

Is there a role for migrant organisations in development in the home country?

Exploring opportunities for the contribution of a migrant organisation to local community development
Case study: DAYA-Northern Ghana

Anne Heeren



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Migrants are part of the solution, not part of the problem.

UN-Secretary General Kofi Annan (2004)

Colophon

Title

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Preface

After more than a year of research in Ghana and The Netherlands to the possibilities for community development in the region of origin of migrants of the migrant organisation DAYA, the final result is here. Nevertheless, this could not have happened without the help of the next persons and organisations.

First of all I want to thank Jolanda Goes and Abu Alhassan of the Intercultural Learning Centre (ICLI) The Netherlands. They have given me the opportunity to come in contact with migrant organisation DAYA and to execute a research in Tamale, Northern Ghana. As well ICLI arranged a residence for me in the, for me unknown city of Tamale. As a research organisation they brought me in contact with DAYA in order to match our research wishes. I was looking for a research about migration and development and DAYA was looking for someone who could investigate the organisation's development opportunities in their region of origin.

When I mention ICLI The Netherlands I also have to thank Omundi Alhassan and Adam Hafiz (Abey) Progress of ICLI Ghana. They cared for an unconcerned stay in Tamale and necessary support during my research process. Special thanks goes to Norgy Soaliu and Adam Hafiz Progress (once more) for their translation activities; without your help the number of respondents would have been really slight.

When I mention the interviewing of respondents I need to mention Tessa Verkaart for our cooperation during these interviews. Because we needed information in somehow the same direction we were able to create one interview for respondents. Next to this I liked the sharing of thoughts about our researches and the Ghanaian culture; thanks Tessa for the nice and productive stay in Tamale.

Of course I also want to thank DAYA and especially chairman Natogmah Issahaku. Thank you so much for your trust, hospitality and integrity I got to experience during the meetings. For me as a researcher it was very exclusive and interesting to take a look within a starting migrant organisation. I really hope this research can guide you in a right direction.

During my research and the writing of this thesis I experienced the expert support of dr. Lothar Smith. Thank you for this support and the useful critics out of which my final thesis evolved.

Last but not least I want to thank my parents, brother, family, friends and everybody who supported me and has been interested in my research and graduation. During tough times the trust you had in me helped me continuing, which has resulted in this final thesis.

Thank you all and enjoy reading!

Anne Heeren

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Summary

Since many years the interest in the relation between migration and development has increased worldwide. The last years diasporas are increasingly seen as agents of development, especially the role of remittances has increasingly become the subject of research. These remittances, which can be flows of money, goods knowledge or social values, are becoming more important for developing countries and are a great source of income. Most research is done on the effect of financial remittances: the money migrants send home to their families and friends. However in this research attention will also be paid to remittances based on knowledge, ideas and social values.

Of late years the attention concerning the migration-development nexus is shifting to the concept of community development; the presence of, or access to public (not commercially exploited) facilities at a geographical spatial entity level. This is the case when a larger share of the community can take advantage of the combined remittances sent by migrant organisations. These kind of organisations are started by migrants originating from the same country, region or community. Often these associations and their members represent a transnational identity because they are rooted in as well the home country as the destination country. They may be formally or informally organised and their activities and objectives can be philanthropic, political, social and economic in nature.

The Dagomba Youth Association (DAYA) in The Netherlands is a migrant organisation consisting of migrants from the Northern Region of Ghana. In this research we will look at the relation between migration and development and what the opportunities are of a migrant organisation like DAYA, for contribution to community development in their region of origin in the future.

The correlation between migration and development is a much-discussed and contested one. Because of this there are many theories seeking to explain this relationship, which find support from different groups of scholars. In this research the transnationalism is the underlying approach. Transnationalism is based on the relationships between home and host countries. Simply stated it is a theoretical discourse grown out of a realisation of the increasing interconnectivity between people and the declining economic and social importance of boundaries among states.

This empirical analytical research took place in two countries to obtain a transnational perspective; in The Netherlands and in The Northern Region of Ghana. This multi-sited approach is what makes this research innovative, because both sides of the transnational relation will be investigated and combined. This will lead to an integral overall picture of the transnational situation in this research. The research part in Ghana has been conducted in the rural community Kpakpayili and within the city Tamale, both located in the Tamale

Metropolitan District in the Northern Region of Ghana. The research in The Netherlands concerned the migrant organisation DAYA and its members.

The history of colonialism and slave trade had a great influence on the Northern Region of Ghana. The Northern part of Ghana is economically much poorer and less developed than the South which has its effect on the problems the people face. In this research a division has been made between rural and urban respondents. The most mentioned problems in the rural community Kpakpayili are lack of sufficient education, lack of good healthcare facilities, poverty in general and lack of water. The problems mentioned in the urban city of Tamale are significantly different; people complain about the continuing chieftaincy conflicts, unemployment, lack of good education facilities and poverty in general. A great share of the respondents thinks the government and NGO's should provide solutions and especially job opportunities, education and healthcare facilities. Microfinance programs might also be a solution because, mainly rural people, would like to involve such programs to set up their own business. Most respondents think that migrant organisations can help their home region by the transfer of money or knowledge or a combination of these two. Almost 40% of the rural respondents and around 60% of the urban respondents do have internal or international migrants within their family. A great share of them has monthly, weekly or daily contact with them. They are also involved in transnational linkages in the case of financial remittances flows. Around 50% of the urban and rural respondents received remittances regularly. The spending of these remittances was generally on private things like basics and education and confirm what is written in the literature; people usually use remittances for their private development.

The migrant organisation DAYA is a young association consisting of 40 to 50 migrant members and is already operating transnational to some extent. The two main objectives of DAYA The Netherlands are to cater for the well being of Dagombas living in The Netherlands and to support to development projects back home in Dagbon. Although many of the members join the special festivals and celebrations organised during the year, not even half of this number joins the monthly meetings regularly and as well the paying of contribution is a significant problem. This signifies a declining commitment of the members, as well as members are ineffective. It seems like all the members like to join the organisation, however they do not want to put any effort in it or pay anything. The reasons they mention for this are time constraints and lack of knowledge. The organisational structure of the organisation is lacking behind, because chairman Issahaku is the only person who is really putting effort in DAYA. Globalisation might be an important cause to the lack of commitment to DAYA. Because of all the technological possibilities it is easier for migrants to maintain their transnational links with their home country and they feel less need of belonging to a migrant organisation.

We have seen in this research that there exists a mismatch between the wishes for development seen from people in the Northern Region and the opportunities DAYA migrants can offer. However we can not conclude that the work that has been done by DAYA is useless. We can state that DAYA can not yet contribute to community development on a large scale, however they might be able to contribute on a smaller scale. For now we have to adjust the expectations of DAYA as a migrant organisation somehow and have to conclude that they can only offer a modest contribution to development.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Since many years the interest in the relation between migration and development has increased worldwide. In the past two decades scholars have tried to find out under which circumstances migration has beneficial and adverse effects (Van der Geest, 2010; Manuh, 2005). Many researchers contributed to the scientific knowledge about possible linkages between the movement of people and the consequences for the countries of origin and destination. Institutes and governmental organisations, like the World Bank and the United Nations, are interested in the policy opportunities of migration for development (Castles & Miller, 2009; Manuh, 2005). Nowadays diasporas are increasingly seen as agents of development, while previously they were often ignored by governments (Orozco & Rouse, 2007). Especially the role of (financial) remittances, which are sent home by migrants, has increasingly become the subject of research. Financial remittances are becoming more important for developing countries and are a great source of income, which is often more than the Official Development Assistance to these countries (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 59). Organisations like the World Bank, International Organisation for Migration and conferences held by the UN and Global Commission on International Migration have pointed to the fact of the positive role migrants can play in social and economic development in their countries of origin and destination. The UN High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development in 2006 highlighted that international migration contributes to poverty alleviation and economic growth worldwide and that there is a huge potential for development to benefit from migration in countries of emigration and immigration (Smith & Van Naerssen, 2009).

Of late years the attention concerning the migration-development nexus is shifting to the concept of community development instead of private development. We speak of private development when migrants primarily send money to their families in their community of origin. The receivers in developing countries use this money often for personal use and development of these family members, like the purchasing of food and clothing or the building of a large house. This can lead to the fact that families with migrants can have more chances to develop themselves and in several cases this might lead to a growing structural unevenness between migrant families and non-migrant families, so called inter-household inequality (Mumuni, 2007, p. 6; Van der Geest, 2010; Van Naerssen, Spaan & Zoomers, 2008).

However, community development is the case when a larger share of the community can take advantage of the combined remittances sent by migrant organisations, which can be used for investment projects within the community. Migrants originating from the same country, region or community can start a migrant organisation in the country of destination.

The first priority of many migrants is to stay in touch with their families and friends they have left behind, through calling, visiting home and sending remittances. Likewise migrants maintain cultural identities by purchasing nostalgic products or celebrating cultural festivities with their migrant friends in the host country. Also migrant organisations are a type of engagement because they allow migrants from the same region to maintain ties with and support their region of origin. They also create a new sense of community among recent immigrants with the same background. Often they represent a transnational identity because they are rooted in as well the home country as in the country of destination (Orozco & Rouse, 2007).

In a migrant organisation the members, in the first place, help each other to settle down in their 'new' environment and support their fellow migrants in the process of adaptation to the specific circumstances in their host country. In the second place, after a while the organisation might decide to make collective assistance to development at home through contribution to (sustainable) development projects in their home community. These projects have to be advantageous for a great share of the people in the community which might lead to less unevenness between migrant and non-migrant families. In the migration-development research and implementation field these kind of migrant organisations are increasingly recognised as playing an important role in successful migration experiences and impacts on development (Smith & Van Naerssen, 2009; Manuh, 2005).

The Dagomba Youth Association (DAYA) in The Netherlands is such an organisation consisting of migrants from the Northern Region of Ghana. They call themselves DAYA Holland to emphasize that they are an organisation operating from the Netherlands. This organisation has not been able to start any structural development projects in their region of origin during the two and a half years they exist. The transnational linkages between the Northern Region and DAYA Holland will be the case study of this research and we will look at the relation between migration and development and what the opportunities are of a migrant organisation like DAYA, for contributing to community development in the future. DAYA was looking for an external person to investigate their organisation in The Netherlands and the situation in their home region, so these two could be linked together. On account of contact between DAYA and ICLI I was the one who was indicated for this position. In theory this meant I had to research both situations as an external person. Practically this turned out somewhat different, because some situations called for more involvement This will be explained in chapter 3.

