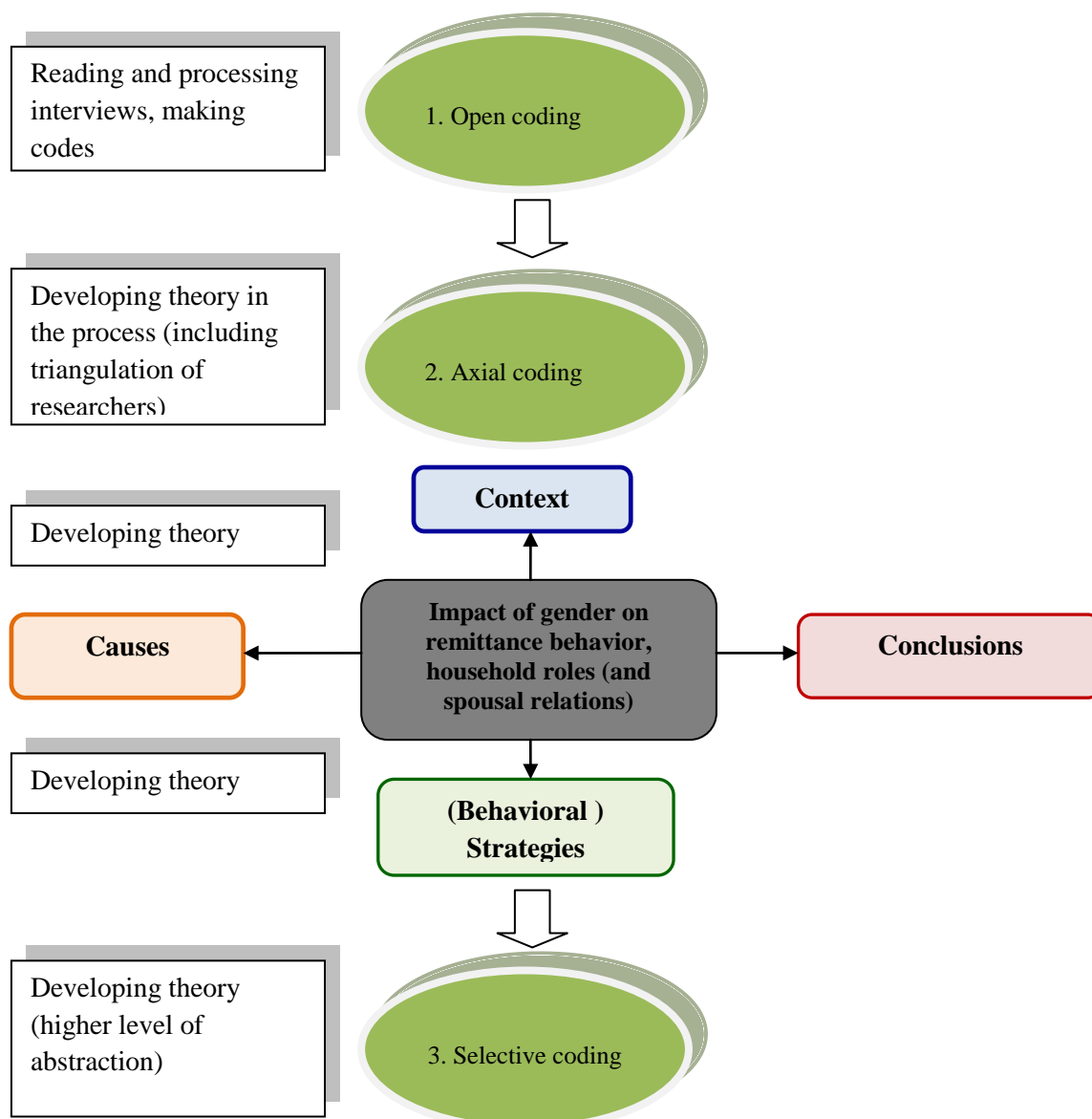


Figure 4.4 Grounded theory building and feedback process

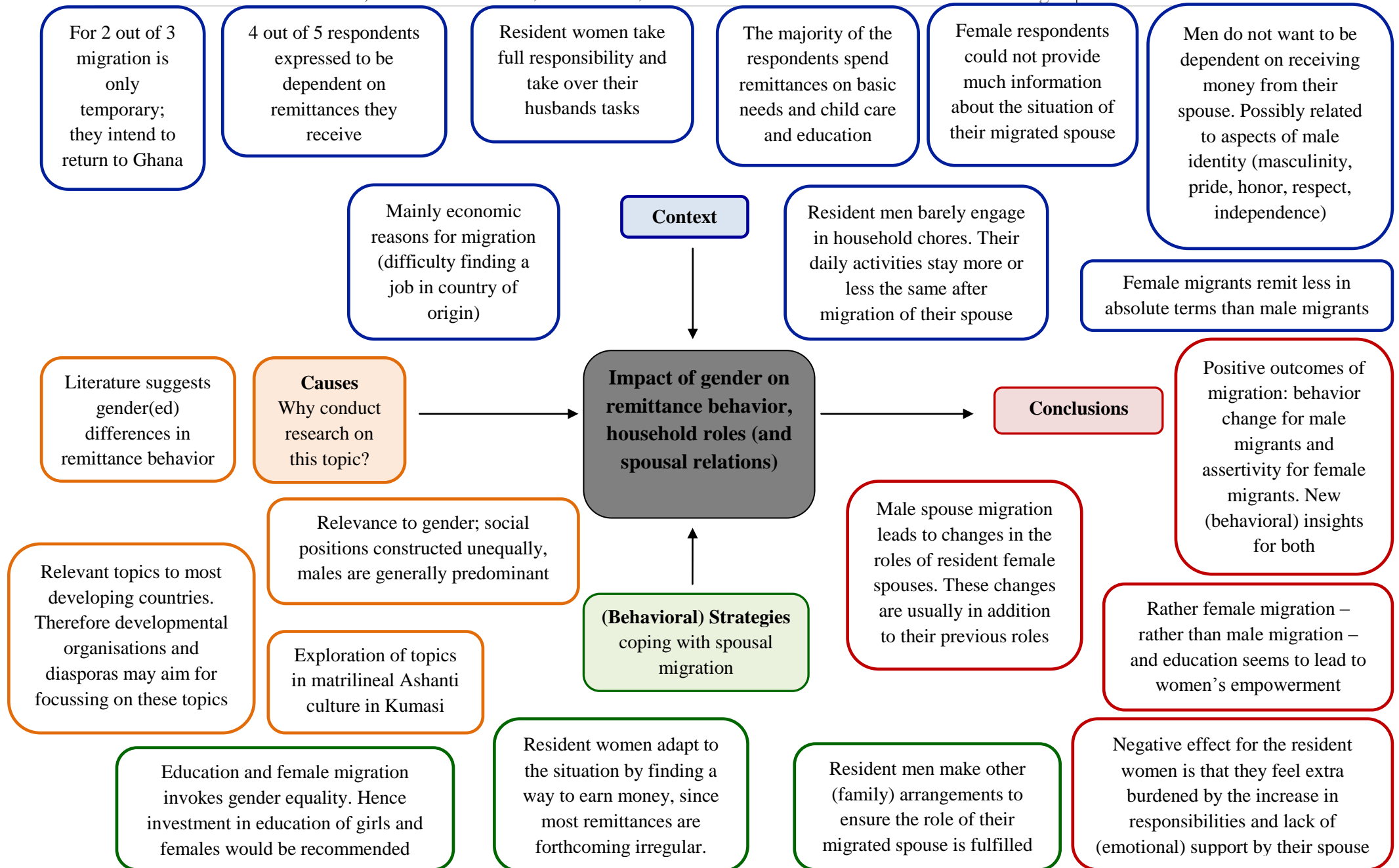
³⁵ Figure 4.4 has been created by Van der Zee (2012, forthcoming) and has been edited by Deenen

4.2.2 Coding paradigm model

The coding paradigm model is the second step of the grounded theory strategy as described above. A coding paradigm model is used to provide insights on the causal relations of a study, differentiating causes, context, strategies and conclusions of the studied phenomena; the influence of gender on remittances, household roles and spousal relations. Using open coding (Figure 4.4), data collected from the interviews is used to fill in the coding model – which may be found on the next page. Colors are used to indicate whether a box belongs to a cause, context, strategy or conclusion. Step 3 of grounded theory, selective coding, will be done throughout the empirical findings and the conclusions of this thesis, and aims to develop theories on a higher level of abstraction.

4.2.3 Empirical findings

In chapter 5 the empirical findings of the cooperative cross-gender analysis will be presented, using a quantitative format supported by qualitative examples and expressions. In chapter 6, elaborative case studies will go deeper into the male-specific findings of this research, sketching several important themes. Throughout these findings, some conclusions will be drawn, as this is part of the important feedback process of grounded theory. In chapter 7, findings will be summarized and concluded, whereby they are abstracted and related to the research questions formulated in this study.



5. Empirical findings – Cross-gender

Resulting from the pooling of collected data, similar codings for grounded theory building and the shared chapter on the research population of this research, this chapter is dedicated to the empirical findings of the cross-gender comparison between male and female respondents and is written by Deenen and Van der Zee³⁶³⁷. We argue that an important part of our cross-gender comparison is related to the unit of analysis; the transnational spousal relationship. Not only does this unit of analysis allow us to make an intra-gender and cross-gender comparison between resident spouses (the respondents), it also allows us to make intra-gender and cross-gender comparisons between the migrant spouses. In doing so, we create additional insights on a higher level of analysis. We can, for example, to some extent compare female migrants with female residents and male migrants with male residents. As will be mentioned in Van der Zee (2012, forthcoming) part of female empowerment for example seems to be – rather than from gaining additional responsibilities at home – related to female migration and education, which in turn relates to the decrease in gender inequalities. The male side of that same coin seems to be both cause and effect of these findings, as decreasing gender inequalities may influence and be influenced by (traditional) gendered perceptions, attitudes and behaviors of men towards migration, remittances and household roles of their female spouse.

An important finding in this research is that *all* but one (male, Togo) of the 40 migrated spouses were located in countries of the global north. Hereby USA was the most frequent (and very popular in cultural aspects and desirability) destination with 12 migrant's spouses. Italy (n=9), UK (n=7) and Germany were other important locations, followed by the rest of Europe. Furthermore, one migrated spouse was located in Canada, one was located in New Zealand and one in Saudi Arabia. This implies that no respondents were located in South America, Australia or Central and South-East Asia. These data serve as an important context for findings considering behavioral and attitudinal changes (see e.g. section 5.4.1).

In the following sections an analysis is presented of the main variables concerning gender and remittance behavior. Respectively the characteristics remittance sending behavior, characteristics of remittance receiving behavior and changes in household roles and spousal relations – power and decisionmaking in specific – will be discussed.

5.1 Characteristics of remittance sending behavior

Some literature suggests that women send money home more often and that women are more reliable remitters than men (UNINSTRAW, 2007 & 2008). The parallel study of this research project in the Philippines did show that female migrants sent remittances to multiple receivers, but it does not show that they send a higher percentage of their income (Gresham, 2011). Furthermore, male migrants only send remittances to their spouse, who then distributes it among the extended and nuclear family and other receivers (Gresham & Smit, 2011). To this concern, the case of Ghana differs. Male Ghanaian migrants send financial remittances to their wives, but also to their mothers. We suspect that here the difference between a patrilineal and a matrilineal society plays a role. As mentioned in section 1.4.1, especially the elder women are respected in a matrilineal society, as their bloodline is

³⁶ Unless noted otherwise

³⁷ Future reference of chapter 5 from this thesis may be noted as (Van der Zee & Deenen; in Deenen, 2012)

considered most important. This may be a reason for male migrants to send financial remittances to their wives as well as their mothers.

Another observation is that only eight male respondents out of 18 received financial remittances from their female spouse. This might be explained by the fact that the group of male respondents is biased towards lecturers of the KNUST University. Because of their high level of education and their well-earning profession, they earn enough to maintain themselves and do not need financial support from their wives. The third reason is one that is deeply rooted into the Ghanaian culture. The Ashanti are proud people. They are business-like and are willing to work hard to achieve something. The traditional male role is that he serves as the principal provider and head of the household, which also implies he is responsible for his family in the financial sense. Rooted in aspects of masculinity, he does not want to be dependent on remittances from his female spouse. This might make him lose respect in his social environment, or moreover makes him *think* he loses respect from his social environment. A man will feel responsible for his family, also when his wife and children migrate. An interesting example of such findings is Mr. Peter, whose two young children (2 and 6 years old) and wife migrated to the USA. Once or twice a year, his wife Nana sends around €250 per bank transfer. But, since Mr. Peter is the head of the family and feels like he has to take care of his family, he sends back money a couple of times a year; between €80 and €160 per instance. He states he does this to keep the status of a man who is perfectly able to take care of his family.

Unfortunately, we are not able to make indications about the percentage of salary that migrants remit to their spouse. No woman in this research could say how much money – not even an estimate – her migrated husband was earning, while there were several men (4 out of 18) who had knowledge about their wife's income (one of whom could check her account online). In addition, all respondents were asked if they shared a bank account. All answers were negative. We argue that the male spouse carries the financial responsibility for his family with pride, and it is not polite for the woman to ask what her husband earns every month. General consensus seems to be that she should not have the desire to do so. Hence men do not tell their women, and women do not ask their men. The other way around the male respondents also do not ask their wives about their salary, because they think that is their own affairs; they do not need to know.

In the Philippines the government is more involved in regulating remittance streams than in Ghana. Migrants work for a Philippine sea faring company, are obliged to remit 80% of their income to a third party, in most cases the spouses of the migrants (Gresham, 2011). In Ghana there are few such regulations. Gresham found that the male migrants in the Philippine case sent on average 73% of their income to their wives. For the female Philippine migrants this number is 35% (Gresham, 2011). We suspect that these relative amounts for the Ghanaian migrant males are significantly lower, while those of the females might be somewhat equal. However, these are mere 'in the field' speculations and may not be relied on.