1.2 Research objective and questions

The objective of this research is to generate knowledge about the possible contribution that migrant organisations can provide to sustainable community development in their region of origin.

The central research question is: *How can the migrant organisation DAYA contribute to structural community development in their region of origin Dagbon, Northern Ghana.* The approach that will be used to answer this question is transnationalism, because DAYA is an organisation with international linkages (more about the approach transnationalism can be found in paragraph 2.4 on page 30). For this reason a multi-sited research is executed in Ghana as well as in The Netherlands. This research has to result in an answer to the following research questions. The first three questions relate to the research in Ghana and the last three concern DAYA in The Netherlands.

1. How do people from the Northern Region of Ghana define (regional) problems and possible solutions?
2. How do people in the Northern Region of Ghana think about migrant organisations and its potential for development in their region?
3. How do people from the Northern Region of Ghana define their transnational contacts with migrants?

4. What are the possibilities for community development from the DAYA migrants' point of view?
5. How can the organisational structure within DAYA be defined?
6. What should the organisation DAYA Holland accomplish in order to achieve community development in Northern Region of Ghana?

Even though these two groups of questions are executed in two different countries they indeed are interlinked, because in the end they will be combined to find out how DAYA Holland might contribute to development in their region of origin Dagbon in Northern Ghana.

1.3 Societal relevance

Societal problem

Migration is not new, it has always been there throughout the centuries. However, from the 1980s of the last century migration has significantly expanded and come to connect regions of the world. Mobility became easier because of political and cultural changes and as well new, more rapid modes of transport and communication technologies. This raises their expectations and provides people with information about opportunities elsewhere and

trajectories along which to move (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008). This intensification of global interconnectedness is called globalisation. We can say that migration is a central dynamic within globalisation; globalisation has its influence on migration as well as migration has an effect on globalisation (Castles & Miller, 2009; Potter, et. al., 2004) (for a more extended explanation about globalisation and the relation to migration, see theoretical chapter 2).

There are different reasons for people to migrate; for example searching for a job, fleeing to a safe location or just preferring to live in another place. In underdeveloped countries people might migrate to escape their hard living situation. They think they can find a better paid job in larger cities or Western countries, through which they can compose a more flourishing life. This applies for both manual workers and high skilled people. When people of this last mentioned group leave their country of origin brain drain occurs: knowledge leaves the country. This knowledge could have been used in order to develop the country of origin (Castles & Miller, 2009; Manuh, 2005).

Although brain drain is a negative consequence of migration, there are also positive effects. One of these is when migrants, whether internal or international, send remittances back home to their families who have stayed behind. Remittances are there in different forms: money, goods, knowledge or social values. The families use these received remittances to upgrade their level of welfare; they purchase food or construction materials and might even learn new forms of agricultural cultivation (Gaddo, 2010, pers. comm.). Although this kind of remittances can increase the welfare of migrant families, simultaneously it might lead to inequality within the community because often non-migrant families cannot take advantage of these remittances. A consequence of this can be that the disparity within communities increases, because the welfare of migrant families is relatively higher than of non-migrant families.

A solution for this problem of inequality could be community development, a concept that has gained more attention recently when related directly to the potential impact of migration. Migrant organisations in destination countries can play an important part in reaching community development. A migrant organisation can be established by migrants of the same place (region/country of origin), but can also be organised along ethnic or thematic lines. The objective of these associations is to help each other to adapt in the destination country and to collect money and/or remittances to help their community back home in a structural way (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008; Manuh, 2005) .

The Dagomba Youth Association (DAYA) in The Netherlands is such an organisation consisting of Ghanaian migrants from the Northern Region of Ghana. Next to supporting each other in sustaining a living in The Netherlands, they want to contribute as an organisation to development in their region of origin where their families are still living. In

spite of their start almost three years ago, they do not really know how to set about that and what their opportunities might be. Of course members have promising ideas to help their fellows in Ghana, because they know the situation their families are facing. However, it is not easy to decide about possible projects especially when there is a small budget and little commitment of the members. This is why they were searching for somebody who could investigate their situation in a transnational perspective; the organisation DAYA Holland itself and the Northern Ghana context. It might be easier for them to take decisions in connection with advices obtained from a research executed by somebody from outside the organisation. Therefore this research is meant to help to develop a development agenda for this migrant organisation.

Contribution of this research

This research will contribute to the existing knowledge about extensive relations between migration and development. The focus will be on the issue of how a migrant organisation (like DAYA) can contribute to community development, with the help of financial remittances and the transfer of knowledge. Next to this its actual dynamics in terms of local and transnational organisation and agenda development will be dealt with.

One of the members of DAYA has a volunteer and research organisation (Intercultural Learning Institute (ICLI)) and this organisation proposed to me to find out the opportunities. The initial proposal contained the main question: in what way could Dagombas in Holland be actively involved in community development in Tamale? This means I had to investigate the situation of DAYA as well as the situation in Tamale in the Northern Region of Ghana. Attention will be paid to questions like: what are the needs and how is community development seen by the people in Northern Ghana? I will ask randomly chosen people living in and around Tamale how they think a migrant organisation could help to contribute to a solution of their problems.

In the end of this research there will not be a 'simple' solution for DAYA. Hopefully a number of possible scenarios can be offered for a successful transnational cooperation. Chapter 2 will deal with the theoretical aspects concerning migrant organisations and development. DAYA has to find out their self how they concretely want to contribute to community development in the future. In chapter 5 an in depth overview of DAYA will be outlined.

Significance of this project

Much research has already been done on the relation between migration and (community) development. The results and conclusions are contradictive, however often they are for the greater part only applicable to specific research sites (Manuh, 2005).

Furthermore, much research is done on the migration-development relation of guest workers and migrants from former colonies. For instance in The Netherlands emphasis has been given to Turkish and Moroccan guest workers and their relation to their home countries (Adepoju, Van Naerssen and Zoomers, 2008). Ghanaian migrants do not belong to the group of former guest workers, and are a relatively 'new' group of migrants (Mazzucato, 2005, p. 13; Bump, 2006). Even though Ghanaians are a relatively new migrant group, the paid attention and research to the relation between Ghanaian migrants and their possible contribution to development is not totally new. However, most of this research focused on migrants from Southern and central Ghana, probably because this is where most of the (international) migrants come from. Much less research is done on migrants from the Northern regions, yet the North also supplies a significant share of the migrants abroad. Because of the unique circumstances in Northern Ghana it is interesting to investigate this situation. Chapter 4 will outline the specificity of the Northern Region.

An example of successful community development takes already place in Mexico. Mexican home town associations in The United States Of America contribute by means of the 3x1 project of the Mexican government. For every dollar a home town association donates through a formal channel, a dollar is added by the national government and another one by the provincial authorities. This contributes significantly to the development in Mexico, because migrants are stimulated to send money in this way (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008). A research on migrant involvement in community development in the Ashanti region in Ghana shows that the efficiency of migrants support and community development also can depend on the size and characteristics of a community (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008). These small examples show the importance of a specific situation and context of a transnational network and their restriction to the results.

Presumably a number of the general results of former researches could be used for further research in different regions or countries. Here you can think of the correlation between migration and community development and the knowledge about (starting) migrant organisations. However, some specific results and possible scenarios will come forward which are only applicable on the specific region around Tamale in the Northern Region. People will indicate how they think 'their' migrants can contribute to community development and next to that the opportunities of DAYA will be researched. This is a specific and quite closed in situation.

The two key concepts where to this research pays attention are the *migration-development nexus* and the role that *transnational migrant organisations* can play within this. These concepts are emphasised once more to make clear that everything in this research

turns on the possible contribution of a migrant organisation (like DAYA) to development in the region of origin.

1.4 Scientific relevance

Migration and Ghana

Ghana is located in West Africa (see map 1.1) and shares borders with three countries, Ivory Coast in the west, Burkina Faso in the North and Togo in the east. It shares a frontier in the south with the Gulf of Guinea. The country's population in 2008 is estimated at 23.9 million. With a land area of 238,537 sq. km, Ghana is administratively divided into 10 regions and 170 districts (Awumbila, et al., 2008). The largest and most important city of the country is the capital Accra, located in the south. Other important cities in Ghana are Kumasi and the city where this research is executed: Tamale (map 1.2).

Because of the difference in climate the Southern part of Ghana is more favourable to economic development than the Savannah North. The North is very dry, which makes farming restricted to some specific crops, like yam. (Van der Geest, 2007; Anarfi & Kwankye, 2003).

Migration has always taken place in Ghana. The decision to migrate in Ghana has often been a response to a combination of several factors, including economic, social, political and environmental factors such as poverty, landlessness and economic dislocations. These factors are also often linked to factors such as trade, agriculture, land degradation, rural poverty, urbanisation and the growth of administrative sectors. These all might induce migration, both internal and international. In Ghana, as in other parts of Africa, migration is largely informal and undocumented, making accurate data on the phenomenon hard to find (Awumbila, et. al., 2008, p. 2). If there are data available you have to be really careful because arrival and departure statistics often only relate to the number of passengers and not to the number of persons. This means in case one person has to travel three times a year for business to neighbouring country Togo, this is not measured as one person but as three passengers (Manuh, 2005).



Map 1.1: Ghana in Africa (Hoogduin, 2006, <http://www.back2africa.nl/ghana.php>, edited)



Map 1.2: Ghana (Hoogduin, 2006, <http://www.back2africa.nl/ghana.php>, edited)

From the pre-colonial times until the 1960s Ghana was mainly an immigration country, especially West Africans chose Ghana as their destination. The massive extraction of minerals and cultivation of cocoa in the Southern part of Ghana (at that time called Gold Coast) attracted labour migrants. International migration among Ghanaians accelerated as a result of the economic hardship that the country experienced in the 1970s. The period of the 1980s witnessed large-scale emigration of Ghanaians for unskilled, semi-skilled and highly skilled labour. The 1990s witnessed an increased emigration to Europe

and North America. Nevertheless, migration to West Africa and other African countries remained the most important in terms of numbers (International Organisation for Migration, 2009). The migration pattern of late years is shown in table 1.3. In Ghana various research has been done in the field of migration and development, however, most of these have focused on the South of Ghana (Van der Geest, 2007; Awumbila, et. al., 2008, p. 18). More in depth information about Ghana, the Northern Region and migration can be found in chapter 4.

The history of Ghana plays an important role in the differences of development between the South and North of Ghana. From the late fifteenth century until 1807 the territory of current Ghana was full of slave trade by the Europeans. Slaves were bought from the North, transported to the South of Ghana

Year	Arrival	% of Population	Departures	% of Population
2000	85,683	0.45	110,718	0.59
2001	128,201	0.68	121,159	0.64
2002	110,376	0.58	158,212	0.84
2003	145,878	0.77	143,367	0.76
2004	136,766	0.72	139,349	0.74
2005	125,594	0.66	151,716	0.80
2006	162,624	0.86	162,624	1.04
2007	195,817	1.04	224,372	1.19
Total	1,090,972	5.77	1,244,604	6.59

Table 1.1: Arrivals/departures of Ghanaian nationals to/from their country of origin 2000/2007 (International organisation for migration, 2009, edited)

and from there sold to wealthy countries

all over the world. The South of Ghana earned money by this trade and is still richer than the North of Ghana. Another issue is the division of the political power. Ghana is a democratic country, however the political power is concentrated in Accra and the south. The Northern regions get less attention than the Southern ones (Ghanaweb, 2010).

Another important issue concerning the difference in development are the conflicts that have taken place in the last years in the Northern Region. These conflicts were caused

by chieftaincy and different traditional tribes. This still has a great influence on development in the region, because companies and people leave the region because of the conflicts. This results in less job opportunities and brain drain. Likewise the government does not want to help localities where there are conflicts, so these stay underdeveloped (Joe Bapuohyele, pers. comm., 2010).

The region Dagbon is situated in the Northern Region and called after the tribe living in this region; the Dagomba. Migrants who migrated from this region to The Netherlands started the migrant organisation DAYA. The first objective of this organisation is to bring migrants together and help each other with adapting to their new living situation in the strange country Holland. The second objective they want to achieve in the future is to contribute to community development. The basis for these objectives is based on transnational linkages between the migrant organisation in The Netherlands, the country of destination and Ghana, the country of origin.

Goethe and Hillmann (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008) paid attention to the relation between Ghanaian migrant organisations in Germany and their connection with their region of origin. They especially focused on the transfer of knowledge and skills. Their conclusion is that there is need for a basic already existing stock of scientists in the home country in order to make use of the knowledge gained by migrants in Germany.

Mumuni (2007) did a research, which might be useful for this project. He investigated whether migrants contribute to community development and also how these communities engage migrants in their development efforts. His case was the West Mamprusi District in Northern Ghana and the migrants were only internal migrants. His conclusion was that from the side of communities not very much is being done to consciously engage the migrants in community development. This research could be useful because it is done in more or less a same kind of region as my case region around Tamale. Probably some of its outcomes can be used to expand further on. However I have to be careful that a number of results could be specific for only the West Mamprusi District and the migrants he investigated were still living in Ghana because they only migrated internally.

Linking up to existing knowledge

As mentioned before, results from earlier research case studies are difficult to apply on other regions and organisations. However there might be outcomes that can be used in this research. For example, think of gained knowledge about cultural differences and the approaching of respondents. However when it comes to specific facts like the affairs within a (migrant) organisation, it is hard to apply these situations to another organisation. An example of a well-organised migrant organisation in The Netherlands is HIRDA, existing of

migrants from Somalia. Although Somalia is situated in a different part of Africa, results about for example the staying in contact with migrants might be useful to get to know for DAYA.

However when DAYA wants to know more about specific possibilities of contribution to community development, research to their position within their specific transnational network is required. This does not mean I can not make use of other research to comparable situations. For instance I might make use of Mumuni's research to get to know more about the cultural differences and approaching of people, as well as about the research methods he used.

For DAYA this research is important, because without a specific research for the situation of DAYA this organisation might make use of results or possibilities they have found elsewhere. This can be deceptive because they do not know if this could work in their situation. It is very important that they listen to the opinions and needs of the Ghanaians back home. Of course there is not something like one unanimous opinion about what exactly should be done to develop the region. However the people at home can give useful thoughts about what is going on in their environment and how they think migrants can contribute to development of the region. Besides this it is interesting to find out how people think about individual versus collective needs.

DAYA wants me to research the needs in especially rural communities and the situation of the 'weaker' people, like children and women. Next to the rural case I will also ask the same questions to people living in the city in order to compare these results. This might contribute to the scientific knowledge about the difference between urban and rural communities. Here you can think in terms of difference in development within a community or variety concerning the intensity of links with migrants. .

1.5 Structure

This thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 will discuss the theoretical underpinnings of this research. In this chapter an overview will be given of the main theoretical streams discussing the migration-development nexus, and particularly the role of migrant organisations therein. Further on an elucidation of the concepts which form the conceptual backbone of this investigation will be given, namely: transnationalism, migration, development and migrant organisations. Thereafter these concepts will be drawn together and presented in one conceptual model. At the end the research questions will be operationalised. The next chapter, 3, reflects on the used research methods and how this research came about. Therein a division is made between the preparations of this research, the field research in Ghana, the field research concerning DAYA, and the analysis of the data. Chapter 4 describes the situation in the Dagbon region in Northern Ghana and will also

contain the opinions of the population. A division is made between rural and urban areas, in order to find out what the differences (in perception) are between these two residential zones. The 5th chapter is about DAYA and its organisation, policy, vision and the transnational linkages at joint and individual level. Chapter 6 is the conclusion in which all the information will be combined and will lead to advices for DAYA. Besides this it will contain a discussion concerning the conclusion.

2. Migration, development and the developmental role of migrant organisations

2.1 Introduction

Migration and development are the two most important concepts concerning this research. The processes of migration and development are interrelated and interconnected, although the specific nature of this relation is very diverse and much contested. For example it might be possible that when migration increases, more migrants earn money in the country of destination and send it back to their families who they left behind. These people spend and invest this money and so the development increases. However it is also possible that when migration increases, development decreases when the high skilled people leave the country of origin. Likewise you can think of more possible options in the relation.

First we will take a look at some well-known existing theories in the migration-development field, in order to obtain a sufficient theoretical background before we turn into the empirical research later on in chapter 4 and 5. Next to theories concerning the migration-development nexus, it is important to take a close and extended look into the actual concepts migration, transnationalism and development and their mutual relations. We will look at the complex processes of migration and the concepts which are involved within this, for example different kinds of migration and remittances. After migration the focus will shift to the theoretical approach towards of transnationalism and its connection to migration. The next important concept is development, because results about how DAYA might contribute to community development is what this research in the end has to lead to. Migrant organisations might contribute to development and that is why a closer look will be taken to this kind of associations.

In this chapter the concepts will be operationalised separately although it is difficult to see them apart from each other because they are all connected. However, in the end a conceptual model will be presented through which it will become clear how the concepts relate to each other in this research. An operationalisation of the research questions will complete this chapter.

2.2 Theories in the research field

As mentioned before, the correlation between migration and development is a much-discussed and contested one. Because of this there are many theories seeking to explain this relationship, which find support from different groups of scholars. In this paragraph an overview of different theories for migration and development will be given in order to come to the theory which will be used in this research.

The first one is the *neoclassical migration approach* which explains migration by the imbalance of spatial distribution of resources, like land, labour and capital. People migrate to places with better resources until a new balance has been reached. This approach is optimistic about the impact of migration on countries of origin and assumes that migrants will not return. The outflow of labour migrants from underdeveloped areas is beneficial because it will lead to a more balanced distribution of capital and labour that furthers economic development in the out-migration region. In the region of destination, the inflow of cheap labour leads to production and after some time the differentiation between sending and receiving regions flats out a new balance in wages and resource distribution has been achieved. The decision to migrate is assumed to be voluntary and grounded in a rational, individual decision taking into account the expected income differentials and employment opportunities (Harris & Todaro, 1970). The theories based on the neoclassical approach are quite optimistic about the impact of migration on sending areas since they expect that overpopulation, unemployment and poverty will be reduced (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008; De Haas, 2008).

There are several major critics on this neoclassical approach. First, migration is not always voluntary, for instance in case of war or oppression. Second, the assumption that migration is a decision based on individual rational thinking is also contested because there are many people who do not want to migrate and stay for social reasons even when the situation at home is critical. Next to this, migration decisions are often not taken by only the migrant himself, but are taken within families. The presumption that migrants do know much about wages and job opportunities in the destination country is often not realistic. In short we can conclude that his approach does not pay enough attention to social, cultural and policy dimensions because it is to a large extent focused on economic effects (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008; De Haas, 2008). This research will try to prevent thinking in only economic dimensions.

In reaction to the neoclassical approach, the *historical-structural approach* became known. This theory focuses on the macro level and states there is an unequal distribution and exchange of resources and knowledge geographical space. Migration is seen as a part of historical socioeconomic transformation. The developed and underdeveloped world become increasingly interdependent (dependency theory), whereby capitalism in the developed world goes together with the incorporation and exploitation of developing countries. Next to the dependency theory, there is also the world systems theory which belongs to the historical-structural approaches. It was developed in the 1970s and 1980s by Wallerstein. It focused on the way less developed 'peripheral' regions were incorporated into a world economy controlled by 'core' capitalist regions. The regions which were on their way to become a 'core' region in the future were named semi-periphery (Van Naerssen, Spaan

and Zoomers, 2008; Castles & Miller, 2009). The sub theories that belong to this historical-structural approach are pessimistic about the consequences of migration. For example these say that remittances are only used for consumption, instead of investment, and this might lead to inflation, dependency and inequality. Obviously no attention is paid to community development in these approaches (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008; Castles & Miller, 2009).

The *New Economics Labour Migration* (NELM) theory questions the neoclassical and historical-structural approaches. NELM focuses on the household instead of the individual and states that migration is a part of the household way of living. When a family decides to send a migrant they hope for remittances flows through which they diversify their income. Once constraints are overcome, migration is assumed to have a positive impact on development in the long term. When migrants have achieved their goals, return migration is seen as a logical outcome of migration. The NELM theory is the first theory which focuses on the role of social networks of migrants (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008; De Haas, 2008).

An approach that is closely related to the NELM theory is *transnationalism*, which is based on the relationships between home and host countries. The focus is on multidirectional flows that can contribute to social, political, cultural and political changes. Nowadays the discourse seems to become more optimistic. Remittances can lead to investments and more consumption, which can start a multiplier effect which is positive for the local economy. Attention is also paid to the transfer of skills and knowledge (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008).

This theory of transnationalism seems interesting for this research because it deals with the relations between home and host countries of migrants and the possibilities this might have for development. After explaining the concept of migration, a closer look will be taking into the transnationalism approach in paragraph 2.4.