5.2 Characteristics of remittance receiving behavior

Literature suggests that women are more often the receiver of remittances than men (IOM, n.d.). The case of Ghana confirms this claim, for reasons explained in the former paragraph.

5.2.1 Receiving remittances

Table 5.1 shows the total number of respondents who receive some kind of remittances, differentiated by gender, while the percentages of respondent receiving remittances are illustrated in Figure 5.1. Table 5.1 shows that 19 women (86%) receive remittances in any form (goods and financial) compared to 13 men (72%). This means that three women (14%) and five men (30%) do

	Female (n=22)	Male (n=18)
Only financial remittances	11	4
Only material remittances	3	5
Both	5	4
No remittances	3	5

Table 5.1 Receiving remittances (n)

not receive remittances in *any* form. The form of these remittances is however very important to this study. About one in four of both the female and the male respondents receive financial as well as material remittances. Furthermore, financial remittances are received by 73% of the women (16 out of 22) and 44% of the men (8 out of 18). Three women and five men only receive material remittances. It is important to note, however, that the type of material remittances that men and women receive

differs a lot. Women in this research receive bigger and more expensive products like laptops, TV's, and in some cases even a car or a fridge. Men often receive much smaller (and cheaper) goods like clothes and presents. There was no man in this research that received such expensive products.

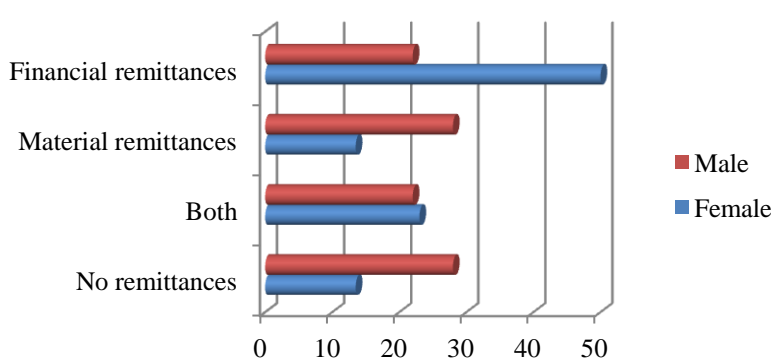


Figure 5.1 Receiving remittances (%)

5.2.2 Average monthly amount

Table 5.2 illustrates the average remittances being received by the female and male respondents every month in absolute amounts, and Figure 5.2 shows the relative numbers within their category.

	Female (n=16)	Male (n=8)
<€50	4	2
€50-€200	10	2
>€200	2	4

Table 5.2 Average monthly amount of remittances

Transfers are recalculated to a monthly format. It can be concluded for this sample that for both genders, one in four respondents that actually receive financial remittances, receive less than €50 a month. 63% of the female respondents (the majority of this group) and one out of four male respondents, receive between €50 and €200 euro a month. Finally one out of eight female respondents and half of the male respondents receive over €200 every month. This means that half of the men that receive financial remittances

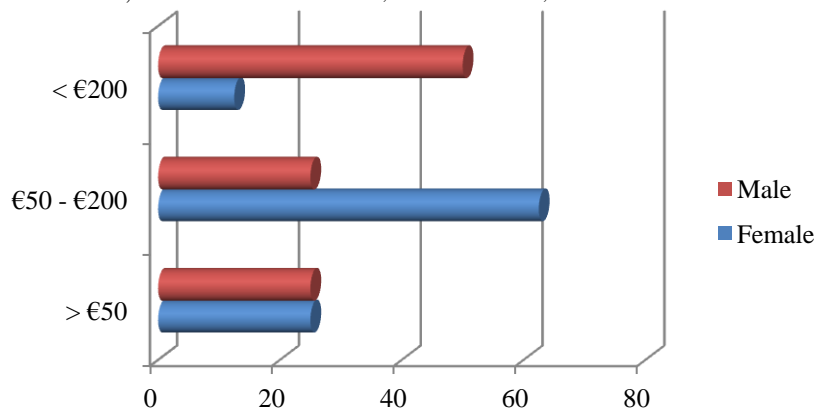


Figure 5.2 Average monthly amount of remittances (%)

receive quite a lot compared to the women. Once again, the link here can be made with the education level of the female migrants, as well as that of the male respondents. Half of the female migrants completed tertiary education, of which most have a good job, implying that this group is less likely to end up in vulnerable or exploitative jobs. With a good job, they have the opportunity to send home quite an amount. Some scholars (e.g. Jolly & Reeves, 2006) argue that migrated women experience a lot of pressure from home. As men are usually perceived as head of the household they can oblige them to send money home regularly. Whether this is true for this sample group cannot be established because the female migrants were not interviewed. The husbands interviewed are unlikely to admit they put pressure of this kind on their spouses. Such information is not something that will be easily shared with people outside their household and certainly not with strangers.

5.2.3 (In)dependence of remittances

The extent to which the female and male respondents state to be dependent on the financial remittances is presented in Table 5.3. Specific characteristics of these remittances are also presented; regularity, dependency, the ability to save (some) of the remittances received and whether or not they receive money from other relatives or friends. Figure 5.3 is a graphic illustration of the findings. It can be concluded that the

Financial remittances	Female (n=16)	Male (n=8)
Irregular	12	2
Dependent	13	3
Save	12	6
Receive from others	5	4

Table 5.3 (In)dependence on financial remittances (abs.)

majority of the women who receive financial remittances (more than four in

five) expressed that they are dependent on the remittances. Without receiving them, they state that

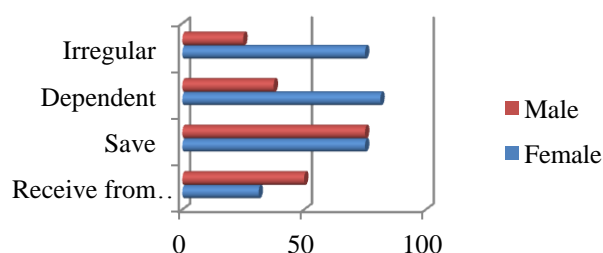


Figure 5.3 (In)dependence on financial remittances (%)

life would be very difficult. Striking is that for this specific group of women that state to be dependent on remittances finances, all but one received the remittances regularly. This means that the money does not

come every month, or the amount they receive differs every month. Dependency among men is much less; approximately one in three of those who receive remittances. Out of the group that does feel dependent on the remittances, only one man states that the money comes irregular. Another interesting feature is that for both men and the women, three out of four are able to set aside some of the remittances. Finally, relatively more men than women in this research also receive remittances from other sources, which might explain why few men feel dependent of remittances from their spouse. Four men (50%) and five women (31%) have indicated that they also receive remittances from other family members or friends who are living abroad.

The majority of both women and men who receive remittances spend it, in descending order of importance, on food (15 women, 7 men), school fees for their children (10 women, 5 men) and clothing for the family (8 women, 3 men). It is also used for building their house (4 women, 1 man), for paying the bills (3 women, 3 men) and for personal expenses (3 women, 2 men). Only two women and two men use the finances to invest in their business. All these four people expressed that they are not dependent on the remittances, but they do receive quite a big amount every month, which is likely to contribute to the reason why they are able to spend the remittances in their businesses. One woman did not want to tell the amount, but the other woman receives €230 a month and the two men both receive around €140 a month. The two women and one man also have children, for whom education fees are paid from the money received from their spouse. The other man lives with his parents and does not have children. Therefore he does not have high living expenses, allowing him to spend the money on his business. Moreover, all four of them have a job that earns enough money to sustain themselves which allow them to divide the remittances on purposes such as education for their children and investing in their business.

5.3 Changing household roles and spousal relations

In Figure 5.4 the perception of the changing (gender) roles in the household of the female as well as the male respondents is shown.

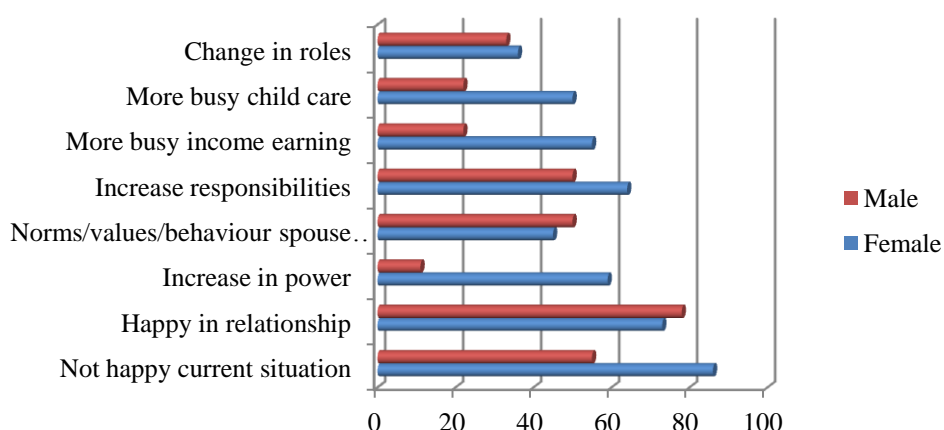


Figure 5.4 Changing gender roles and power relations (%)

About one in three women do think that their roles have changed since their husband has migrated. They describe different situations to pin point these changes. Some feel that all the responsibilities come down to them, in paying the bills and taking care of the children. Some indicate that they feel like they have to be both mother and father at the same time. Others feel more relaxed because when

the husband was around he was very demanding, and now they feel freer and are able to do what they want.

Of the ten men who lived together with their spouse before the migration took place, six men (also one in three) have indicated that their roles have changed since their wife has migrated. For five of them (one man is a pensioner who only takes care of himself) the daily tasks have significantly changed; they have become more busy with everyday tasks like child care, cooking and general maintenance. Most of the women (64%) however stated that the household chores have not changed very much. Their husbands did not do a lot of household chores before they migrated, so these chores have not increased substantially. But they do take over the tasks of their husband. They are now in charge of finances and decisions that have to be made in the household. About 50% of the women expressed to be more busy with taking care of the children and raising them, and a similar percentage also mentioned to be more busy with income earning than before. Compared to the male respondents this is quite substantial, as only one in four of the men feels an increase in being busy with the children and income earning. An explanation for this may be that men often make other arrangements to make sure the role of the missing mother in the house is fulfilled. They do this either by sending their children to live with their sister or their wife's sister (three cases), or they decide together with their wife that it is better that the children go with their mother to the country of destination (two cases). Two in three male respondents live with other relatives in the house, which means there are other females who can help with taking care of the children, cooking and general maintenance of the house.

5.3.1 Changing attitudes and behaviors

One in three female respondents has stated they do not think that the norms and values, the way of looking at life and behavior of their husbands has changed since their migration. One in five women do not know how to give an answer to this question because contact with their spouse is scarce. The other ten women (45%) indicate positive changes like less aggressive and more understanding and caring attitudes and behaviors. A comparable amount, 50% of the men, indicated that they think their spouse's behavior has changed. In general these men think that their spouse has become more assertive and they are learning a lot in their country of migration; gaining a wider perspective of the world by living in another culture. These men feel like their spouses have changed in their behavior, but not so much in their norms and values. Some male respondents also indicated that they were not able to answer this question, since they have to live together with their wives in order to make such estimations. In this research, we generally argue that this applies for most respondents; if their spouse has not returned to a daily life in Ghana – as visits by their migrated spouse are irregular and last usually only a few weeks to one or two months – statements about the change in attitudes and behaviors are difficult to make. Even more so because, even though communications between most spouses are ample in frequency, quality and depth of these communications seems to differ largely. Especially women in this research showed difficulties in defining their spouse's situation in the country of research and could not always provide accurate information on their occupation, their situation in the country of migration and even less on their spouse's income. These findings make it difficult to make valid statements about topics of changing attitudes and behaviors. Nonetheless, these findings do indicate such changes occur, and logical analysis implies that being in touch with such a different culture – as all but one migrant resided in the global north – has attitudinal and behavioral effects.

5.3.2 Changing power relations

More firm statements can be made towards the topic of changing power relations in the household, due to the migration of the wife or husband. In literature it is argued that one has to be careful with equating the responsibilities that women take over from the husband when they migrate with emancipation (De Haas & Van Rooij, 2010). Women often have no choice in taking over their husband's power, and become the head of the household during their absence by default. However, saying that this empowers women would be wrong, since men are likely to claim their leading role back the moment they return to the country of origin. Besides, many migrated men in this research keep most of their power by staying in close contact with their spouse at home. Since this research took place among respondents whose spouses migrated, and have not returned for a longer period of time, it is not possible to argue whether this is true in this case. However, it is possible to show that male migrants exercise power over their wives from a transnational distance. Data retrieved from spouses of male migrants done in Ghana and in the Philippines (Smit, forthcoming 2012) confirms that women are not empowered per se when their husbands migrate. Like mentioned in Van der Zee (2012, forthcoming), empowered is defined as the following: *"Enabling women to recognize chances and opportunities and implement them. The core is confidence and self-reliance. Women need to be stimulated to take part in decisionmaking processes, not only in school or at work, but also at home and in society"*. In our study in Kumasi, slightly more than half of the female respondents felt like they have more power to decide what is going on in the household since migration of their spouse. However, an increase in power does not mean one is empowered. In a couple, both should feel comfortable with the division of roles and responsibilities. Some women note, however, that they do not feel comfortable with these changes and see it as a burden, in which they have no choice. They prefer to share all the responsibilities with their spouse. To illustrate this, the Box 5.1 contains a citation aired during an interview held with a female respondent.

"Yes, I have more power to make decisions. But I have no choice; there is no one else to lead the household. It would have been better if my husband was around, so that we could share all the responsibilities"

Box 5.1 Grace about power relations and responsibilities

Another woman expressed that she did not feel like she gained power since her husband migrated.