2.3 Migration

Mobility has become much easier as a result of recent political and cultural changes, as well as the development of new transport and communication technologies; the process we call globalisation. Nowadays flows of people can be engendered by war, dislocation and poverty, but also by the longing for a better job or family reunification (Castles & Miller, 2009). Globally there are around 200 million migrants. Migrants are defined as people who do not live in their country of birth. In percentages this means that around 3% of the total population can be called an international migrant (Williams, Meth and Willis, 2009).

Migration is a form of (semi-) permanent geographical movement of people, usually across some type of administrative boundary (Urry, 2007; Faist, 2000). Human beings have always been on the move, therefore migration is not a new phenomenon. The mass migrations from the mid nineteenth century until the First World War were mainly transatlantic. Migration after the Second World War involves all regions of the world (Castles & Miller, 2009). Therefore we can now truly speak of global international migration. There are different kinds of migration: emigration (moving out of country of destination), immigration (moving into a host country), internal migration (moving within a country) and transit migration (temporal stay in a country during the migration process) (Brouns e.a., 2010).

International migration is a central dynamic within globalisation (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 3), however the increase of globalisation does not automatically mean an increase of migration. For example, when financial flows between countries increase people in developing countries might receive money through which they can improve their living situation which makes them less think about migration to a 'better' place. Migration is seen as a flow of people, and in that way, it can be seen as a part of globalisation. In the light of globalisation the national boundaries are becoming less important and in that sense the concept of transnationalism becomes more important (Munck, 2009).

Causes of migration are often divided into push and pull factors. Push factors are referring to conditions in the country of origin which make the migrant to 'push' out of the country, for instance poverty. Pull factors are the circumstances in the country of destination which look attractive to the potential migrant, for example the presence of family. Although, migration processes are often not as simple as looking at push and pull factors. Migration is just often not a practice of rational choice, rather it might be a desperate response to local, regional or national crises (Williams, Meth and Willis, 2009).

In his book *The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational social spaces* (2000) Thomas Faist states that, theoretically, migration in transnational spaces denotes a third generation of conceptualizing international migration. The first phase defined migration by the push and pull models, like described above. The second phase build further on the first one in the sense that the migration flows of labour and refugee migration occur in structured relationships between sending and hosting countries. These are embedded in structural dependence between core and periphery regions of the capitalist world economy. Emigration and immigration states form regional migration systems maintained by linkages of, among others, trade, information, goods and culture. These linkages are necessary for international migration to take off at all.

However, these days a third generation in conceptualizing migration has come into being. Instead of only linkages that connect emigration and immigration regions, the concept of transnational social space aims towards a recognition of the practices of migrants and the

ones who stayed behind connecting both of their worlds and the activities of institutions such as nation states that try to control these spaces (Faist, 2000). This approach is more like a supplement to the first two discourses and is in strong relation with transnationalism (an approach that will be described in the next paragraph) and which is the theoretical background of this research. This renewed interest in the notion of social space has led to the need to conceptualise migration beyond its demographic construction, as 'flows' and 'stocks' of people and to look at the 'in between places' (Faist, 2010, p. 93).

Migration in sub-Saharan Africa is mainly south-south, however the collapse of some traditional receiving countries implies additional pressure in the near future Europe's borders by desperate job seekers. Countries like Morocco, Libya and also Ghana, who were once immigrant-receiving, have changed into migrant-sending countries (Adepoju, Van Naerssen and Zoomers, 2008). These dynamics of migration cannot be understood without considering the life-worlds of persons, the social and symbolic ties they entertain to regions of origin, destination and onward mobility (Faist, 2010).

As there are different causes of migration, there are also several consequences of this complex process. The way of thinking about these consequences has changed over the past decades. In the 1960s, a majority of analyses entertained the idea of a 'brain gain' for developing countries, and mobility was seen as a resource for modernising developing countries. Migrants gained significant knowledge in their host country and when they returned to their developing home country they could use this knowledge to develop this country. However, in the 1970s and 1980s a reverse, more critical way of thinking came into existence; the issue of 'brain drain', which is linked up with critical thinking on processes of globalisation and asymmetric power relations i.e. dependencia thinking. The underlying assumption was that emigration was harmful to developing countries, because high-educated people left the country and so knowledge disappeared as well. The dominant academic and political discourse shifted again in the 1990s. The two terms of brain gain and brain drain have been more or less combined into the more neutral term 'brain circulation' (Faist, 2008).

Afore mentioned process of brain circulation can lead to various possible outcomes in both origin and destination country. In the first place the movement of knowledge can lead to a brain drain, because it leaves the (developing) country and moves to the a (developed) destination country. In a later stadium this might lead to brain gain in the country of origin when a migrant transfers the knowledge back or returns to his home country. When this transnational network of knowledge sustains, it can be called a global brain chain. Another possible outcome of brain transfer is brain waste, this occurs when high-skilled people migrate to a country where they are not able to use their knowledge because of, for example, bureaucratic rules about their qualifications (Faist, 2008).

Remittances

Nowadays, about 3% of the total world population can be defined as migrant, which points to the fact that migration is rather an exceptional than a regular phenomenon. However, this 3% of the world population is responsible for around 200 million migrants, which means there is a great potential for transnational flows as remittances (Faist, 2008).

When people think about remittances, they often think in the first place about financial remittances. Likewise, most research is done on the effect of financial remittances: the money migrants send home to their families and friends. However in this research attention will also be paid to remittances based on knowledge, ideas and social values. Knowledge transferred from developed to developing countries through transnational networks is increasingly seen as brain circulation and can be beneficial to all parties involved. The transfer of ideas is seen as helping developing countries to participate in knowledge societies, which are the basis for innovation, productivity and development. There are also social remittances, which involve the transfer of ideas regarding the rule of law, good governance, democracy, gender equity, human rights and so on. Migrants in host countries experience and learn about these social values and can transfer them to their home countries (Faist, 2006). Nowadays more emphasis is placed on this transfer of human capital (Faist, 2008).

However, the surge effect in financial remittances over the past three decades transferred by migrants has given rise to a kind of euphoria. Annual remittances from economically developed to developing regions more than doubled during the 1990s and have been approximately 20% higher than official development assistances to these countries (Faist, 2006). Financial remittances are a huge potential for poverty reduction because these are very often resistant or even counter-cyclic to economic recession (Faist, 2008). This is an important reason why national governments have been keen to try to harness these remittances through formal channels. However a great share of migrants like to send their money in informal ways because in this way they are sure it will reach their families directly (Skeldon, 2008).

At a macro-economic perspective there are five broad groups of variables that determine the sending of remittances, which can be also described as keep and repel factors. The first one is the economic situation in the host country. Likewise the economic activity in the country or origin is of importance. A third variable concern the economic policies and institutions in the home country. The fourth is the general risk in the home country. Last we can name the investment opportunities in the country of origin (Adepoju, Van Naerssen and Zoomers, 2008).

From a micro-perspective the level of migrant remittances flows depends on many variables, like income, family situation and motivation. According to Straubhaar and Vădean

(2006, p. 145), no general theory of remittances exists, because remittances cannot be perceived as a separate field of study. Hence its theoretical aspects derive from migration and transnational studies. These studies provide useful descriptive evidence and results from empirical research, but they only explain it partly, and are characterised by certain geographical, socio-cultural and temporal limitation.

One of the most intuitive motivations for sending remittances is characterised by the literature as altruism: migrants have a concern for relatives in their home country. In this altruistic model the migrant derives satisfaction from the welfare of his or her relatives (Straubhaar and Vădean, 2006).

A second motive may be pure self-interest. A migrant may remit driven by the aspiration to inherit. Likewise the ownership of assets in the home country may motivate the migrant to remit money to those left behind, in order to make sure that they are taking care of those assets (Straubhaar and Vădean, 2006).

In the third model of implicit family agreement, remittance determination is placed in a family framework of decision making, with remittances being endogenous to the migration process. For the household as a whole, it may be a strategy to allocate certain members as migrants, and remittances should be the mechanism for redistributing the gains. In the implicit co-insurance model, it is assumed that in a first phase, the migrant plays the role of an insured and the family left at home the role of the insurer. The family finances the initial costs of the migration project, which in most cases are substantial. Another way to model remittances is to assume that the migrants' goal is to return home with a certain amount of savings (Straubhaar and Vădean, 2006).

2.4 Transnationalism

Before we turn to transnationalism there is one concept we have to pay attention to because it is connected to transnationalism, however it does not need an extensive notification. This is the process called globalisation which is a contextual factor and has a significant influence on the concepts of this research. However globalisation is a broad and much contested concept, in this research globalisation is seen as the increase of communication and mobility technologies through which it becomes easier to travel to and have contact with the rest of the world. This causes and maintains transnational linkages (Castles and Miller, 2009). However intensive and continuous cross-border flows of persons, ideas and goods do not necessarily result in a uniform and de-bordered world (Faist, 2010). Forms of globalisation have allowed greater opportunities for travelling and a growing awareness of different cultures. People in poor countries have better possibilities than before to observe the welfare and life styles of people in the rich countries by global means of communication, which raise

their expectations and provide them with information about opportunities elsewhere and the trajectories along which to move (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008). Globalisation is a contextual factor for understanding twenty-first-century migration. On the one hand, globalisation drives migration and changes its directions and forms. On the other hand, migration is an intrinsic part of globalisation and is itself a major force reshaping communities and societies. Globalisation leads to pervasive processes of social transformation all around the world (Castles and Miller, 2009).

The theoretical background of this thesis is based on transnationalism. Simply stated transnationalism is a theoretical discourse grown out of a realisation of the increasing interconnectivity between people and the declining economic and social importance of boundaries among states. It was first mentioned by Randolph Bourne in 1916 to stress a new way of thinking about relationships between cultures. It emphasises the importance of support systems of family and friends for the possible decision of migrants to move or stay (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008). Transnationalism usually refers to sustained ties of geographically mobile persons, networks and organisations across multiple nation states (Faist, 2010, p. 79). Transnationalism is applicable to this research because it focuses on the links between migrants in their place of destination and place of origin. This is interesting because it can help to gain an insight in the relation between Dagomba migrants and their families back home and the role the migrant organisation DAYA plays in a transnational network. Exploring transnational connectivities through multi-sited fieldwork enables us to look at the variety of societal forms and informal social networks (Faist, 2010).

Studies on transnationalism entail a focus on the development and maintenance of economic and non-economic relationships between home and host countries. Migrants abroad tend to reproduce their cultural practices in their host country which can lead to multidirectional flows of goods, capital, skills and ideas which later on might lead to social, political, cultural and economic impacts in both destination and origin country (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008). The scale of impact of this development is contested by scholars. Nevertheless in this research I will hold on to the possibility of development (apart from the exact scale of impact), because I believe that migration and transnationalism can lead to development in the home country.

Transnationalism is considered as a key element in the role played by transnational communities which are built up as a consequence of international migration. It does not only represent a novelty, but among so-called global studies it constitutes an ongoing theoretical field with decisive political relevance for the future (Adepoju, Van Naerssen and Zoomers, 2008).

As migration becomes easier and people become more mobile (in the sense of travelling and communication), many migrants are able to sustain important and durable

relationships of a political, economic, social or cultural nature in two or more societies at once (Castles & Miller, 2009). Temporal or permanent migrants continue to play roles in the lives of their family and friends in their country of origin, while, at the same time they meet commitments and engagements in their country of destination (Smith, 2007 (5), p. 12).

Thomas Faist, one of the leading scholars in the field of transnationalism, states that transnational spaces are occurring at meso-level; in between the micro and macro level. He defines micro as a life-world or interaction level and macro is based on a systems level. The meso-level is the associational 'in between option' and contains transnational social spaces. These spaces can be defined as a space of places and a space of flows, to use the words of Manuel Castells (Faist, 2010, p. 82).

The next round of the term transnationalism took in the late 1980s, early 1990s a bottom up perspective and asked about migrants as agents in constellations of increased cross-border flows not only of goods, but also of people. Although this sounds a little bit the same as globalisation perspectives, transnational approaches need to be carefully distinguished from globalisation theories. Transnational approaches offer a counter balance to macro-oriented, top-down approaches of globalisation, world society and world polity theory. Transnational views pay attention to the overlapping linkages of agents (who do not necessarily belong to the state) between different countries, while globalisation approaches focus on the process of transcending state territories. In this way we can see a difference in the target sector; transnationalism is about the relation of individuals or groups (not related to the state), while globalisation focuses on transgressing processes of countries (and so related to the state) (Faist, 2010). This distinction is important for this research because both concepts play an important role; globalisation as an underlying process of migration and development and transnationalism as a process regarding the linkages between and among migrants and their home country.

There are several conditions which are favourable for the reproduction of transnational ties. The first one is modern technologies regarding communication and travelling which make it easier to have contact with people all over the world. Secondary, liberal state policies enable inhabitants of a country to start or contain transnational ties abroad. The third condition is when migrants in their host country are discriminated against or socio-economically excluded. This makes them feel insecure and they will strengthen their (transnational) ties with their family and friends in their country of origin. The fourth option is when emigration countries make policies which reach out to their migrants living abroad so that they can effectively send remittances and invest in projects (Faist, 2010). The last two conditions point to the process of double engagement of migrants. They feel committed to their families back home but also to the people they know in the host country; with both groups they maintain contact. The double engagement is also brought forward in the fact that

they send money (remittances) back home but also spend money on goods and services and pay taxes in the receiving country (Grillo and Mazzucato, 2008).

Faist (2010) mentions three types of transnational spaces. The first one are small groups, like families who are split up over different regions. The second one is a little bit more extensive: transnational issue networks, spread networks which are focused on a subject. Thirdly there are transnational organisations like NGO's and migrant organisations which contain more people and are operating in a more extensive way.

2.5 Development

The concept development is very broad, abstract and comprehensive and is used in numerous scientific fields. Development processes are strongly connected with transnationalism, globalisation and migration, therefore development issues were already mentioned in earlier sections of this chapter.

Potter et. al. (2004, p. 21) state that development has never been a scientific concept, it has always been an ideology. Development can mean all things to all people. There can be no fixed and final definition of development, only suggestions of what development should imply in particular contexts. Development relates to all parts of the world at every level, from the individual to the global, however development has become most often linked with the developing world (Potter et. al., 2004).

Development is a historical process but it can be, and usually is, manipulated by human agency; it is the outcome of human interaction. It is often forgotten that people and culture (particularly religion) can play an important role in characterising national and local development strategies. Development is not unidirectional. Improvement in the human condition has many different dimensions and the speed of change may vary enormously for any individual or community. And although a fair and balanced development may be a desirable goal, for most of the world's population it is far from being a realistic one (Potter, et. al., 2004).

Development is a normative term and can be interpreted differently by scientists and people from north and south (Faist, 2010). Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers (2008, p. 3) give a good definition of development in the migration-development discourse: sustainable economic growth, social advancement, increasing equity and increasing democracy and freedom. So broadly concluded: development points to improving conditions of people and their environment in a sustainable way; development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs' (Potter et. al., 2004, p. 117).

Regarding migration and development in a transnational setting, the term co-development has come into existence: migrants are productive development agents. It does not build upon the permanent return of migrants to the countries of origin but tries to tap into existing transnational ties of migrants who are seen to be transmission belts of development cooperation (Faist, 2010). In recent years, the notion of migrants' return as an asset of development has been complemented by the idea that even if there is no eventual return, the commitment of migrants living abroad could be tapped through not only migrant organisations, but also through informal 'diaspora knowledge networks' (Faist, 2010, p. 95).

Despite development is a comprehensive container term, it is essential in this research. In the broadest sense, development is what I hope this research can bring forward in the end. I hope I can extend some advices which might lead to community development by a migrant organisation. The next subparagraph will go deeper into the opportunities for migrant organisations to contribute to community development.

The role of migrant organisations: private versus community development

In this research the separation between private and community development is very important. In the case of private development, the migrant families benefit the most because family members abroad send their remittances immediately to them. These remittances are mainly used for private expenditures on food, clothes or luxury goods. Only when they spend or make use of these remittances others might benefit from it as well because of multiplier effects.

However, the last years more attention is paid to community development which may contribute to the development of a community. In this research a community can be seen as a geographical spatial entity, for example a village, town or region. Community development is seen "as the presence of, or access to public (not commercially exploited) facilities at a geographical spatial entity level. These include facilities that are financed with both public funds and private funds, both locally and from migrants" (Mumumi, 2007, p. 13). Most successful community projects are the ones that are based on commonly identified needs and that are a priority for both the community and the migrant organisation (Adepoju, Van Naerssen en Zoomers, 2008).

In the case of community development it is important that the remittances (money or knowledge) are invested in projects which are useful for (almost) all the people living in a community. Of course it is difficult to implement a project which is beneficial to the whole community because the people within a community cannot be seen as a homogeneous group of people.

This research is focused on collective remittances which seek to contribute to sustainable community development. These collective remittances will be sent by a migrant organisation.

Migrant organisations

International migration produces transnational communities across the world, many of whom have transnational identities. Aside from the particularities of these transnational identities, analyses of diaspora suggest that there are complex interconnections and continuities, as well as breaks, between the cultures of settled migrant communities' host and destination countries (Williams, Meth and Willis, 2009).

Diaspora is an old term for transnational communities, which goes back to the ancient Greece: it meant 'scattering' and referred to city-state colonisation practices. Diaspora is often used for people who are displaced or dispersed by force, for example Jews. According to Van Hear (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 70) 'diasporas are defined as populations of migrant origin who are scattered among two or more destinations, between which there develop multifarious links involving flows and exchanges of people and resources: between homeland and destination countries, and among destination countries'. The term diaspora often has strong emotional connotation, while the notion of a transnational community is more neutral (Castles & Miller, 2009). This is why the use of the term diaspora will be reduced in the rest of the research.

In the literature there are several ways to define a transnational community. To name just a few examples: home town association, diaspora organisation, youth or migrant association and migrant network. In this research we will use the term migrant organisation because it typifies DAYA the best. This kind of organisation is formed by people from a specific area of origin who reside either in urban centres or outside the country of origin. They may be formally or informally organised and their activities and objectives can be philanthropic, political, social and economic in nature (Mumumi, 2007, p. 13). Besides, small migrant organisations may have a local focus on their own situation in the host country. Migrants within these organisations try to help each other to settle down in their new country.

Transnational communities can also exert a powerful influence in the spaces they may call 'home'. For instance, some engage in political lobbying for their home countries; they are involved in cultural and religious networks and also institutional linkages (Williams, Meth and Willis, 2009). In this way a migrant organisation is an example of a social space formed by migrants and mobile people (Faist, 2008).

With the existence of migration networks and the support they carry, it becomes easier to travel abroad, to find work and housing, to keep in touch with the country of origin et cetera (Faist, 2000). Migrant organisations are set up initially to help migrants cope with legal

and material issues in the receiving country as well as to provide a focus for social and cultural activities (Castles and Miller, 2009). The case of Mexico shows that working together in the host country (United States) as an organized group allows migrants to promote and consolidate a feeling of shared cultural identity (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008). When migrants have established less or more a life in the host country and experience a shared feeling of cultural identity with the help of the migrant organisation, they can shift their attention somewhat to the consolidation of the transnational ties in order to contribute to development in the home region.

Transnational networks and associations of migrants have come to stand at the centre of the optimistic visions of national and international (economic) development policy establishments. Such associations provide significant resources for community development at the local level by, for example, involving themselves in providing construction materials for their home-town church, raising money to improve water and sewage systems or health and education services, helping to organise relief efforts following natural disasters, or channelling remittances (Faist, 2008).

Successful migrant organisations are quite formalised, with a management structure, regular meetings and a portfolio of activities. Office holders are largely elites educated to senior school or above and are from professional or entrepreneurial backgrounds. Women are present as representatives of women's subcommittees, usually attending to welfare issues (Mohan, 2008). In the successful case of Mexican migrant organisations the core of the organisations consists of around ten people and there is a counterpart in the hometown or region which is also involved in the activities. Important for a successful migrant contribution to development is efficient community leadership and an atmosphere of trust. Likewise, informal relations with chiefs are often mentioned as of crucial importance (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008).

2.6 Conceptual framework: connecting the concepts

This subparagraph will connect the aforementioned discussion of the core concepts of this research, even if the prior sections have already given some indications of the interconnected nature of these different concepts. At the end of this section a conceptual model will be produced, on the basis of which this research has been designed.

The relationship between migration and development is too complex for easy generalisations (Castles and Miller, 2009). Therefore the connection that will be made in this section is a complex and much discussed one: the migration-development nexus. The outcome of this nexus depends on, among others, what theoretical approach you choose. Transnationalism is chosen as the underlying theory in this research, because I believe there

can be a positive consequence of relationships between home and host countries. These relationships can lead to multidirectional flows that contribute to social, political, economical and cultural development (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008).