Striking is that only two male respondent expressed that they feel like they have more power

"No, I do not feel like I have more power. When my husband was around, I could ask him for money every day if that was necessary and spend it on purposes that I wanted. Now I receive money only once a month and I have to ask my husband first if I can use some of it. He wants to know where I spend the money on."

Box 5.2 Sandra about power relations

since their wife migrated. This is a strong indication for the finding that men are the main decision-makers in the household, regardless of the migration of their spouse. Hence, there is not much more power to gain, except the responsibilities for the children and household chores. Half of the male respondents expressed they experience an increase in these responsibilities. In this research, it seems that the higher educated women and men are, the more successful their migration seems to be. With better education they are more likely to find a job, which enables them to send a reasonable amount

home, to improve the living conditions of their resident household members. Furthermore, several higher educated male respondents are of the opinion that their women will gain a broader perspective of the world. The implication that migration experiences will also make their female spouses more assertive seems to be okay with them. Living in another culture confronts women (and men) with different gender roles than in their own culture, even more so because all of the migrant women in this research come into contact with the very culturally different global north. Findings from this research make it arguable that tertiary education (of both men and women) and female migration lead to blurring of traditional gender roles in the Ashanti culture. This blurring in turn seems to be strongly related to the empowerment of women. Findings of this research do not strengthen such statements concerning the female resident spouses and the (included) male migration. Logically, migrated men also come into contact with the society they migrate to and will experience culture differences. However, we are under the impression that, considering the relatively low amount of remittances received by their spouses in comparison to the high wages in the global north, especially the lower educated migrants in this research – who have difficulties finding a good and/or legal job – do not participate much in the society they live in, because they have to hide from officials (IMISCOE, 2008) and encounter more and more intensive forms of distrust towards them. With the improvement of our interview skills, which enhanced the openness of the respondents, we discovered that some of the less educated migrants did not have a legal permit for their country of migration; they often migrate with only a visiting permit. However, this conclusion is difficult to make, as we have strong doubts about the reliability of the respondent's answers; either because of lack of knowledge or because of the protection of potentially harmful personal information, not all respondents were precise in their responses to questions about their migrant spouse's permit in the country of migration. Especially in the early interviews, many were merely complying when we asked them in what their spouse's legal status is in the country of migration. These findings may imply two things: a) migrated spouses may have made little or no preparations for their migration such as legal issues, finding a job and finding housing b) migrated spouses may have made hidden preparations, which their resident spouse was unaware of (this behavior seems most likely to come from male migrants). Point b) may also be applicable to the motives of migration; since the motives are perceived (and thus interpreted) by the respondent, real motives can never be known. However, all of the above is very suggestive; future research is required to validate such statements.

6. Discussion – Contestations to male identity?

This chapter will go deeper into the findings presented in chapter 5, in part by making use of three case studies. These case study examples are meant to serve as a detailed background sketch on the personal characteristics, wellbeing and history of the migrant families. Particular attention is given to their motives for migration, communication between the transnational spouses, the way the resident man spends the remittances he receives, and to what extent responsibilities of the female spouse are taken over by the resident male. Because the heterogeneity in this research is so specific to the male research population, these case studies aim to show the extent of such heterogeneity by sketching the life and histories of two somewhat different case studies – Mark and Isaac. The case study by Emmanuel was written by Van der Zee and was later added in order to provide additional qualitative contexts. These embedded case studies will cover several important themes and aspects of the findings. These important themes will be further analyzed and discussed in section 6.2. Note that some themes may also relate to migrated males, as they are included in the unit of analysis of the female research population. Also note that, even though many Ghanaians have an English first name, all names in this chapter are pseudonyms, serving the purpose of protecting the respondent's identity.

6.1 Embedded case studies

6.1.1 Mark

Mark is a 49 year old pastor and lecturer. He has finished his master education – with the help of a Ghanaian governmental scholarship – in the UK about four years ago. He is, as may be expected of a pastor, a very religious Christian and comes from the Akan Ashanti tribe. Mark has known his migrated wife for 35 years and married her 21 years ago. His wife Christine is 46 years of age with a post-secondary education (secretarial). She now works as a kitchen assistant in a hospital, but she was a housewife from around the time they got their first child – 18 years ago – up until before she migrated to London, UK. Together they have four children, aged 18 and 17 – living in a boarding school – and aged 14 and 11, living at home with Mark and his mother-in-law. To keep in touch, Mark and Christine make video-calls almost every day. Furthermore, Mark visits Christine in the UK for four to six weeks every year.

About six and a half years ago (September 2004) Mark went to do his masters studies in London. Since Mark had travelled before, he decided his wife should have the same experience and exposure. They discussed this idea and she agreed on it. Beforehand, Mark and his wife had bought a bigger house and made arrangements with Christine's mother, who would take care of the children while they were both in the UK – under the condition that they would supply the necessary financial resources. After Mark had somewhat settled in London, Christine arrived around March 2005. Through Mark's arrangements with both the Ghanaian and British government (an arrangement he calls 'Student Dependent'), she was able to get a working permit. After a short while she was able to find a job. Meanwhile, Mark was able to obtain his masters degree two years after his arrival. After he finished, they both decided she should stay in the UK to keep her job, since she was earning well and enjoyed her job. Since about 4 years, she has been alone in the UK. She will definitely come back to Ghana, but at the moment they are trying to get some of their children into universities in London. This means her stay there will be prolonged, for financial reasons and considering a practical point of view in case the children would actually arrive in London.

On average, Christine sends home about £400 (about 1000 Ghanaian Cedi's, which is roughly €500) every three months. They are however, Marks states, not too dependent on the remittances, so she mostly sends money if they need it. The money usually comes through the bank by money transfer, but sometimes is also brought home in cash by their relatives and friends. Christine also saves some money, (about £100 every three months) and invests in the joint businesses that Mark and Christine have, such as housing projects. Even though Mark will not say how much money his wife earns, he does state that almost all remitted money goes through him. He and his wife have a separate bank account but they have a good knowledge on how much money the other has. He states they are very equal and transparent. As a sidenote, he comments that his wife would not disturb him for money, but he also points out that some women *“will become very demanding if they know how much money their husbands have.”*

Before the migration, Christine did most of the household chores. At current, Mark's daily household activities consist of taking his children to school, doing his work during the day, and taking care of his family in the evening, which mainly consists of helping his kids with homework and keeping watch. The practical part of Mark's current household is mainly done by his mother-in-law, with some help of the children. However, Mark does state that the (gender) roles in their family have somewhat changed, since his wife is earning a lot more than he is, which means she has more to say in their financial situation. Mark states he does feel more burdened since his wife's migration. He has to act like a mother and a father, and he also has to visit his older kids in the boarding schools at least once a month – while they are both in different schools. All together it is quite heavy, he says. However, he does state that he has become close with his children; closer than Christine is at the moment. The children are doing alright, but they do miss Christine regularly.

When asked if Mark thinks Christine has changed during the migration, he answers with confidence; her outlook on life, her confidence – before she had a very poor self image, her life perception and the way she conducts her activities and self-management have all changed, mainly in a positive way. He thinks this would also positively influence their children.

Mark is happy in his equal relationship. He states that he does not feel he has more power since his wife's migration, but rather has more influence through guiding the children and spending time with them.

6.1.2 Isaac

Isaac is 30 years old, has completed Polytechnic (tertiary education), and currently works as a musician. He is a Christian and belongs to the Ashanti tribe. He has been married to Gina for three years but they do not have children. Gina is a woman of the age of 29, has completed high school, and currently works as a cleaner in Italy. For both of them it was difficult to find a job here in Ghana. Therefore they decided together that it was better that she would migrate in order to look for a job and earn some money. Since her brother was already living in Italy, the decision to go there was an easy one. Her brother hired an agent who prepared everything for the journey.

Gina has been living in Italy now for two years. Isaac does not really know whether Gina's job is a good job, because she did not tell him much about it. Since one year Gina stopped communicating with Isaac. Whenever he calls, she never picks up the phone. Occasionally an Italian man picked up the phone, but because of a language barrier, they were not able to communicate. Isaac suspects Gina is now with another man. He cannot think of any other reason why she has stopped communicating with him.

At the time they were still communicating, she occasionally sent home some money. Sometimes, when Isaac was in need of money, he called her. A few times she agreed to send him some money, which was around €100 per instance. However, sometimes Gina refused to send money and argued that he was the man of the house and he should be able to take care of himself. Isaac does not know if she sends money to other friends or relatives. About this, Isaac said: *“If I would know that she is sending money to other people, I would know that she has money. So if she is sending money to other people, she would not tell me. If I would know that she has money, she would know that I would be asking for money more often.”* During this research, this argument was brought up several times by male respondents, who stated that men should not tell their wife how much money they earn, since their wife would just be asking for more.

Isaac gets support from his family in the household. Sometimes his mother still cooks for him, which makes him a little embarrassed. Nonetheless he is busier with tasks in the household since Gina migrated. In general he is not happy with the situation. He does not like living on his own and he is sad about the fact that Gina has changed in such a negative way. Right now, Isaac is thinking about a divorce. His plan is to go to Gina’s parents and ask them if they can ask her if she is still interested in their marriage. If she is not, he is going to divorce her. If he would ever have a new marriage in the future, he would definitely reject suggestions for one of the spouses to migrate, because it destroys the relationship.

6.1.3 Emmanuel³⁸

Emmanuel is 62 years old and is a retired lecturer at KNUST University of Kumasi. He has completed a Phd in political studies. He is a Christian and belongs to the Ashanti tribe. He has three children, one girl (24 years old) with his former wife, and two children (18 and 12 years old) with his current wife, Mary. Mary is 57 years old and completed secondary school. Like Emmanuel, she is also a Christian and also belongs to the Ashanti tribe. They are married for 10 years, but have been in a relationship for 20 years. Mary migrated to Dallas, Texas, USA, two years ago. She used to run a big shop with her mother but they got into a huge fight, motivating her to leave. He was not happy that she wanted to go. Not much later their oldest daughter (18) got the opportunity to go to a medical school in New York, whereby they thought it would be a good idea to have her mother near, so he agreed to her migration. The other child (son, 12) also wanted to come so they went with the three of them. Now Mary is working in an elderly home and she talks to Emmanuel on the phone several times a week. She knew an acquaintance from Kumasi who lived in New York. He helped her to arrange the ticket, picked her up from the airport and provided accommodation for the first weeks. Now she has her own accommodation of 12 square feet, where they live with the three of them. This is not really comfortable. It was not easy to find a job because of the difficult economic situation in the US. Mary wants to come back to Ghana with her youngest child, but before she goes she wants to make sure that her oldest daughter has enough money to manage herself.

Emmanuel does not know how much Mary earns every month. He does not receive financial remittances. He also does not know if Mary sends money to other relatives. He has to live from his pension. From this money Emmanuel has started to build a house, where Mary and he can live in when she comes back to Ghana. He states this is a cultural aspect of the Ashanti. By building her

³⁸ This section has been written by Van der Zee and was edited by Deenen

house, he gains a lot of respect from her family. The roof and the fundamentals are already there and he has asked Mary to finance the build of the rest of the house.

Emmanuel's daily activities have not changed much since Mary migrated. He has a maid who is taking care of the household chores, and his oldest daughter (from another marriage) helps to do the laundry. The only thing that changed is that he is now eating alone most of the time. He thinks that the migration experience of his wife will definitely have an effect on her norms and values or in her behavior, but he does not know how that will impact their life in Ghana. They need to live together again for a while before Emmanuel will be able to pinpoint these changes. He misses her a lot and hopes it will not take long anymore before she returns home.

6.2 Themes

First, some notions must be made about the men in this research: In general, they seemed (more than women) open in providing information. This might be related to several things: 1) a masculine, self-secured identity, which may influence their courage, the 'need' to be in control during the interview and their level of exaggeration 2) their generally higher level of education, which (also) significantly increases their capabilities of talking English 3) the quality of the interviewer and interviews which, as has been explained, were generally higher during the interviews with most of the male respondents in this research.

The case studies as shown above sketch the living situations of three male spouses to female migrants. From these case studies, several findings and suggestions can be induced. First, several levels of scale may be extracted from the (social) processes at play; the societal level (empirical context), the family level (extended and nuclear) and individual processes (personal contexts, situations, behaviors, attitudes, feelings, perceptions and more or less unique observations in these aspects). Second, several important items in gender and gender relations will be related to these findings. Note that the somewhat artificial divisions made below attempt to honor the main themes, but in reality these findings should be seen as a connected and holistic empirically induced framework.

6.2.1 Society, culture and masculinity

The societal level may for example be found in Emmanuel's notion that building a house for his wife will earn him a lot of respect from her family. This seems to hold a strong relation to the *abusua*, the female bloodline of the matrilineal Ashanti culture (Clark, 1999a).

Furthermore, as has been noted in section 1.4.1, the feminine role of mothering in the Ashanti culture conflicts mainly with the gendered expectations of marriage (Clark, 1999a). Once again, these gendered expectations are very male-centered; the woman is expected to be able to accommodate the (nuclear) family on all fronts, while the man focusses on the financial health of the family. Characteristics stated earlier (section 1.4.1) about the female empowerment through a matrilineal society and the female *abusua* bloodline are starting to look like mere formalities, since the masculine power seems to be deeply rooted in the Ashanti culture, resulting in the unequal socially constructed gender positions. This finding is supported by both the primary and secondary research (Adinkrah, 2012; Clark, 1999a) research conducted for this study, which seem to confirm such strong presence of aspects of masculinity in Ghana and, more specifically, in the Ashanti culture. Perhaps, such

findings may hold a link to the long spiritual traditions of witchcraft (Wan, 2011³⁹), which have been briefly discussed in section 1.4.