Overall it has been said that globalisation can lead to more migration and migration might also lead to a more globalised world. Globalisation means, among others, the increase of communication technologies through which potential migrants in developing countries get to know more about the developed world. Globalisation also helps to create new technologies that facilitate mobility, which might lead to more migration around the world. Migrants may establish migrant organisations through which they can maintain their culture and contacts with their families at home. This all might lead to more globalisation. However it is also been said that globalisation had led to a growing gulf between north and south and even to increased inequality within a region (Castles and Miller, 2009).

In the current round of the migration-development nexus, migrants in general and transnational migrant associations in particular have emerged as significant agents of development. It is not the first time since the second world war that the relationship between migration and development has entered the political discourse. However for the first time in history community development has come to play a prominent role within the debate (Faist, 2008).

According to several scholars (Faist, 2008; De Haas, 2008; Adepoju, Van Naerssen & Zoomers, 2008) we can distinguish three phases in the history of the migration-development nexus. In the first phase the positivity of migration dominated. Scientists stated that migration led to development because migrants sent remittances back home, although they also paid attention to the negative impact of migration: brain drain. This phase was in the time of the guest workers. In the second phase authorities were only negative about migration which led, in their view, only to underdevelopment and poverty because of the brain drain. However, in the last years the positive side of migration gained domination again because migration might lead to a circulation of knowledge which might be beneficial for developing countries. In recent years the notion of migrants' return as an asset of development has been complemented by the idea that even if there is no final return, the commitment of migrants living abroad could be tapped, for example, through migrant organisations.

In the literature many consequences of migration are described. One of them is brain drain; this occurs when high-skilled people leave a (developing) country. This knowledge which leaves the country could have been used to develop the country. In this way migration is seen as negative for development. However when these migrants are able to transfer their knowledge back to their home country, we might speak of knowledge circulation. This might be beneficial for development in countries of origin when it is used in an effective way. An article in a Dutch magazine about international cooperation (Welten, 2011) points to the

possibility of knowledge transfer through the internet. A Surinam migrant started a website (www.apura.org) because most Surinamers who are living abroad do not want to go back to their home country, however they feel concerned about their country. Through the website migrants can share knowledge and experiences which might contribute to the development of Surinam.

The last years more attention is also paid to social remittances. Here you can think of social values about women in society or democracy. However there is nothing to guarantee that what is learned in the host society is constructive or that it will have a positive effect on communities of origin. Most attention is still being paid to financial remittances, which are often seen as a contribution to development. However, this is not necessarily the case, because financial remittances can also lead to increasing inequality between migrant families and non-migrant families (Van Naerssen, Spaan & Zoomers, 2008). A possible solution for this problem might be the sending of collective remittances through migrant organisations (Castells and Miller, 2009).

Transnationalism focuses on the multidirectional flows between migrants and their families back home. Migrants from the same sending country often come together in the country of destination to establish a transnational community through which they help each other and their families back home. In current debates a core idea is that governments and international agencies should work with migrant organisations in order to obtain development. Migrant organisations are seen as having the potential to channel financial and social remittances, technology transfer and circulation of skills. Nowadays diasporas generally consist of a mix of economic and forced migrants of different social classes. In the last 10-20 years these migrants are more and more seen as 'heroes of development' for their countries of origin (Castles & Miller, 2009; De Haas, 2008).

A successful example of effective community development by migrant organisations can be found in Mexico. Mexican migrant organisations (in this case called home town associations) in The United States Of America contribute by means of the 3x1 project of the Mexican government. For every dollar a home town association donates through a formal channel, a dollar is added by the national government, another one by the provincial authorities. This contributes significantly to the development in Mexico, because migrants are stimulated to send money in this way. The development of the Mexican communities is clearly verified (Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers, 2008). This example shows the possibility of effective development in communities in the region of origin.

There is another interesting issue in the migration-development nexus: can development maybe help reduce emigration from poorer countries? This is based on the idea that migration is driven by poverty, underdevelopment, under- and unemployment and that tackling these causes can keep people at home. However, migration researchers have long

questioned such simple linkages and pointed out that development is likely to lead initially to increased emigration rather than to reduce it. This is because migrants come mainly from areas already caught up in a process of economic and social transformation. Development actually helps provide the resources needed for migration (Castells and Miller, 2009; De Haas, 2008; Manuh, 2005). However political institutions, like the EU, expressed their hope that in the long run, economic growth supported by financial, knowledge and social remittances will reduce ‘migration pressure’ in the sending countries (Faist, 2008).

So, how does the current research fit into this debate? Obviously the transnational relation between home and host country is quite clear in the situation of DAYA. The migrants stay in contact with the people they know in their region of origin, through transnational flows of information, money and goods. With the help of these flows there is a possibility of contribution to development in the home country. The objective of this research is to find out if and how the migrant organisation DAYA can operate as an agent for sustainable community development in the Northern region of Ghana.

To make all these complex relations more clear a conceptual model can be drawn up. This model will be explained in three different phases, of which the last phase is the prospective one, which will be used in this further research. The concepts globalisation and transnationalism will not be shown directly in the models, however they are the underlying processes behind the relations in the models.

Phase 1

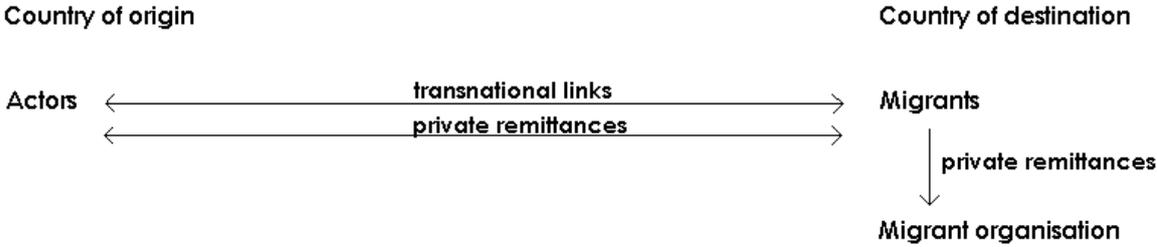


Model 2.1: Conceptual model phase 1

Phase 1 is the take off phase in which the migrant is leaving his or her country of origin to go to a country of destination; the migration process itself. Actors in the home country, mostly families and or friends of the migrant, often support the migrant by sending money in order that he or she is able to travel and can start a living in the country of destination. Other

possible (social) remittances the actors in the country of origin can give the migrant are, among others, taking care of children or supervising (community) development projects (Faist, 2010; Grillo & Mazzucato, 2008).

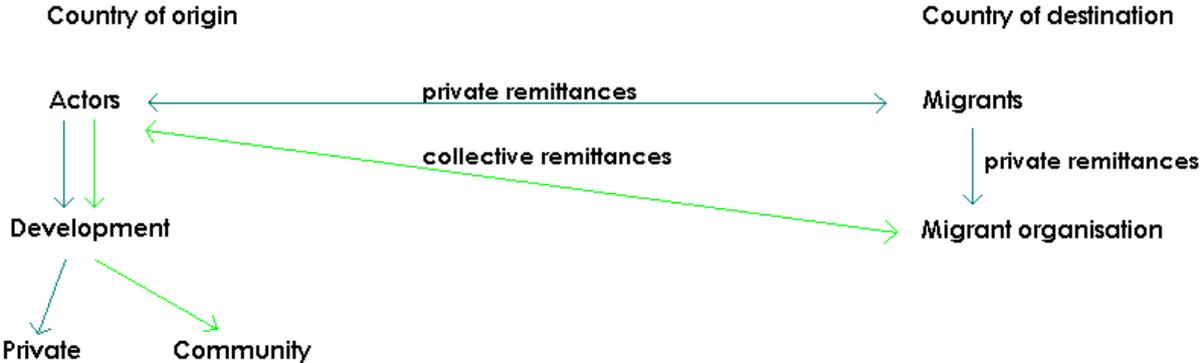
Phase 2



Model 2.2: Conceptual model phase 2

In phase 2 the migrant succeeds to settle in the country of destination and keeps in touch with his or her family and friends back home with the help of, among others, communication systems or (regular) visits. At the same time migrants can join in with a migrant organisation. Migrants pay a small amount as contribution to this organisation, which we can refer to as private remittances. This phase can be described as the expansion of transnational links. This model assumes that the migrant found an income in the host country and sends a share of his or her income to his or her family. Next to private financial remittances the migrant might transfer knowledge and or social values. People in the country of origin can still give remittances to the migrant in the destination country like mentioned in phase 1.

Phase 3



Model 2.3: Conceptual model phase 3

This is the final model that will be used in this research. The transnational links between actors in the country of origin and migrants in the destination country are still there, although they are not shown anymore to keep the model clarifying. In this model two different colours are used to make clear a division between two kinds of remittances flows; private and collective through migrant organisations. These remittances can be used to gain development in different ways. The migrants' contact persons can use the privately sent remittances to develop their personal situation by buying goods and food for themselves, to build a larger house or send their children to school. Migrants can also invest (a share of) their remittances money into a migrant organisation. This organisation can use this money to spend on community development projects in the country of origin, which are profitable for a greater share of the community. Here you can think of a healthcare centre or education opportunities. This development of the community might also lead to private development of people, however this relation is omitted in the model because it will not return in this further research. Actors in the country of origin can also hand remittances to migrant organisations, for example in the form of supervising projects.

Obviously this model is a simplification of reality. The channels through which remittances flow are not as simple as mentioned in this model. Private remittances might flow directly to development projects, however there is always a need for an actor who transfers the money into development.

2.7 Operationalisation of the research questions

Before we shift our focus to the methods section in chapter 3, let us take a closer look to the research questions mentioned in the introduction chapter, so that in the next sections it is clear what questions will be dealt with. Here it will be explained why the certain questions are chosen and why these are necessary to be answered for this research. Before we turn to the specific research situation it is important to know more about the theoretical background as is described in this current chapter. Knowledge about the migration-development nexus is needed to place this research in a (transnational) context.

The fourth chapter will deal with questions about the people living in Northern Ghana. Attention will be paid to the next three questions:

1. How do people from the Northern Region of Ghana define (regional) problems and possible solutions?
2. How do people from the Northern Region of Ghana define their transnational contacts with migrants?

3. How do people in the Northern Region of Ghana think about migrant organisations and its potential for development in their region Dagbon?