Other gendered cultural aspects may be found in Mark and Isaac's statements about the purposive withholding of information on the financial status of the spouse. From a theoretical, male empowered point of view this could be somewhat expected from the male respondents. More surprising however, is that Isaac too experiences his (former) spouse to withhold information from him concerning her financial situation. In Isaac's case, the female migrant has clearly taken a more controlling role in their (ex-)relationship. This is also confirmed by Mark, who states his wife has more to say in their financial situation, as she is the one who earns the most. This implies suggestions made previously about the empowerment of women through the process of migration which, in turn, seems to show men the 'other side of life', in the process of exchanging roles. This may implicate contestations for men in their livelihood and male or masculine identity, mainly to those who cannot rely on (extended) family members. In Mark's case, he seems somewhat satisfied with such a division, but it must be stressed that he, like the majority of the males in this research and both Isaac and Emmanuel, make other arrangements – so called 'care chains' – within their family to ensure the role of their migrated spouse is fulfilled. Furthermore, Mark's case is somewhat exceptional: he does not need to receive remittances, he has enough money to start businesses and even to send his daughter to a university in London. In relation to most male respondents in this study, Mark simply is a wealthy man.

In Isaac's case however, the empowerment of his (former) spouse seems to invoke a sense of insecurity and weakness. In a conversation with Mark, held after the interview described above, his last words were: "*men want control.*" From findings in this research, it seems that men do not want to be dependent on receiving money from their spouse. This seems to be strongly related to the gendered expectations of the man as the principal provider of the family. A man that is dependent on receiving money from his wife may experience feelings of shame, insecurity, weakness and failure, resulting in a decrease of their self-esteem. For this reason, men are less likely to accept remittances and it might even make them oblivious to the idea that they could ask help from their spouse. In addition, there were two male respondents who received remittances from their migrated spouse, and send certain amounts to her several times a year, in order to maintain their 'manly' status.

Such suggestions also seem to relate to seeming existence of hidden populations⁴⁰ (Heckathorn, 1997) of Ghanaian male spouses to female migrants. If a man would be dependent on their migrated female spouse, it is likely that this would not increase his status in his social environment. Rather, it is more likely to invoke a decrease in status. Thus, he may refrain from showing his situation which in turn results in the observation that male spouses to female migrants are hard to find.

Another important aspect to the gender relations in this research comes from the attitudes of the migrated spouse. For example, Mark has stated that "the Western freedom gets into the mind of the women, which can create problems for the marriage, since they are forgetting about the male

³⁹ James Wan (2011). <http://thinkafricapress.com/ghana/exorcising-witchcraft-gambaga>

⁴⁰ Respondent Mark had, during our conversation after the interview, indicated that in Kumasi, approximately 90% of the married migrants are male. Such observations may not be considered an empirical finding, but do give an indication given by a local, socially involved and masters educated pastor and lecturer. In addition, he stated that not finding male respondents for this research is basically "a cultural thing", it is usually the man who migrates. Once again he states that "men need to be in control" – which is something he stated at least two times during the interview and our conversation

culture in Ghana. It makes the men decide they should not bring their wife over. He states this has a positive side – the men think they are protecting the stability of their marriage, and a negative side – the women are not able to express themselves. This may relate to a form of gender inequality. In addition, female respondents in this study seemed barely able to provide insights on their husband's situation in the country of migration, while most of them did state they called a lot with their transnational male spouse. A suggestion to this finding is that men might fear – for example because of the (harsh) reality of the situation or because of lies and adultery, or simply because they feel free in the country of migration – that their wife will want to unite them in the country of migration, and thus may withhold information from their spouse. Another possible explanation is that the men experience difficult situations in their country of migration and do not want to stress their spouse at home with (more) worries.

There were also men in this research however, seemingly related to a higher education, legal status and occupation, that were more likely to participate in the daily life of the society in the country of destination. This will result in a chance to experience the different culture in a more extensive and elaborate way than illegally resided migrants, which makes it more likely that these men experience the different gender roles of the global north. As an interesting example to this suggestion, one respondent was a returnmigrant from the USA. His spouse had stayed in the USA, while he decided to go back. In the interview, he stated that he did not hit his spouse, while he did hit women in Ghana. Furthermore, he also stated that he became a 'sugardaddy' once he returned to Ghana, which is a term referring to someone who boasts his assets and experiences abroad to invoke (sexual) engagements with women. This might also be an indication that changes in behavior could be temporary, rather than transformative.

6.2.2 Spousal relations, family, household roles and micro-economics

There are also indications in this research that arise the idea that some migrated men – willingly or unwillingly – try to grasp and maintain their empowered and influential role as head of the household back home, through which they may attempt to obtain or maintain their status and identity; something they lack in the country of migration. I argue that perhaps, some of these men might be overcompensating their drive for 'male recognition' through exercising their power on their household back home. As mentioned previously, this study has also shown indications of migrated men exercising their masculine role through transnational communications. As Mark has noted, withholding information may also be a form of exercising control. In the Dutch language, we have a saying: "wie niet weet wat niet deert". It basically means: "not knowing is not hurting". Furthermore, the withholding of information might also be related to masculine aspects of pride, whereby the male will attempt to maintain a successful image.

Considering the female migrants there have been same such indications. The aspect of gaining self-confidence has been mentioned by Mark, other aspects have come to light which may strengthen suggestions on the empowerment of women and the contestations to men. A male respondent who was asked if he feels his wife's experiences abroad have change her behavior or norms or values, answered: " Yes, a lot. She has become more assertive. She is concerned about the use of the money she sends. She becomes a little tutorial."

Another respondent answered to the question if he feels he has more power to decide about what happens within his household since his wife left the following: "I am still recognized as head of the family. I know that the western societies will make her want more power and decision."

Hereby he complies to the images sketched previously by Mark, whereby Mark states that he thinks the Western societies can get into the head of the women. The powerrelations and decision-making powers seem to be 'at stake' for the men, and once again they seem to

During the interview with Mark, he stated that when a man and woman get married, the woman is told: "If you get into debt, the man should carry it." And: "If the woman earns extra, she should bring it home". These typical divisions of power relations summarize some of the important findings in this study, whereby the man carries the financial responsibility and the woman carries most of the household and family responsibilities.

In this research, there was no single respondent who answered positive to the question whether or not they pooled incomes within their spousal relationship. This might be related to the lack of 'official' recognition of marriages within matrilineal societies. Data in this research implies that men usually make the big expenses within the household and family. These costs include housing (rent, mortgage, repairs), school fees and large purchases such as electronics. Women usually make the smaller expenditures such as groceries and clothes and also mention these as their important expenses in this research.

Further more, most decision-making power is interpreted by most female respondents as equal, while most male respondents, as well as the analysis that has just been made, sketch a situation where men either have more decision-power, or at least want to express they have more decision-power.

An important aspect to spousal migration is the situation on the children. As Mark mentioned, he had more time to spend with his children and became first parent since the migration of his wife, increasingly building a bond with his children. Another respondent stated that the situation in their household was difficult, because "the small boy was just four years when she left, he did not understand what happened". He stated that it was a stressful experience for his young son.

6.3 Residing at home or left behind?

Even though the analysis above might shape an image of hard-nosed, unadapting men, to interpret findings in this research as such would be too blunt. Indeed, masculinity is rooted deeply in the Ghanaian and Ashanti culture. Indeed, men experience contestations when they are left behind, through a difficult process of letting go forms of luxury some of them were used to all their life: the complete absence of expectations of their effort in the household, both as a young boy and as a married spouse. Indeed, men do not appear to take pride on a migrated spouse, unless he himself has obtained a position of status, for example in the cases of Mark, Emmanuel and Mr. Asefoah.

Men in this research have shown somewhat of a mixture between descriptions of Obeng (2003; in Adinkrah, 2012) considering the exercising of dominance towards females and youngsters and the more 'Presbyterian masculinities' which relate the hardworking, moderate, monogamous aspects whereby the wife, children, church and abusua are central.

Men in Ghana have shown curiosity, empowered or controlling behavior, jealousy but also seem open, friendly and caring and involved towards their family. Most men show little willingness to engage in household activities, but there were also indications in this research that these gendered behaviors might be subject to change; as long as there is a situation or insight that withdraws them from their traditional gender perceptions.

The heterogeneity of the male research population may indicate societal change, as it shows that female spouses of all educational and socioeconomic levels engage in migration. It also signals

possible lack of pride resident men derive from have a migrated female spouse. In women, it is usually the other way round; they do derive some form of pride and identity from having a migrated spouse, even though on them too, it may be emotionally, physically and economically difficult. In the next chapter, the most important conclusions to this study will be discussed.

To answer the question proposed in the heading of this section, I would conclude that most male residents will not necessarily feel left-behind, because if they would, they would be unlikely to admit it, as it would imply a lack of control and power over the own situation. Thus, these men may feel left behind, lonely, burdened or contested, but are unlikely to express so in their social environment.

7. Conclusions

This study has focussed on gender differences in remittance behavior on both sending and receiving side, and the influence of migration of the spouse and consequential remittance behavior on gender-differentiated household roles and spousal relations, whereby both qualitative and quantitative data were retrieved from a cross-sectional non-probability sample of both male and female resident spouses in Kumasi, Ghana. In order to fully comprehend such interrelations, this study has focussed on a thorough and transparent methodological framework, which led to a mixed methods analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data.

The phenomena discussed in this study all interrelate. Even though the question of causality is not of utmost importance in this study, as this research was intended to be explorative of character, it only takes a small amount of scientific reflection to keep coming back to questions related to cause and effect. Various statistics (e.g. GCIM, 2005) on gendered migration have shown that women are more or less equally represented in numbers. This study however argues that this may not be the case for spousal gendered migration in Kumasi, Ghana. Even though this study has also shown there are ample reasons to suspect hidden populations of resident male spouses of female migrants, there are equally valid reasons to suspect that the actual number of migrated female spouses is (significantly) lower than that of migrated male spouses. In part due to cultural aspects in the Ashanti-based city of Kumasi, which regardless its matrilineality is mostly characterized by traditional masculine and feminine gender roles, and in addition to the on average higher educated (than their female spouse) male migrants, it seems highly likely that the male spouse is still the designated member of the (nuclear) family to migrate.

An important note to this study is that all but one migrated spouse were located in countries of the global north, whereby respectively the USA, Italy, UK, Germany and the rest of Europe were most important. The sampling process used in this study never prespecified any demands for locations of migration, but it has been a welcome contribution to the homogeneity of the data and, perhaps more important, the fact that all but one migrant are located in cultural settings very different to that of Kumasi, Ghana. Another interesting observation in this research is that, seemingly related to the 'care chain' of male respondents, not only household roles are related to the effects of gender and migration, also household composition may affect by gendered migration.

In this study, it was found that mainly women are remittance receivers, while men seem to strive for their financial independence. Migrated spouses – both male and female – also send remittances to others, as far as the respondents were able to provide information about this topic (which was the case for about half of the respondents). Other characteristics of remittance sending behavior have been hard to observe; (personal) financial situations are treated as a highly personal matter. Concerning remittances this study has shown that more than half⁴¹ of *all* resident female respondents – regardless the fact that remittances came forth irregular – consider themselves to be (highly) dependent on receiving remittances, while for men this was only a sixth⁴². Almost all of the remittances were mainly used for basic needs and expenses, whereby respectively food, education of

⁴¹ Note that 13 out of the 16 female respondents that actually received financial remittances stated to be dependent on receiving them

⁴² Note that 3 out of the 8 male respondents that actually received financial remittances stated to be dependent on receiving them

the children, clothes and housing (bills) were most important. Furthermore, a majority of the female remittance receivers were able to save part of their remittances for future plans, education for their children or unexpected expenses.

Through both a cross-gender analysis and a male-specific analysis this study has shown that spousal migration strongly influences the situation of a spouse and their household. Empirical findings suggest that mainly female respondents showed abilities to adapt, whereby most of them stated to have experienced changes in their daily activities concerning household roles, childcare and responsibilities, whereas the majority of the male respondents stated their activities have barely changed after their female spouse's migration. On a few exceptions, the men showed relatively little willingness – even though this may be a lot in terms of their social contextual standards – to adapt, unless the situation created a necessity to do so. There have however been indications that the change of roles have led to more respect for one another within the spousal relationship. Finding one self in a role that one's partner has done naturally for most of his or her life seems to amplify the need for (emotional) support. To this respect however, female respondents have shows more resilience and independence in their role, while most men have either called upon their 'care chain' of female family members or have actually arranged for their children to live somewhere else. Perhaps it is this difficulty, of accepting ones role and letting go of traditional masculine interpretations of gender roles, that has provided the resident men (and their children) with a strong need of communication as an essential part of intercepting the absence of their spouse. Such contestations may be, even in their hardest attempt, a dent in their identity as they are forced to let go of their role as principal provider and have to negotiate a lower position in the spousal power and decision-making divisions, while their migrated female spouse comes into contact with a culture with more feminist characteristics than theirs, possibly identifying and acting on her own desire for changes in gender relations and consequently may gain empowerment in the spousal relationship from two directions. Thus, it is argued that experiences as a left-behind male spouse and the experiences of the female migrant may increase the possibilities for gender equality within the spousal relationship. Losing their role as a principal provider, men may feelings of shame, insecurity, weakness and failure, resulting in a decrease of their self-esteem. This also seems a logical explanation as to why most men simply would not accept financial offers from their spouse; it would be a recognition of the 'inferiority' to other men.

To the respect of the matrilineal culture in Ashanti, this study to most extent has only found indications of formalities towards the female bloodline, but has not found much evidence of matrilineal cultural aspects that resulted in gender-equality in the spousal relationship or household roles. It seems rather the situational necessity that results in the need for adaptation. In the majority of cases of male respondents, they are supported by their female family members who generally seem to settle in their given role. To this respect the female respondents in this research have shown both emotional independence, up to a point of desistance, as well as a strong need for a strong man in their household, with a cross-reference to their children and the burden of responsibilities.

There have also been ample other indications of difficulties as effect of the spousal migration. Irregular or illegal residence in the country of destination, double or triple burdens for women, adultery, lack of in-depth communication and knowledge on the migrated spouse's situation, irregular remittances, difficulties of raising children and, mainly for the male respondents, difficulties in accepting and adapting their change of roles and the status that it entails. Findings in this study suggest a left behind male may be challenged in his masculinity and may show difficulties

concerning individual aspects such as responsibilities, practical changes, time management and the relative underdevelopment of household skills, whereby he is challenged by his situation as a migrant's spouse. Through the transnational relationship with his migrated spouse, he may also experience a loss of power, either because he is not the principal provider or because he may experience a decline in status from his social environment.

From the male migrant perspective, this study has shown indications of migrated men exercising their masculine role through transnational communications. Female respondents in this study seemed barely able to provide insights on their husband's situation, while most of them did state they called a lot with their transnational spouse. A suggestion to this finding is that men might fear that their wife will want to come over to the country of migration, and thus they withhold information from their spouse. Another suggestion is that these migrated men do not want to worry their spouse, which would be most likely in case they are experiencing bad or hard living conditions in the country of migration, which is more likely for undocumented migrants and unskilled workers. Furthermore, there are also indications in this research for the idea that some migrated men – willingly or unwillingly – try to grasp and maintain their empowered and influential role as head of the household back home, through which they may attempt to obtain or maintain their status and identity; something they lack in the country of migration. I argue that perhaps, some of these men might be overcompensating their drive for 'male recognition' through exercising their power on their household back home.

Other migrated men however, seemingly related to a higher level of education, legal status and/or occupation, are more likely to participate in the daily life of the society in the country of destination. This will result in a chance to experience the different culture in a more extensive and elaborate way than irregular (or illegally) resided migrants, which makes it more likely that these men experience the different gender roles of the global north. Findings in this study have indicated that such experiences have positively changed the amount of respect shown by the male migrants towards their female spouse. However, questions remain: will migrated spouses integrate their experiences in their relations back home? If so, are such changes lasting? How will resident their spouses react? Will men both migrated and resident men attempt to reobtain their predominant roles their family reunion? Will migrated women claim more respect? And will spouse and community accept new behaviors?

7.1 Future research, practice and policy recommendations

7.1.1 Future research

First of all I would like to state that future research may focus on both the extension of this research in quantitative sense and the finetuning of research techniques, interview questions and interview techniques, focussing on the qualitative aspects of this research. Furthermore, it would be a major gain to this entire research project to interview the migrant spouses of the respondents, expanding cross-gender and cross-country comparability, as it would shed light on the changing (gendered) behaviors, attitudes and perceptions of the migrants, possibly providing more insights on the different effects of patrilineal and matrilineal cultural backgrounds on the discussed topics. Such research might even undermine the need for quantitative extension, as it could provide much of the missing or unreliable data and answers in this research. Practically this would be a difficult operation, but nonetheless possible through means calling via internet. Retrieving the respondents

might be an issue, as phone numbers have been registered but not their addresses, implying that a part of the respondents might not be within reach of myself nor any other researcher. Nonetheless, reaching even half would be of significant added value to the data collected during this research project.

As with any research, some questions still remain. An important one is the question what gender really implies in the subjects of migration and remittances, and to what extent gender really matters. In this research it was shown that gender has deeply rooted influences on remittances, household roles and spousal relationships, but the questions related to the exact range of its causes and consequences leave ample room for study. Another unanswered matter on remittances is the question as to if, and how, households and spouse also send money *to* the migrant, instead of merely receiving it. As has been noted, this phenomenon seems to happen mainly when the female spouse migrates, and might be worth exploring in order to make discover more about the depth of the image of the man as principal ‘provider’.

Another question that remains unanswered relates to how remittances are shared, on both the sending and receiving side. This research showed there is no reason to assume income pooling, but perhaps there are reasons to assume other ways of sharing remittances, such as the observation by Mazzucato et al. (2008) that officially sent remittances only account for half to a third of the actual remittances, whereby they state that a lot of remittances come through the hands of travellers. Furthermore, this research has not provided unambiguous insights on remittance receivers other than the spouse. There were enough indications that there are multiple remittance receivers to a singular sender, but the exact characteristics of size and relations stay unknown. How are remittances shared on both sending and receiving side? What roles do families, extended families, friends, (business) networks, communities, hidden populations and corruption and bribery play on the (observable) characteristics concerning remittance behavior?

Finally, a note should be made about the relatively few comparisons and references made in this thesis towards the parallel research in the Philippines. Foremost this is due to the strong differences in the empirical contexts between both countries, cities and cultures. Not just because regional and national (historical) characteristics differ, or the differences between matrilineal and patrilineal societies⁴³, but also because of major differences in empirical findings concerning country of destination and institutional regulations. Secondly, the small number of observable units in both studies – even more so for the Philippine study – and the significant homogeneity of the male population in this research complicates comparability of the quantitative aspects of both studies. This does not imply that comparisons cannot be made, as qualitative insights are ample, it simply implies that comparisons would require a thorough and in-depth analysis which would be a significant sidetrack from the main focus of this thesis and its study.

Defining gender equality

In the early stages of this thesis (see chapter 8 – extracurricular activities) we were requested to do a tryout in preparation of our presentations for the Expert Meeting by Oxfam/Novib. From the audience of students came a question I would like to answer from my personal experiences and insights considering this study. The question proposed was:

⁴³ E.g. the gendered differences towards the financial role of the female spouse, or the differences between argumentation of the mixed versus single-sex approach during the interviews

How do you define gender equality?

- Freedom in choice, speech, opinion and identity
- Access to the same resources – such as education, institutions, occupations, etc.
- Sharing and communication of power towards the desired role divisions
- Reciprocal satisfaction in the socially constructed gender relations and consequential role divisions

7.1.2 Practice and policy recommendations

In this study, I have observed several positive and negative aspects related to migration. To me, the positive aspects of migration are the development of (economic and human) capital of the migrated person, the remittances used back home for basic needs and education, and the new insights and reflections on cultural and behavioral patterns (such as perceptions on gender) as well as, for a few, financial and informational capital to start a business in the country of origin (Ghana).

Negative aspects mainly come from long-term migration and a relatively low amount of forthcoming remittances, which may lead to extra time-intensive roles for the women (such as breadwinner and *all* childcare responsibilities). Furthermore, I argue that long-term migration may seriously disrupt a (nuclear) family in the absence of a spouse, a mother or a father, whereby emotional aspects play an important role in addition to the (more) practical livelihood aspects discussed in this study. Two respondents in this research have formulated such difficulties well. A response by Isaac, a case study further described in chapter 6, symbolizes possible marital issues like adultery as a consequence of prolonged absence of the spouse or the general ‘seductions’ as a result of the sudden change of environment and culture: *“I have learned that the migration of one person in a marriage will destroy the relationship. It is so difficult to know much about each others life when you are living separately.”* Another quote, provided by Mr. Asefoah, affirms Isaac’s experiences: *“Relationships are conditioned by the local environment”*. As mentioned in the conclusions, there have also been other indications of difficulties as effect of the spousal migration. I repeat: irregular or illegal residence in the country of destination, double or triple burdens for women, lack of in-depth communication and knowledge on the migrated spouse’s situation, irregular remittances, difficulties of raising children and, mainly for the male respondents, difficulties in accepting and adapting their change of roles and the status that it entails.

Migration in Ghana may be seen as a brain drain and a brain gain (Awumbila et al., 2011) but there are a lot of young people (CIA⁴⁴, 2012), and relatively few chances for jobs and education – even in a large city such as Kumasi. Moreover, in the year we were in Ghana, an increase in costs for an MSc. or MA. master education programme was announced: from GHC600 to a staggering GHC3000 (about €1400). This is comparable to the cost of education in The Netherlands, where the GDP is a tenfold of that of Ghana. Next to this increase, there are also very expensive private schools in Ghana, which may also influence social mobility and the quality of public schools. In order to enhance gender equality, as argued in chapter 5 and more extensively by Van der Zee (2012, forthcoming), education should become more accessible to women. *Increase* in cost would not only decrease possibilities for gender equality, it will also increase social stratification and (hence) the desire to migrate – for both young people and parents who wish their children the best of education. This will increase risks undertaken by migrants, which in turn may also affect immigration policies

⁴⁴ CIA Factbook (2012) <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html>

in the global north; which in Europe are already strict, but in the USA are still (relatively) mild. Hence, I recommend policy recommendations for the (gender) equality and stimulation of education.

Both Van der Zee and I are of the opinion that Ghanaians idealize the Global North; the white skin is associated with curiosity, money, possibility and opportunity. These images appear to extend quite far – it seems that almost anyone would marry us if they would have the chance. Linking to this study, these images seem to influence their ideals, beliefs and dreams when it comes to (em)migration. These images also seem to influence the expectations of those left behind; ‘the American dream’ creates expectations that migrants will come back with stories of success and, more importantly, money. In addition to these images, masculine characteristics may withdraw men from admitting their experience was actually very stressful, or even unsuccessful. In my opinion, development organizations should focus on the perceptions of migration; for a large majority of the migrants, life is difficult.

I also have my doubts about the permits and legal status of the migrants, since either because of lack of knowledge or because of the protection of potentially harmful personal information, not all respondents were precise in their responses to questions about their migrant spouse’s permit in the country of migration. Moreover, during later interviews and through inquiries in my environment, my suspicion grew that most migrants travel with just a visiting visa, implicating that they would have to stay illegally in the country of migration after the expiration of their visiting visa. This means that it is possible that they have to stay there illegally for years before actually qualifying for a permanent residence visa or, perhaps more importantly, are actually able to go back. This could easily result in cheap informal labour and exploitation of this cheap labour in the country of migration, all contributing to a harder life for both the migrant and the family at home. However, even though I must express my doubts on this matter, many respondents stated that their migrant spouses had a relative or a friend in the country of migration, contributing to their knowledge on the culture and its habits and possibility of survival in the country of migration. I express my doubts because networking in Ghana seems very important; a large network is a status symbol. They seem to ‘know’ someone everywhere, but it appears this term could mean anything from how one knows one’s own spouse to how one knows someone whose hand was merely shaken. Hence, I would suggest for policy makers to address the reality of migration and, in case of migration, advice on how to make proper preparations and arrangements.

Adding to the network as a status symbol, and possibly linked to Ghana’s societal issues of poverty, inequality and lack of institutions, is the matter of corruption. Even though corruption is not easy to be seen – although I have heard ample stories about bribing customs or police officers, and have actually seen a taxi-driver bribe security gate personnel – it is most definitely there. An interesting anecdote came from Mr. Asefoah (pseudonym), a male lecturer at KNUST University, who is also a respondent in this research. He has been interviewed during an informal closure of the academic year, where most of his best students were invited. He stated that, as a lecturer on political studies and an active politician, he would come across issues where a company’s business profit would collide with general societal interest. Sitting in his office, he continued, he would then be approached by a white man. The white man would ask him to show his car keys. After seeing the car keys, the white man would wave another set of car keys – symbolizing a newer and more expensive car, asking the politician: “*Do you not want these?*”. Mr. Asefoah then, in front of all his students who were present at the informal closure, literally said: “*How could I refuse this gift? No man can deny that right?*”. The students whom he shared this anecdote with all broke out in a confirming

laughter, without any exception. Afterwards I spoke with one of the students about this matter. He confirmed that most Ghanaians (or Africans in general) cannot refuse a bribe like that, in part because a car is one of the most important status symbols in Ghana. I was amazed and surprised, as this anecdote was a gift given to me by an expert – somewhat drowsy of his red wine – and even more so because this expert was a lecturer in political sciences and an active politician.

Possibly related to such matters of corruption, Ghana seems to be a country of inequality. Expensive cars – a very important status symbol for most Ghanaians – can be spotted regularly on any main road in Accra or Kumasi. A German lady, who has lived in Ghana for two years and is married to a Ghanaian man, indicated that she feels that most Ghanaians become ‘lazy’ when they go up in the (financial) hierarchy of status. In my exaggerated opinion Ghana’s social pyramid – inspired by Maslow’s pyramid (in Kenrick⁴⁵, 2010) – looks like this: 1) me (and my money/status), 2) nuclear family & hierarchic network of status and business opportunities 3) blood relatives 4) extended family 5) no one. Ideally, I would like to add 5) nature & (national) society and 6) the world besides the USA.

7.1.3 Policy recommendations in bullet points

In general, the main conclusion I draw is that Ghana itself should be both starting point and ending point of its own people. With that aim in mind, I have formulated several bullet points with concrete suggestions on developing policy around the improvement of processes of migration, remittances and gender equality:

- Focus on short-term and middle-long migration (up to two years), for example by taxing sent remittances from migrants who are outside Ghana for longer than two years
- Focus on (educational) migration for young people and stimulate return migration through (institutional) benefits on return
- Advertise the advantages and disadvantages of migration to possible future migrants
- Develop institutions to advice on how to make proper preparations and arrangements previous to migration
- Develop institutions to properly regulate remittances and reduce sending times and sending costs⁴⁶
- Develop institutions for those who stay behind, such as that of the Overseas Filipino Workers in the Philippines (Gresham, 2011)
- Develop communicational systems to increase the migrant’s connections with home⁴⁷

⁴⁵ <http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/sex-murder-and-the-meaning-life/201005/rebuilding-maslow-s-pyramid-evolutionary-foundation>

⁴⁶ E.g. Western Union asks a significant fee for sending money, between 5 and 15 percent, depending on the country of origin and the country of destination (<http://www.westernunion.com>)

⁴⁷ An observation that struck me was the general absence of internet in Ghana. Out of the 40 respondents in this research, only one used online video-calling as a way to keep in touch with his wife. Even though I am aware of the fact that both a laptop or desktop and internet may be considered a significant luxury in Ghana, the costs of calling each other several times a week – which a majority of the respondents did – are on the long term – even on the middlelong term – much higher. Over a period of a year or even several years I assume buying a €100 laptop with €5 a month internet fee would be a much more economically efficient choice for most of the respondents than paying for all those expensive phone calls for €0,10 to €0,20 a minute

- Develop contracts with popular destinations of migration in order to legalize the migration, to acquire better statistics on migration and remittances and perhaps even to develop a tax system on remittances

Education-specific

- Focus on (educational) migration for young people and stimulate return migration through (institutional) benefits on return
- Make education more (and not less) accessible to all members of society – especially to young girls and women
- Focus on teaching young boys that responsibilities and roles in the household can be respectable
- Focus on teaching adolescent and young men and women how to make efficient use of their time, both in- and outside the household and how to deal with several roles (simultaneously)
- Develop an educational system that is less prone to inequalities

8. Reflections

Next to content-specific conclusions and suggestions made previously, below I will respectively reflect on several aspects of this study, possible concrete improvements and fieldwork preparations and experiences. I have also provided a dated overview of my fieldwork activities and my extracurricular activities (for Oxfam/Novib).