These questions concern the perspective of the inhabitants of the Northern Region. They are not defined as 'Dagombas' because not all Northerners are Dagombas and DAYA would like to contribute to all kind of people living in the Northern Region and so no division is made between Dagombas and other tribes. It is important to know how people from the Northern Region look upon the problems occurring in their environment and how they think they could be solved. Inhabitants know the best what is going on in their environment, because maybe DAYA might think there is need for more toilet facilities while Northern Ghanaians do not see this as a problem at all. The same is true for development and the help of migrant organisations. It has to become clear how these are seen by inhabitants, because their thoughts and the ideas and possibilities of DAYA have to be adjusted in the end. A closer look will also be taken into the contact between people living in Ghana and the migrants they are having abroad. How do they define their transnational linkages in terms of regularly contact or remittances flows?

To obtain a complete multi-sited overview the fifth chapter is focused upon the migrant organisation DAYA. The research questions that belong to this are the following:

4. What are the possibilities for community development from the DAYA migrants' point of view?
5. How can the organisational structure within DAYA be defined?
6. What should the organisation DAYA Holland accomplish in order to achieve community development in the Northern Region?

It is important to get to know how the DAYA members think about community development in their region of origin. Do they want to spend a part of their remittances through DAYA and to what kind of projects they think it should be spent? Next to this I will also look at how the organisation is structured; how do the members contribute to DAYA and is there a collective strategy that is being pursued? In this chapter I will also try to advice DAYA to set an agenda in connection with the information gained about the organisation.

In the last chapter, the answers to the aforementioned questions will lead to a discussion of the central question of this research: *How can the migrant organisation DAYA contribute to structural community development in their region of origin Dagbon, Northern Ghana.* This question is a reflection of the concepts and processes mentioned earlier in this chapter. Transnationalism is the theory that lies behind and is necessary to explain how the migrant organisation DAYA can contribute to sustainable community development in their home region. The theoretical issues in this chapter, relating to migration and development, are

reflected in this central question. Migrants in the host country can send remittances privately or collectively through a migrant organisation. These collectively sent remittances can lead to sustainable development in the region of origin of the migrants. The final answer to the central question will be based on a combination of scientific literature and empirical findings of the research to migrant organisation DAYA and survey results in Tamale, Northern Ghana.

3. Research methods

3.1 Introduction

Now we have taken a look at the theoretical background and operationalised the research questions, this chapter is about the execution of the research. This empirical analytical research took place in two countries to obtain a transnational perspective. On the one hand there is a focus on the migrant organisation DAYA in The Netherlands. The migrants of this organisation want to know how they can contribute to sustainable community development in their region of origin in Northern Ghana. Therefore, research is done in this region of origin around Tamale, by interviewing the people there about their problems, needs and opinion about how migrants might contribute to structural community development. This was already planned in the research proposal as a means of gaining knowledge of the entire picture, since the research was focused on migrant involvement in community development.

The starting point of this research were interviews with Ghanaian Dagomba migrants in The Netherlands and the Dagomba population in Northern Ghana. The respondents in Ghana were randomly chosen, so they had no relation to the migrants in The Netherlands. There are two reasons for this. One, the DAYA members in The Netherlands emphasise that they want to contribute to the whole community and so they want to know the opinion of the average population, which means not only their family members. Second, it is very difficult to come in contact with a family member of a migrant, because the houses where people live do not have an address, which makes it hard and time consuming to localise them and come in contact with them.

The purpose of this bottom-up approach is that the perceptions lead to more knowledge in the migration-development field. The attempt to contribute to knowledge with this empirical research, about migrant organisations and their possible role in community development, also makes it an explorative research that derives from both qualitative and quantitative research.

This chapter will set out the research methods used during the investigation process. Before we turn to the preparation section we will take another look at the research questions and what these imply for the kind of methods that will be used. Thereafter we will turn to the field research, analysis of the data and reflections on the total research.

3.2 Implication research questions for methods

This paragraph will take a look at the aforementioned research questions and their implication for the research methods that will be used to find an answer to these questions. The set of questions is divided into two sections: three questions that concern the Northern

Region in Ghana and three questions regarding the research to DAYA in The Netherlands. This multi-sited approach is what makes this research innovative, because both sides of the transnational relation will be investigated and combined. This will lead to an integral overall picture of the transnational situation in this research.

Let us now turn to the questions concerning the situation in Northern Ghana:

4. How do people from the Northern Region of Ghana define (regional) problems and possible solutions?
5. How do people in the Northern Region of Ghana think about migrant organisations and its potential for development in their region?
6. How do people from the Northern Region of Ghana define their transnational contacts with migrants?

To find a reliable and valid answer to these questions there is need for the investigation of a group of people that provides a representative overview of the entire society. This asks for a survey among people to get to know their perceptions on these above mentioned issues. This will be supplemented by information from in dept interviews, literature and observations to obtain sufficient triangulation. Paragraph 3.4 on page 46 will go deeper into the details of this part of the research.

Let us now turn to the questions that relate to the migrant organisation DAYA in The Netherlands:

7. What are the possibilities for community development from the DAYA migrants' point of view?
8. How can the organisational structure within DAYA be defined?
9. What should the organisation DAYA Holland accomplish in order to achieve community development in the Northern Region?

Although these questions are all focused on the situation of DAYA in The Netherlands, they are of different nature concerning the research methods. To find an answer to question 4 I will ask the DAYA members about their perception about community development in their region of origin. To reach as many as possible members, and to avoid mutual influence between them, I think a written survey will be the best in combination with oral discussions during the DAYA meetings.

To investigate the structure within DAYA (question 5) I need to get insight into the situation, which means observation in combination with interviews with the executive staff of DAYA could be an useful method. The answer on question 6 will be a more hypothetical one, which can originate from questions and discussions stimulated by me during DAYA meetings. In this way I might get an overview of the different perceptions of the members.

More about the methods for the research questions about DAYA in The Netherlands can be found in paragraph 3.5 on page 50.

3.3 Preparation

The Intercultural Learning Centre (ICLI) put me in touch with the migrant organisation Dagomba Youth Association (DAYA). DAYA's desires and my study direction and knowledge corresponded with each other and made me decide to investigate their possibilities for sustainable community development.

Every first Sunday of the month DAYA organises a meeting in Amsterdam. To obtain a good overview of the structure of the organisation and their members I participated six times in these meetings during the year 2010. Next to this I conducted interviews with important actors within this association. In this way I got to know more about their view and objectives. I learnt that DAYA started in 2008 as a migrant organisation consisting of migrants from the Dagbon region in Ghana. Their first objective is trying to help each other to settle down in The Netherlands and to maintain their Dagomba culture. The second objective of DAYA is to collect money to set up sustainable community projects in their region of origin, focused on the weaker people in the society, like children and women in rural areas.

The consequence of their second objective, i.e. to help support sustainable community development in their region of origin, was that a multi-sited research, exploring the potential of a transnational interaction of DAYA with their region of origin, was called for. Before my departure to Ghana I gathered information about DAYA during some meetings, so that I had a sufficient view about the organisation. Besides that, the members gave me a good view about the situation in the Northern Region. More in depth information about DAYA, their members and their opinions I acquired after my research time in the Tamale Metropolitan District. For this research I obtained information from as much as possible different kinds of resources, in order to obtain triangulation of findings in this transnational field.

3.4 Field research in Ghana

The research part in Ghana has been conducted in the rural community Kpakpayili and within the city Tamale, both located in the Tamale Metropolitan District in the Northern Region of Ghana. In figure 3.1 the two research places are shown. The respondents in Tamale were living in different neighbourhoods within the city, mostly located within the 'Second ring road area', the circle which is shown on the map. Kpakpayili, south of Tamale city, is chosen as the only rural community because of practical reasons which are explained below. More characteristics about the region and the research locations are highlighted in chapter 4.

There are several factors that influenced the choice of the research locations. First of all the contact with ICLI and DAYA made it inevitable to choose Dagbon as the research

region, because the members of DAYA all originate from this region. ICLI pointed to the fact that more research is needed about international Dagomba migrants and their role in development in their region of origin. Like mentioned earlier, there has been done very less research on this topic. Secondly, another master student, Tessa Verkaart, was also planning to do research in the same direction and that is why we decided to combine efforts and



Map 3.1: Research areas: Tamale and Kpakpayili (Google, 2011, edited)

execute a combined survey. Verkaart's (2011) research is about the possibilities for development in countries of origin through migration and what consequences this migration can have for the home country. Her research has a broader perspective than mine, because she is not specifically focussing on migrant organisations. We both needed information about living standards of people and perceptions on development. Additionally Verkaart asked questions through which she executed a wealth ranking analysis. The pragmatic reason to work together was reducing the costs of a translator and reaching a larger research population. After completing 56 interviews in the rural community, we decided to carry out the

same amount in the urban area because there was still enough time. We were interested in the possibly different perceptions between rural and urban dwellers.

We decided to do a random sample test within the research population. Because of restrictions of time and budget a random sample test seemed the best option to obtain an as representative overview as possible of the research population. The research population we defined as: all people living in the city of Tamale and the rural community Kpakpayili. The criteria for a respondent for belonging to the research population were brief, because we wanted to have a representative overview of the inhabitants of the rural and urban area. So the only criteria for the respondents was that they were living in Kpakpayili (first part of the research) or in urban Tamale (second part of the research). Together with our translator Adam Hafiz Progress we went to the research locations and interviewed people randomly. We walked around in the research area and Tessa and me decided where to go. Adam introduced us to the respondents. One day we came across a women of around 80 years old (plate 3.1). She was a poor shea butter producer/trader and was living in a traditional small round shaped house. She felt somehow ashamed about her house and told us that, when she gets some money, she wants to paint the interior walls. In Kuku, an urban neighbourhood of Tamale we met a truck driver because he was interested in what we



Plate 3.1: Interview with an 80 year old woman

were doing. He was one of the few people who said that there was need for the sending of goods, for example trucks, through migrant organisations (plate 3.2).

We used a translator because we wanted to reach every layer of the society, also the people who do not speak English (which is very common in rural communities). Adam is living within Kpakpayili and so respondents trusted him, which made asking questions for us somehow easier. This is one of the reasons to choose for this community, next to our time and money budget. With the help of our translator we executed the random sample in the form of semi-structured questionnaires (see appendix 1). We tested this before we really started to use it, by asking the questions to Ghanaian outsiders and see if they understood them and answered in a way we expected. With the help of this interview we tried to investigate the perceptions, characteristics, and daily way of living of people.