Thesis reflection

In this thesis and its research, I had many difficulties to define the research questions and the subquestions; what am I really analyzing? The difficulty of causality, as has been noted previously, made it very hard to narrow down choices. However, I am satisfied in how I managed to do so. Even though I have not provided a solution to the problem of causality, I have provided insights in how gender interrelates to remittance behavior, household roles and spousal relations. The methodology section is extensive and, in my own opinion, may serve as an example towards others who engage in a research such as this one.

I am also satisfied with the use of mixed methods in this research. In my opinion, this way of analyzing the data has been a great success. Even though the quantitative analysis is somewhat weak – even more so to a ‘quantified’ (former) sociologist like myself – because of the low amount of observed units, it did prove useful in our analysis. Part of this weakness was also compensated by a great strength in this research; the qualitative and explorative dimensions. These provided personalized, in-depth data which, in addition to its own value, provided good indications for the directions of relations suggested by the qualitative data, creating a basis for logical interpretations of the findings.

Furthermore, I take pride in working together with Lieke van der Zee. As I have stated in the preface, I could hardly wish for a better relation with her, both on personal and ‘professional’ grounds. I trust her, and I feel she trusts me. The result is an extensive analysis chapter which covers a wide range of issues related to gender, remittance behavior, household roles and spousal relations.

An aspect that makes me sad – apart from official regulations discussed in the preface – is the fact that I was not able to insert the data matrix in this thesis. This Microsoft Excel (.xlsx) datasheet contains almost all, if not all, data retrieved from the respondents, both quantitative and qualitative. Perhaps, in the near future, I will figure out how to include this matrix.

Overall I am very grateful of every step and process related to this thesis. The experience as a whole was a gift, and I once again thank everyone involved. I wish the best to all of you.

Suggestions for improvement

This thesis is a ‘first final’. This implies that its reportings have been consistent and accurate and its arguments have been as extensive as possible. However, future changes to this thesis may contain the following:

- Concerning the introduction, it would be desirable to add more country context and specific empirical context

- Concerning the empirical context, extension should clarify contextual settings of Ghana and the differences between the specific empirical context of the Ashanti culture in Kumasi and the empirical context of Ghana
- Concerning the theory, extension would be helpful, enabling more relations between theory and findings. Even though this was not intended per se, more knowledge on theory is rarely a bad thing
- Concerning the methodology, it would be desirable to go deeper into the argumentation of the interview questions in relation to the variables they intend to explore
- Concerning the methods, it would be desirable to provide a worked out format of the data matrix we made during our stay in Ghana (see section 3.6.5). This data matrix provides insights in *all* variables measured. Van der Zee came up with the idea to work out the matrix in her thesis. If she succeeds, this may be found in Van der Zee (2012, forthcoming)
- Concerning the research population and analysis, it would be interesting to go deeper into the qualitative data on (gendered) spousal relations
- Concerning the male-specific analysis, extension and more reference to the theories could provide more depth to the findings
- Concerning the interview questions, the questions on characteristics of sending remittances could be improved
- Concerning the fifth subquestion (see Appendix A), analysis might be interesting if worked out well. This subquestion was meant as an explorative question and was expected to add to our knowledge about the influence of (non-financial and non-material) remittances on the spouse and household in the country of origin. We expected that migrants might also transfer attitudes, ideas, norms and values to their country of origin which could change existing gender relations. The interview questions concerning this subquestion did result in *some* information about non-financial and non-material remittances, which could be analyzed in the future.
- Concerning the descriptive statistics, contact with migrant spouse should have been added and should have been more thoroughly included in the analysis in order to explicate on the (gendered) spousal relations
- An executive summary should be made

Preparations

Before my journey to Ghana, I had relatively little time to prepare. I was introduced to the research project on February 4th, 2011. Our first meeting of the project was one month later, on March 4th, 2011. It was only on this meeting that actual work on the project was divided and assigned. This meant that I had only five weeks to plan and prepare everything, including a preliminary but sufficient research proposal, vaccinations, visa, finances, a plane ticket, quit my job, rent my student room, finish courses and inform all of my friends and family. And these were just the preparations for something yet to come. During most of my preparations, I never really had a full understanding of the research project. Even though our guidance was sufficient, it simply was hard for me to comprehend the goal of the project and oversee the processes I had to undergo and tasks I had to fulfill while arranging everything else within such a short period of time. These formal and informal practicalities meant experiencing a lot of chaos and stress. In addition, I had never visited a country

outside Europe without the presence of one of my parents. Neither have I ever been away from home for more than a month. This asked for a lot of effort, adaptation and guts. However, after settling down in Ghana most worries and difficulties quickly disappeared, making place for the Ghanaian pace of life. In the end, it was an unforgettable experience that enriched my scientific and personal development in major ways. An experience I would never forget or regret.

Fieldwork diary

Listed next are the most important occasions and activities concerning (preparations of) the fieldwork in Kumasi, Ghana. This is done in order to provide a transparent and elaborate view on ‘my life as a researcher’. All activities for the fieldwork of this research project were done in the year 2011.

07 th of April	Arrival in Accra, Ghana
11 th of April	First communication with Dr. Joseph Teye of the University of Ghana
12 th of April	Meeting with Dr. Joseph Teye and his colleagues at the Center for Migration Studies at the University of Ghana; introduction and small tour
15 th of April	Meeting with Dr. Joseph Teye and Dr. Peter Quartey; discussed practicalities of the fieldwork and the Ghanaian migrant culture; improved the questionnaire
19 th of April	Arrival at accommodation on the Campus of KNUST University, Kumasi; received and guided by Mr. Padi (throughout the first weeks)
20 th of April	Meeting with Mr. Dr. Peter Dwumer; discussed the research proposal; assigned to research partner Ms. Ba. Deborah Ansu Pomaa
20 th to 25 th of April	Acclimatization, introduction to the city of Kumasi and exploration concerning the fieldwork
26 th of April	First interview of the research
15 th of May	Visiting a church in search for (male) respondents
18 th of May	Last interview with a female respondent
8 th of June	Last interview of the research
10 th of June	Start of writing the (preliminary) analysis
15 th of June	Finished writing the (preliminary) analysis
8 th of July	Return to the Netherlands

Fieldwork experiences

The fieldwork of this project started off fast and promising. My research partner had selected an area where she had lived for three years until summer 2009. This meant she knew her way around and could provide us with some (social) gateways into the local community; therefore increasing sampling prospects. This made finding women whose husband had migrated relatively easy (despite the fact that it was time consuming and required a lot of effort because of the heat and other forms of energy consuming physical and mental adaptations). However, after just short of two weeks, we managed to interview 10 women and two men, some of which twice. Whilst the interviews and our preliminary findings were sinking in, I meanwhile focused on finishing my research proposal, which simultaneously served as start to my thesis. During this period of a week and a half, our search for men whose wife had migrated stagnated. Not because we did not look for them, but rather because

they were very hard to find. This impression grew when we found confirmation anywhere we asked – from lecturers, on the streets, from my research assistant and through local friends. Simply put, it led me to believe there are relatively few men in Kumasi married to a migrant woman.

We decided it was time for a different approach. In this case, it meant that all four of our research team went to the church of one of our research partners. Following the mass, a pastor gave us the opportunity to step forward. Even though I definitely respected the invitation, stepping forward was not something I would do as a non-religious person and as one of only two ‘obronis’⁴⁸ in a church filled with hundreds of people at 8 am on a Sunday morning. Looking back, this did however appear to be our only chance to get directly in touch with the church’s members and authorities.

After our visit to the church, we assumed that the church would provide us with some respondents. However, the church held back in giving out personal information to our research partners. For almost two weeks following, we did not have any luck. Apparently we really were expected to step forward in the church. Our unfruitful effort led to some frustrations and miscommunications on all sides, since the project seemed to be stagnating. After a necessary meeting between the four of us, I had decided to go on the streets by myself, starting around the area we resided (Atonsua, Kumasi). Within half an hour, by way of coincidence, pure luck or something else I cannot explain, I found a man who was eligible as a respondent and would pick me up the next day to go to a meeting where I could also find another male respondent. The next day I conducted the actual interviews by myself, since both respondents were (former) teachers to the university and thus had no problem at all talking to me in English. These interviews were very fruitful, insightful and even enjoyable, therefore boosting my motivation and trust towards the project. Within one week, exhausting every bit I had in me and every connection I could think off, I had managed to get two more men, adding up to six in total. Meanwhile, we had gotten the full support of Peter Dwumer, since he too was aware of our struggles. He managed to make time for us and found me three more respondents in the following week, adding up to a respectable end total of 9 male and 11 female respondents. Combined with Lieke’s respondents, who had managed to interview the same amount of (useable) respondents, we came to a respectable total of 18 male and 22 female respondents.

In retrospect, I can say I am quite proud of my work in Kumasi. I have shown effort, perseverance and resilience. I had never before performed qualitative interviews and I can certainly say they taught me a great deal, both scientifically as personally. After a couple of interviews my ability grew to make the respondent feel comfortable and (thus) provide them the opportunity to be open and honest. I had also become less insecure and less shy, which in the early interviews sometimes led to skipping some questions. However, occasional humor, along with respect, my confirmation of their answers and sometimes the providence of suggestion would generally lead to a pleasing interview, in which I felt I had gotten the most out of the interview and the respondent did not seem to feel ‘abused’ by giving away sensitive and detailed information about their personal life.

Nonetheless, I also think there is ample room for improvement. For example, I could most definitely have shown more initiative during the time our search for male respondents came to a halt. Looking back, I think it would have been better to use my best (social) instruments and skills, in combination with the Ghanaian hospitality and curiosity towards anyone or anything that is

⁴⁸ ‘Obroni’ is a Ghanaian neuter word for ‘white man/woman’. It is generally accepted by both Ghanaians and foreigners as a non-insulting, non-racist word and simply refers to the Caucasian(-like) physical appearance

foreign, to continuously make requests and inquiries in the search for respondents. Furthermore, I think it would have been better to stay more in touch with my research partner on this matter. Even though we tried our best, I think we both were not really aware of my own capabilities in relation to our search for respondents. I was too hesitant during that period of time – including that one morning in the church – and I think my partner took on too much responsibility when it came to initiative – which seemed quite a burden since she already had other responsibilities as a teaching assistant.

Furthermore, the language of the respondents has also occurred to me as an obstacle. Although English is the official language in Ghana and in Ghanaian schools, many people do not (or barely) speak it – which I presume is linked to their level of education. Even though my research partner was skillful in both English and Twi – the dominant Ghanaian language amongst the Ashanti people – it did appear to me that I have had much better interviews and conversations with the respondents who were capable of speaking educated English. Strikingly, only two or three of my female respondents were able to converse in English, while eight out of nine of my male respondents were able to converse in English. The observation that interviews were improving over time also seems related to my own experience when it comes to conducting qualitative interviews. Since my experience grew with every interview, I expect it to be influential on the data, in the sense that I was most likely more skillful in my role as interviewer during the last interviews with male respondents than during the first with female respondents. Nonetheless, the group of female respondents was quite homogenous – women with young children, mostly of lower middleclass, all from the same neighborhood – which makes data easier comparable and made the interviews somewhat easier and more predictable in comparison to the group of more heterogenic male respondents, which could be retired, have grown up children or young children living at home or living somewhere else. Or they could be a former migrant themselves while their wife (and children) are still in the country of migration. These differences seem to be quite significant when it comes to the internal comparability of both sexes. Nonetheless, since this explorative research is partially meant to study the *change* of gender roles, I am very confident that the research data has contributed and will contribute to ample insights.

Extracurricular activities

As has been extensively described in this thesis, Oxfam/Novib played an important role in this study. Once again I thank the organization for their involvement and contributions. Hereby I provide a short diary of my extracurricular activities concerning involvement with and of Oxfam/Novib.

04/03/2011 to 07/04/2011	Fieldwork preparations in coordination with Van Naerssen (2011)
26/04/2011 to 08/06/2011	Fieldwork conduction in Kumasi, Ghana
09/06/2011	Financial compensation for research partner(s) (enabled by Oxfam/Novib)
10/06/2011 to 15/06/2011	Working on preliminary analysis for ON report
08/08/2011 to 12/08/2011	Working on analysis for ON report
10/08/2011 to 28/08/2011	Working on presentation for analysis of ON report

21/08/2011	Presentation and discussion of preliminary findings during a lecture in International Migration, Globalization and Development (Human Geography, IMGD curriculum)
29/08/2011 & 30/08/2011	ON Expert Meeting in The Hague, The Netherlands
29/08/2011	Presentation and discussion of preliminary findings during the ON Expert Meeting

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Appendix A – Interview questions⁵⁵

During our preparations, we have outlined the main questions with their topic. We have aimed for our conversations to be more natural than a prepared questionnaire, so we tried to keep the main questions as open as possible, allowing the respondents to share as much information as possible.

Preliminary to the interview, we have provided the respondent with some basic information. The most important points of our story were as follows:

- Thank the respondent kindly for their willingness to spend time with us and with answering the interview questions
- Our research does not result in financial gain for the respondent nor their household, but one of the aims of the research is to contribute to policy development which will hopefully contribute to the development of the community
- If you wish to record the interview, please discuss this with the respondent as soon as possible
- If any problems occur during the interview of either practical (like a shortage of time, or an emergency) or emotional origin, discuss the matter with the respondent in a very respectful way and let them know that we could continue the interview on a later date and time, or not at all if they do not wish to continue

While these questions may appear in the style of a survey, they are merely guides to facilitate the conversation, which we will attempt to carry out in a natural, casual atmosphere.

⁵⁵ In order to enhance the possibility of cross-country, cross-gender comparable research, the interview questions were written by all four master thesis students; Deenen, Gresham, Smit and Van der Zee.

1. What are the (background) characteristics of both spouses and how do migrant, spouse and household relate to each other and their social environment?

1. Correspondent information:

a) Tell me a little about yourself.

i) Name (Fake name):

ii) Age:

iii) Education level:

iv) Occupation:

v) Religion:

vi) Income:

vii) Tribe:

2. Migrant information: (see question 5 for migration information)

a) Can you tell me about [migrant]?

i) Name (Fake name):

ii) Age:

iii) Education level:

iv) Occupation:

v) Religion:

vi) Income:

vii) Tribe:

3. Household composition:

a) Besides [migrant], who else lives with you? Also ask for age!

i) [If 1+ are not blood relatives, gather some quick information like age, occupation]

b) How long have you lived here?

c) Do you or [migrant] have family nearby?

d) How often do you see your family members outside your household?

e) How often do you phone or email your family members outside your household?

f) How often do you see the family members of [migrant]?

g) How often do you phone or email the family members of [migrant]?

h) Do you like this neighborhood?

i) *If negative response:*

(1) Why?

(2) Where would you like to move?

4. Relation(ship) with migrant:

a) How are you related to [migrant]?

i) *If respondent is a spouse:* How long have you been married? What is the reason for your marriage? Love, practical reasons, financial, family decisions?

If not a blood relative/spouse: How long have you known [migrant]?

b) How do you maintain your relationship with [migrant]?

i) How do you keep in touch? (e.g. phone, internet, post?)

ii) How often do you hear from him/her?

iii) Is it difficult to keep in contact with him/her?

iv) Who makes the contacts between you? Who calls whom?

5. Migration information:

- a) Where is [migrant] right now?
- b) How long has [migrant] been there?
- c) For what reasons did [migrant] migrate? Financial, education, political, status, problems?
- d) Tell me about [migrant]'s current job.
 - i) What do you think about their job/position?
- e) Tell me about the decision on where and when to travel.
 - i) How did you help make that decision?
 - ii) Did [migrant] know anybody in [migration location] before they left?
 - iii) Did anyone help with e.g. tickets, transportation, housing?
 - iv) What preparations did [migrant] need to make in order to travel? (E.g. save money for ticket, apply for working visa, sought for references in country of immigration)
 - v) Was there another location that might have been more attractive?
 - (1) If yes, why did [migrant] not move to this location?
- f) What do you know about [migrant]'s journey there?
 - i) Did [migrant] run into any trouble along the way?
 - ii) What happened right after [migrant] arrived?
- g) Do you know [migrant]'s plans for the future?
 - i) How long does [migrant] plan to remain or stay in current [migration location]?
 - ii) Have you been a part of that decision?
 - iii) Is there somewhere else that [migrant] would consider a better alternative?
- h) *Legal status: (sensitive issue)*
 - i) Was it easy for [migrant] to get a working permit? Do you know if [migrant] is staying legally in their current country of settlement?
 - ii) What kind of papers did [migrant] need in order to travel to [migration location]?
 - iii) Did [migrant] need any papers for his/her job? for housing?

2. *What are the characteristics (as perceived by the resident spouse) of remittance related behavior in sending migrant remittances?*

6. Does [migrant] send money home?
7. In what form does [migrant] send money home? Cash/bank/cheques/food/goods?
8. How often does [migrant] send money home? Are there any irregularities?
9. Is [migrant] able to live a comfortable life in the country he or she is working in?
10. Does [migrant] also save money for him/herself?
11. Does [migrant] have any future plans with his/her money (e.g. studying)?
12. Do you know how much money [migrant] earns?
13. How much money or goods does [migrant] send back to [household/household members]?
(Tell the respondent that they don't have to answer the question if they don't want to, but emphasize that the information will be treated confidentially.)
14. How much money or goods does [migrant] send back to people outside household?
15. Does [migrant] have assets at home? When and how did [migrant] acquire these?
16. Did [migrant] acquire new assets while working in their current location?

What are the characteristics of remittance behavior in receiving migrant remittances?

17. Do you receive remittances from [migrant]? If yes, in what form?
18. Do you receive remittances from other people? If yes, in what form?
19. Who (else) receives the remittances?
20. What is the meaning of receiving remittances? (E.g. emotional, rational)
21. Are the remittances used directly or will they be saved (bankaccount?)
22. On which expenses are remittances spent most?
23. What would be different if you or the household did not receive remittances?
24. Do you consult the person who is sending remittances before using the money?
25. Do you think the opinion of [migrant] about the spending of remittances is important? If so, why?
26. Does [migrant] have special wishes about the way the remittances are sent?
27. How do you or your family cope when remittances are not forthcoming/irregular? Does it have consequences for the household or [migrant]?
28. Have there been difficulties with reference to the way the family spends remittances?
29. How would you solve the situation if members of the household cannot agree on what expenses the remittances are used?
30. Do you and [migrant] share (all) your bankaccount(s)? Does any one of you also have your own bankaccount?

3. Is there a change of gender roles within the household's division of household labor since the migration of the spouse, and is there a change in spousal relations (such as power and decisionmaking) between both spouses since the migration? And if so, how are these (gender) roles perceived?

31. What are your daily activities?
32. Are these activities different since [migrant] migrated?
33. Since [migrant] migrated, are you doing different tasks in the household?
34. Do you get assistance/support in the household from family members? Who are these family members? Sisters, brothers, grandmother, father etc.
35. What were your roles and those of the [migrant] before the migration took place?
36. In what way did these roles change after the migration?
37. Are you having more responsibilities since your [migrant] migrated? Can you explain what kind of responsibilities?
38. Are you more busy with child caring and income earning than before?
39. What do you know about the way [migrant] is living his/her life? Do you think he/she gives substance to his/her life in the same way you did together here?
40. Do you feel [migrant]'s experience abroad has changed his or her behavior or norms and values? How do you feel about this?
41. Do you think their experience contribute to any other developments within your household? (refers to e.g. social remittances, different norms and values, childcaring, the way of behaving towards each other, the importance of education, lifestyle changes, certain skills, but without saying it with too many words).

42. Do you think [migrant] will try to incorporate these new ideas into the life here? Or are there things that already changed due to the ideas of [migrant]?
43. Has anything (else) changed since [migrant] left?
44. If so, how do you feel about this change? Are you happy with the change of your roles?
45. Do you think your occupation would be different if [migrant] was still living with you/your household?
46. Do you feel you have more power to decide about what happens within your household since [migrant] left?
47. Are you happy in your relationship with your husband/wife?
48. Are you happy with the current situation or would you like to see it differently? If yes, what would you like to see different and how do you think that can be achieved?
49. Do you and [migrant] have any special rules or agreements when it comes to providing for the children? And how about taking care of them? Do they stay home all year?

At the end of the interview, thank the respondent kindly for their time, and make sure you have all the personal data needed to contact them again. Show your respects and that's it!

Appendix B – Research partners⁵⁶

Hereby we provide some personal data of our research partners in Kumasi, who were very kind in helping us gather the research data. Not only did they help us greatly with finding respondents and the preparation and execution of the interviews, they were also very supportive when it comes to the lingual, cultural, rational and emotional aspects of the research and our stay in Kumasi in general. Simply put, we have learned a lot from them.

The available time of the research partners was financed by Oxfam/Novib and made possible by Mr. Peter Dwumer, a lecturer in Sociology and Social Work at KNUST University, Kumasi. Our research partners were engaged in their year of National Service and fulfill this task by being Mr. Dwumer's teaching assistants. In conversation with Mr. Dwumer (as well as Mr. Teye and Mr. Quartey of the University of Ghana, Accra), we had decided to make a man-woman combination when it comes to carrying out the interviews. This means that Lieke van der Zee has been linked to Michael Opoku, whilst author Ingmar Deenen was linked to Deborah Ansu Pomaa.

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⁵⁶ This section has been written by Deenen and Van der Zee

Appendix C – Descriptive Statistics

This Appendix describes the collected data of our research population and is described by its initial open coding (see section 4.2 on grounded theory). The male respondents were coded by Deenen during and after the data collection (April - June 2011), and the female respondents were coded by Van der Zee (2012, forthcoming) in that same period. Differences in reportings of the sex-differentiated respondents may be explained by different interpretations of the coding process. Note that these descriptives were derived from an extensive data matrix, which has been mentioned in section 3.5.6. Also note that financial amounts in Ghanaian Cedis (GHC) have been converted to Euros (€) at a rate of GHC 2,20 to €1,- (exchange rate of June 2011).

Male respondents

In this section collected data of the male respondents are reported (N=18).

Sub question 1 – Characteristics of male spouse and female migrant

Location of interview

Ayeduase, Kumasi	n=4
Atonsu, Kumasi	n=2
Ejisu, Ya Asantewaa	n=1
Kejetia, Kumasi	n=1
Campus KNUST, Kumasi	n=3
Kotei, Kumasi	n=1
Kamatone, Kumasi	n=4
Adum, Kumasi	n=1
Amakom, Kumasi	n=1

Age respondents

Variable range 18-99 | Min = 22 Max = 73 | Mean = 42,9 | Missing = 1

Age migrant spouse

Variable range 18-99 | Min = 21 Max = 65 | Mean = 40,5 | Missing = 1

Marital status

Not Married = 0 | Married = 1 | Divorced = 2

Not Married	n=1
Married	n=15
Divorced	n=2

Length of marriage

Variable range 0-65 | Min = 2 Max = 45 | Mean = 13,4 | Missing = 1 (not married)

In this variable, the divorced were included, since they had lived together with their wife before the migration.

Lived together before migration

No = 0 | Yes = 1

No n=8

Yes n=10

One respondent lived together with his wife in the USA, but has never lived with her together in Ghana. He is scored as 0.

Educational level

0=None | 1=Primary| 2=Secondary | 3=Tertiary/Polytechnic | 4=UniBachelors | 5=UniMasters | 6=PhD

0 n=0

1 n=2

2 n=3

3 n=4

4 n=3

5 n=5

6 n=1

Educational level migrant spouse

0=None | 1=Primary| 2=Secondary | 3=Tertiary/Polytechnic | 4=UniBachelors | 5=UniMasters | 6=PhD

0 n=0

1 n=2

2 n=6

3 n=4

4 n=3

5 n=2

6 n=0

Missing n=1

Religion

All males have indicated to be a Christian

Religion migrant spouse

All males have indicated that their female spouse is a Christian

Occupation

Lecturer n=4

Computer engineer n=1

Principal technician n=1

Media analyst n=1

Business man / Trader n=2

Small shop owner n=1

Truck driver n=1

Musician n=1

Self-employed (small jobs)	n=1
Retired lecturer	n=1
Retired geographer	n=1
Retired soldier	n=1
Unemployed	n=2

Occupation migrant spouse

Health advisor (NHS)	n=1
Nurse	n=3
Elderly home caretaker	n=4
Nanny	n=1
Kitchen assistant	n=1
Supermarket employee	n=1
Trader	n=2
Coca Cola employee	n=1
Cleaner	n=2
Retired	n=1
Unemployed	n=1

Income

Variable range 0-9999 | Min = 0 Max = 2000 | Mean = ~ | Missing = 17

Only one male respondent, a lecturer, has answered the question concerning his income. He stated that he earned GHC. 2000,- as a lecturer (about €950) a month. He also stated that this is more or less standard for a lecturer at KNUST University, implicating that the three other lecturers whom were interviewed were probably earning about the same. Ten male respondents were not asked about their income.

Income migrant spouse

Variable range 0-9999 | Min = 0 Max = 2000 | Mean = 3190 | Missing = 15

Three male respondents were able to provide information about the income of their female spouse. They earn respectively £350, \$2500 and £2000. The information on the female migrant earning £350 seems to be somewhat doubtful, especially since the respondent indicated she lives in the UK and sends home £200. This would leave barely any money to survive in the UK. However at this point we cannot judge this.

Tribe

Akan Ashanti	n=2
Ashanti	n=15
Sissala	n=1

Household composition

13 of the 18 men have children, only five of which have one or more child(ren) below the age of 18 living in their household. One male respondent lives with his two children above 18 years of age. Three of the 13 men with children have their children living with their migrated spouse. Another two

of the 13 men have children living with a female relative (respectively their sister and their stepsister). One of these 13 men has two children below the age of 18 living in his household and is supported in the household by his mother-in-law. Another 6 of the 18 men live with one or more family member; either a cousin, a niece, their parents, their sibling(s) or in one case even their daughter and granddaughters.

Ties to the migrant spouse and (blood)relatives

Eight of the 18 men are in touch with their spouse on a daily basis. One divorced man never has contact with his ex-wife and one married man never has contact with his wife. The remaining eight male respondents contact their spouse at least twice a month, up to a couple of times a week

Motive(s) for migration migrant spouse

- 12 of the 18 spouses of the male respondents have migrated for financial reasons and work, of which one also migrated because of a fight with her mother.
- Two spouses migrated for education, of which one stayed to work.
- One woman migrated to join her male spouse (respondent), but the man came back to Ghana.
- Another female spouse migrated because her parents decided it.
- Two men do not know why their spouse migrated.

Local friend or family at destination of migration

10 of the 18 female migrants knew someone in the location of migration. Two male respondents could not answer the question and six were not asked.

Future plans

11 of the 18 spouses are planning to come back to Ghana. None of the respondents could however give a definite answer on when and why she would come back. Three other spouses are planning family reunion in the country of migration, which mainly required planning because of financial reasons. One respondent states they have not decided yet and another states that he wanted to come back to Ghana, but she did not. Two other respondents do not know what their spouse's future plans are.

Permit

This was a sensitive issue, so it was very hard to get a positive response. Nonetheless, two female migrants were believed to have an expired visiting visa, two have a working visa, two a residence visa, one a student permit, one a legal permit but unknown. Furthermore, five spouse were not sure, but believed their spouse had a legal permit. The remaining five respondents were not asked.

Assets of migrant

Only five of the 18 men stated their spouse had acquired assets during her migration. One had bought a house together with her sister, two had acquired a house together with her husband, one was asked by her husband to finish the house he started to build as a gift for her and the for the remaining spouse the remittances were used for building a house and investing in businesses.

Sub question 2 – Sending remittances

Financial and material remittances

- Eight of the 18 male respondents received remittances from their spouse on a regular basis
 - One man receives €50 every three months
 - One man receives €350 a year
 - Two men receive €140 a month
 - Three men receive €190 to €350 a month
 - One man receives a very variable amount, €1200 to €4800 two or three times a year
- Another two men received remittances on a very irregular basis, not more than a few times a year, of which one had received €90 a few times during his spouse's two year migration.
- Nine male respondents received goods and/or presents from their migrated spouse
- Seven female migrants are known to send remittances to others, mainly family members
- Three female migrants do not send remittances to others
- Eight respondents do not know whether their spouse sends remittances to others

Sub question 3 – Receiving and spending remittances

Receiving of remittances

Apart from the remittances some men receive from their spouse, there are also four male respondents receiving remittances from others, mainly from family and in one case from friends. This adds up to a total of 13 of the 18 men receiving remittances in some way or another, mainly from their spouse but also from their family.

Saving of remittances

Only one of the male respondents saves remittances, which he gets from his brothers and sisters, not from his spouse. Basically remittances are used directly. In two cases the remittances were invested; either in a house or a business.

Spending of remittances

Most of the remittances received by the male respondents go to primary needs and their children. Children in general (n=3), school fees (n=4), food (n=6), clothes (n=1) and house keeping/bills (n=4) are mentioned. Studying is mentioned by one male respondent, as well as building a house and investing in business. Only three of the 18 men asked interviewed answered to be dependent of the remittances.

Opinion of migrant

Eight men have stated that the opinion of their spouse is important when it comes to spending the remittances. Only one respondent thought her opinion was unimportant, and one other respondent indicated that she trusts him with the money.

Shared bankaccount

Not any respondent asked had a shared bankaccount with their spouse

Sub question 4 - (Changing) household roles*Support in household*

15 out of the 18 male respondents receive support in the household. This help comes from either their mother, sister, children or their spouse's family.

Change in roles

Six of the 10 men who lived together with their spouse before the migration took place, have indicated that their roles have changed. For five of them (one man is a pensioner who only takes care of himself) the daily tasks have significantly changed; they have become more busy with every day tasks, child care (n=3), cooking and general maintenance. Even though only one of these five respondents does the daily tasks without help of others, these five men have expressed they feel a change in roles, because their female counterpart is not around. Furthermore, they express that they experience a change in responsibilities; their responsibility for themselves, their children and their assets has grown since the migration of their spouse. Nonetheless, none of the men have indicated a negative change in their income earnings since the migration. Moreover, three men are actually earning slightly more, but this is possibly linked to their upward mobility.

Change in power relations

No respondent has stated that there was a significant change in their marital power relations. This is a somewhat sensitive matter in a male dominated culture, whereas the man would probably never admit submittance to a woman.

Happiness relationship

14 of the 18 male respondents stated that they are happy in their relationship. One man was not sure, and of the remaining three men that are not happy in their relationship, one is divorced, one lost all contact with his wife and one man was unhappy because his wife did not want to come back to Ghana while he did.

Happiness current situation (or desire for change)

Only eight of the 18 male respondents state they are happy with their current situation. The other 10 men miss their wife, or their children miss her, or both. They are struggling with being far apart from each other. Furthermore, those who are happy with their situation, do state that they have a purpose together, mostly financial and/or for their children. Indicating that the responsibility as a parent is seen as something that could make them happy.

Female respondents⁵⁷

In this section collected data of the female respondents are reported (N=22).

Sub question 1 – Characteristics of male spouse and female migrant

Age respondent

Variable range 18-99 | Min = 21 Max = 50 | Mean = 35,7 | Missing = 0

The age of the female respondents varies between 21 and 50 years old, of which the majority are between 31 and 39.

Age migrant spouse

Variable range 18-99 | Min = 29 Max = 52 | Mean = 40,5 | Missing = 1

Marital status

Not Married = 0 | Married = 1 | Divorced = 2

Not Married	n=2
Married	n=20
Divorced	n=0

Educational level respondent

0=None | 1=Primary school | 2= Secondary school | 3= Polytechnic | 4= Bachelor | 5= Master | 6=Phd

0	n=1
1	n=4
2	n=10
3	n=2
4	n=3
5	n=1
6	n=0

Educational level migrant

0=None | 1=Primary school | 2= Secondary school | 3= Polytechnic | 4= Bachelor | 5= Master | 6=Phd

0	n=0
1	n=3
2	n=6
3	n=3
4	n=7
5	n=2
6	n=0

Religion

All the respondents are Christians (n=22).

⁵⁷ This section is written by Van der Zee (2011; in Van der Zee, 2012, forthcoming)

Occupation respondents

- Six women are trader of occupation.
- Four of them are fashion designer or hairdresser.
- Three women are engaged in catering or the selling of alcoholic drinks.
- Two of them are a secretary at a company.
- One woman is a cleaner.
- Four women are unemployed and are housewife.

Occupation migrants

- Four migrants are businessman.
- One migrant is a sales-assistant in a pharmacy.
- Two migrants are engineer.
- One migrant is a building engineer.
- One migrant is a building constructor.
- One migrant works in a hospital pharmacy.
- One migrant lays tiles in houses.
- One migrant works in a company of which the wife was not able to give more details.
- One migrant is a student with a temporary job in an elderly home.
- One migrant is a truck driver.
- One migrant is a pastor.
- One migrant is a director at a company which sells cars.
- One migrant is a cleaner.
- One migrant works at a café.
- One migrant works at an NGO.
- One migrant works at an airplane company.
- One migrant is a nurse.
- Of one migrant the wife does not know what kind of job he has (they do not have contact anymore).

Income

It is not known of the majority of the women what their income is. During the first few interviews, the interviewees did not want to give an answer to this question, so in the later interviews it was not asked anymore. Furthermore all the respondents were not able to tell what the income of their spouse is.

Tribe

- Of all the women, 14 are a member of the Ashanti-tribe.
- Two are Akan
- One is Brong

- One is Ewe
- One is Kwan
- One is Frafra
- One is Krobo
- One is Fanti

Household composition

Sixteen of all the women are having children under 18 years old. Six of these women have children above the age of 18 as well. Six of the 22 women do not have any children. Most of the women live in a house with the nuclear family, and sometimes also an aunt or grandmother. Two interviewees live in a house with three families, one with 10 people, the other one with 20 people.

Contact with the migrant

Seven women speak to their husband once or twice a week. Thirteen women speak to their husband at least five times a week or every day.

Motive(s) for migration migrant spouse

- Of all the women interviewed (n=22), 15 women indicated that the reason for their husband to migrate was about financial reasons.
- Three women indicated that the migration took place in order to further education. One of these women said that her husband had the opportunity for a good job, after the education finished, and is therefore decided to stay.
- Three women indicated that they do not know what the motive for their husband to migrate was.
- One woman indicated that the decision to migrate for her husband was a combination of political and financial reasons.

Local friend or family at destination of migration

- Eleven women were able to tell that their husband had family living at the place of destination.
- Two women did not know if their husband knew anyone in the location before they left.
- Five respondents indicated that their husband did not know anyone beforehand.
- Two of them knew people from work who helped to arrange the journey.
- One migrant is at the moment in Togo where he doesn't have friends. His plan though is to go to the US, where he has friends.
- One migrant had a friend in the place of destination.

Future plans

In general this variable is difficult to explain for the entire sample, since stories and reasons can differ significantly from each other. The similarities are explained below but it is recommended to read the data table.

- Fourteen respondents have indicated that their spouses have the plan to return to Ghana again. Six of them do not know when this plan will be realized. The other eight indicate that their husband will return between two and five years.
- Three migrants are having the plan to stay in the current location for either a master or a Phd.
- Three women do not know what their spouses plans for the future are.

Sub question 2 – Sending remittances

- Of all the women interviewed, three were not willing to tell us the amount of remittances they were receiving.
- Another three women did not receive any financial remittances from their spouse.
- Four women receive less than €50 a month.
- Ten women receive a monthly amount between €50 and €200.
- Two women receive €250 or more each month.
- With 14 women the remittances are forthcoming irregular, which that either the remittances are not coming every month, or the amount differs every time.
- Eight respondents also receive material remittances next to the financial remittances.
- These material remittances mainly consist of clothing and electric devices. In one case the woman even received a car and a motor.
- Twelve women were able to tell that their husbands were able to also send financial remittances to other family members and blood relatives.
- One person knows for sure that her husband doesn't send anything to other people.
- One respondent suspects that her husband sends money to other people, but he has not told her about it.
- Eight women do not know if their husband is sending money to other people.
- Neither of the women is able to tell the amount of money that the husband is sending to other people.

Sub question 3 – Receiving and spending remittances

- Twelve women are able to save a part of the remittances on a bank account and ten are not able to do this.
- Thirteen women have indicated that life would be more difficult without the remittances. They are thus dependent on them. Two women answered this question with “maybe”, the other seven do not feel like they are dependent on the remittances.
- Seventeen women are using most of the remittances for the school fees for their children, and for basic needs for the family like food and clothes.
- There is one woman who uses the total amount of remittances to invest in her fashion design business. Furthermore there are two more women who use part of the remittances for their own personal expenses or to invest in their business.
- Three women are using a part of the remittances to build their house.
- Of all the respondents (n=22) five women also receive remittances from other relatives or friends, next to their spouse. The other seventeen do not receive something from others.

- Fourteen spouses of the migrant think that the opinion in the spending of the money is important. The other eight think it is not so important.

Sub question 4 - (Changing) household roles

- Twelve women are getting support in the household and the other ten do not get extra support.
- Ten of the respondents do not perceive a change in their role.
- Two women think their daily activities have changed because, but that their role as a parent is still the same.
- Of all the women interviewed, this question was not applicable in three cases because they had never lived together.
- The remaining eight do think that their roles have changed since their husbands have migrated. They describe different situations to pin point these changes. Some feel that all the responsibilities come down to her, in paying the bills and taking care of the children. Others feel more relaxed because when their husband was around he was very demanding, now they can feel freer and are able to do what they want. Some indicate that they feel like they have to be mum and dad at the same time. Most of women stated, however, that the household chores have not changed very much. Their husbands did not do a lot of household tasks before they migrated, so these chores have not increased substantially.
- Eleven women feel like they are busier with taking care of the children, then before the migration. They used to share this with their husband. In four cases this question was not applicable because they do not have children or because they have not lived together.
- Twelve women have to be busier with income earning than before, because the stream of remittances is forthcoming irregular. Some of them are having more loans, debts and feel more responsible in a financial way for the family than before the migration.
- Eight women think that the norms and values, the way of looking at life and the behavior of their husbands have not changed since they have migrated.
- Four women do not know whether their husband has changed in this way, because they have not seen him since.
- The rest of the women indicate some positive changes, like less aggressive, more caring.
- Of all the women, fourteen are experiencing an increase in their responsibilities. These responsibilities are mainly about paying all the bills, making sure there is food on the table and taking care of the children.
- Thirteen out of twenty-two women feel like they are having more power to decide what is going on in the household. Some of these women note, however, that they do not feel comfortable with these changes but that they do not have a choice. They prefer to share all the responsibilities with their husband.
- Sixteen women indicate that they are happy in their relationship with their husband. Some of these women do not feel real comfortable with the current situation, because they feel lonely and would prefer to be together with their husband. In two cases the husband married another woman in the host country. One woman was not happy in her relationship but she did think it was fine that he lived in another country. In that way he was not able to insult her all the time. Overall, most women do not consider the current situation to be ideal. Being married but

living apart from each other is not how it should be. They would like to see a change in the situation but they do not know how they are able to do something about the situation.

Appendix D – Plates



Plate 1 Research team: Deborah Ansu Poomah and Ingmar Deenen (Photo credits: Lieke van der Zee, 2011)



Plate 2 Ingmar Deenen and Peter Dwumer (Photo credits: Lieke van der Zee, 2011)



Plate 3 Research team: Michael Opoku and Lieke van der Zee (Photo credits: Ingmar Deenen, 2011)

Realists may lose their dream, dreamers may lose reality.

We all need security, he said. But we all need inspiration, she said.

Find the way in between, they said.

How do we get there? He asked. Trust your dreams, she said.

How do I trust these dreams? He asked. Trust did not bring this world closer to ethics and humanity.

Ethics and humanity are a dream, she said. Keep that.

Ingmar Deenen

June 1st, 2012