We started the research in a rural neighbouring community of Tamale; Kpakpayili. We tried to interview various people as much as possible. Because DAYA wants to contribute to development in the whole community, we wanted to know the opinion of all kind of people: young and old, women and men, educated and non-educated, rich and poor to gain a balanced reflection of the society. We also asked everybody if they have any migrants (internal or international) within the family and how their transnational linkages are with them and how they think migrant organisations might contribute to any development in the future. After 56 interviews with diverse respondents in the rural area, we had achieved a certain degree of satisfaction in possible responses. This made us decide to execute the same interview in the urban area of the city Tamale, so that we could compare the results of rural and urban areas. This comparison might lead to different outcomes for community development, because of different development scales in the areas. For instance in a rural areas people can wish for school books to improve their education, but in bigger cities schools are already more developed and there is need for computers. So the expectation is that the differentiation in answers between rural and urban areas can in the end lead to different conclusions about community development projects. In Tamale we did not need a translator because most of the people could speak English well enough. However to come in contact with people we worked together with Norgy Soaliu, a young man who is living in Tamale and could guide us around in different districts and bring us in contact with respondents and if necessary translate some answers.

Next to the gathering of aforementioned data I also executed several semi-structured in depth interviews with informants of organisations, migrants and students to collect qualitative information. These informants supplied me with extra qualitative information about, among others, microfinance, development study projects and the life of a migrant, so that I could place this information in a broader context around the research results. Therefore

this research can be called a combination between quantitative and qualitative (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2008).



Plate 3.2: Interview with a driver of an originally Dutch truck

3.5 Research migrant organisation DAYA

The Intercultural Learning Centre (ICLI) brought me and DAYA together to see if we could help each other. They were looking for somebody who could help them by finding out the possibilities for community development and I was looking for an useful case study. For me it was interesting to gain insight in the actions and starting-up activities of this new organisation, because it would give a sufficient reflection of the current way of acting of such an organisation. They hold their monthly meetings in the Bijlmer in Amsterdam as well as a great share of their members is living in this city.

After my research period in Ghana I shifted my focus once again to DAYA, although also during my research time in Ghana I stayed in contact with them, especially with chairman Natogmah Issahaku. I joined the monthly meetings in Amsterdam as much as possible, therein taking a passive but also active role, by observing, asking questions and provoking discussions. Indeed these meetings produced highly relevant information for this

research. The members of the organisation were always willing to share their thoughts with me through collective discussions during the meetings but also through individual discussions next to the meetings. I also used my research experiences in Ghana to provoke discussions during the meetings, because the members were always very interested in the research I executed in Ghana. This way of collecting information can be defined as participant observation. I was an observer as well as participant, because people knew my role as researcher and I observed their activities during the meetings (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2008). For me it was really useful to observe how DAYA is functioning, to see how the members are running the organisation and how the structure is. This all is important to get an overview of the organisation and their possibilities for the future.

Besides this observation I also handed out a questionnaire to as many as possible members (see appendix 2). With the help of this questionnaire I tried to investigate their way of living and perceptions regarding the organisation and the possibility for development in their region of origin. The questions were somehow different from the survey in Ghana, because this time I was also interested in their migration history; when did they migrate and what was their reason for migration? The reason for their migration gave me an insight in their expectations about The Netherlands and if their main reason for migrating was maybe to get a good job and send remittances back home in the future. Next to these questions I also asked them about where their family lives and if they actually are sending remittances. How do they think about collective remittances and what percentage of their total remittances do they want to spend on community development through DAYA? I also wanted to know what they see as the biggest problems in their region of origin and how they think a migrant organisation like DAYA could help. In this way I gained a full understanding of what these respondents viewed as their responsibilities to their local communities as well as what factors either motivated or hindered their participation in local development. These questionnaires they filled in personally, because some of the members only repeat others opinions when they see or hear about them. In this way I could ask them individually and discussions were raised afterwards in the meetings. Unfortunately, after asking several times I only got 9 completed questionnaires back. Obviously this small number cannot be used for any sampling, however I could interpret some qualitative statements. Nevertheless, the most useful information I obtained from the meetings.

Possibly the context of DAYA and the fact that I interviewed people who are members of DAYA provides certain bias in response. I can mention respondent bias and context bias, because the answers respondents give are based on the context regarding DAYA. For instance, the fact that DAYA is an organisation with less money influences the answers members give to questions about development possibilities. Although I asked the respondents to fill in the questionnaires individually, I have to take into account that they

might have influenced each other. These kind of biases are usually unavoidable, however I have to mention them.

Next to the questionnaires I carried out several interviews with members of the board of DAYA to gather qualitative information about the organisation's structure and their goals and visions for the future.

3.6 *Analysing data*

After the collection of information, these data had to be analysed. For the processing of the quantitative data I used the computer programs Microsoft Excel and SPSS. In this way I could classify data of the respondents according to sex, age, education, migrant families and location. Thereafter I could test the relations between the location of respondents and the current problems and the kinds of development identified as necessary. I wanted to know if there are any differences between, for instance, the kind of problems the two separate groups face and how they might think differently about development. Is there a difference between rural and urban dwellers in their way of thinking about the possible contribution of migrant organisations to development in their region?

The qualitative and quantitative data I acquired during the field work were both important so I analysed these two kinds of data. During the DAYA meetings I obtained much information which I could use to outline an in depth overall picture of the organisation DAYA. With the help of summaries and analysis of the qualitative data I tried to find out more about transnational links of migrants and their region of origin (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2008).

The results of the qualitative and quantitative research in Ghana and of the DAYA association had to be compared, for a range of themes, namely among others, their thoughts about the Dagbon region and possible development. This helped to identify advices to DAYA, which they can use to develop sustainable community development in the region of Tamale.

3.7 *Reflections*

The fieldwork period was characterised by opportunities and challenges. During the first two DAYA meetings in January and February 2010 I went together with Abu from ICLI so he could introduce me as 'their' researcher. DAYA was looking for an extern unbiased person for this research to find out possibilities for community development in their region of origin. However there is kind of a mismatch between ICLI and DAYA. ICLI, an organisation arranging research opportunities in Ghana, knew I could not supply just a simple solution for

sustainable development in Dagbon. On the other side I think DAYA has been hoping for a concrete plan.

Although all DAYA-members are very benevolent, I think it is normal you always feel a little bit like an outsider, especially when they are talking Dagbani. Several times I had to remind them I do not understand Dagbani, and that was a limitation to my research, because the things they said at that time could have been of value for my research. Striking remarks can make clear what people think about certain subjects. Also the culture difference is a limitation, for instance when I was present in time, we mostly had to wait for around an hour before there were more members.

Already during the meetings I recognized that a great share of the DAYA members does not feel committed to the organisation and the role DAYA could play in helping other migrants or contributing to development. This became clear because members did not visit meetings or did not pay any contribution. This unmotivated posture influenced my research, because it was more difficult for me to get useful information from them and in the end construct a sufficient research which could be of help for the organisation DAYA.

Before the start of the research period in the Tamale Metropolitan District I expected that it might become quite hard to persuade people to take part in the interviews of two outsiders. In Mumuni's (2007) research I read about gaining trust before respondents will answer your questions (Mumuni, 2007). However this willingness to answer our questions turned out better than I expected. I can think of two reasons for this fact. First, the Ghanaian people are known as very hospitable and helpful and that is what we encountered. Second, our translator Adam was familiar within the rural community Kpakpayili which made gaining trust easier after he introduced Tessa and me to the people.

Next to the benefits of a translator, there are also disadvantages the use of an interpreter brings along. The biggest problem is that I as researcher did not get the direct answers of the respondents. The answers were translated by the interpreter, which might mean a small change of the intonation of the answer. However, in the end I think our translator did a good job and because of him we could approach respondents we otherwise could not have spoken to. We as researchers were the ones who decided who we wanted to interview in order that our translator could not influence our research by choosing respondents.

Regarding the approaching of people we encountered some problems. In the rural community it was easier to approach women because they often were the people working in small shops, seamstress shops or selling food within the community. At the same time men were often working on their farms outside the community and so they were not present in the village. The same problem we experienced with children who were at school. To overcome this problem we tried to do the interviews on different days and times, so that in the end the

respondents were as varied as possible. The opposite situation was the case by finding respondents in Tamale: many women were working in the busy and crowded market and did not have time for an interview, while there was a significant amount of young men without full-time jobs who had enough time to talk to us. We tried to solve this problem in the same way as in the rural community; to go for interviews on different days and times and also by approaching women in different parts of the city where they were less busy or had jobs which were easy to combine with talking to us (for example hairdressers). In this way we avoided speaking to young men only.

As mentioned earlier we tested the questions of the questionnaires before we really started to use them. This resulted in less problems during the interviews. The problems that we still mentioned were that respondents, especially older ones, did not know their age, however I solved this problem by making different age categories, like the groups 0-9, 10-19, 20-29 and so on. Another problem we encountered was that several respondents, especially the uneducated or low educated ones, did not know what was meant by the division of the spending of their income in percentages. This we explained to them telling them about parts, like a half, a quarter and so on so that they could tell us how much they spend on different activities.

4. From history until now: Ghana and the Dagbon region

4.1 Introduction

In this paragraph a closer look will be taken into the situation in Ghana, in combination with the aforementioned theoretical concepts. An overview of the history will be given because the history has played an important role for the current situation of the country. I think it is useful to have sufficient background information before we turn to the research results, especially for readers who are not familiar with the past of Ghana.

Ghana is divided into ten administrative regions, all of which to some degree have borders dating back from the earliest days of colonialism. The original Northern Region as delineated by the colonial authorities has since been split up in such a way that this region lies to the south of Upper East and Upper West regions (see map 4.1). The Northern Region has a surface area of 70,000 km² and a population of around 1.8 million. The capital of the region is Tamale. The Northern Region is further divided in different tribes, of which Dagombas are one (Mumuni, 2007; Briggs, 2008).

Before we pay more attention to the Dagbon region, it is first important to get to know more about the situation and context in Ghana in general. This is why this paragraph will start with a chronological historical overview of Ghana and the Dagbon region. Thereafter the problems and needs of the people will be explained and a distinction will be made between rural and urban situations. Attention will also be paid to the opinions of the population of the Northern region about how they think these problems could be solved and how a migrant organisation might help to this development.



Map 4.1: Regions of Ghana (Van der Geest, 2010, edited)

4.2 *History of Ghana*

The current capital of Ghana is Accra, which is situated on the Atlantic coast, a few kilometres west of the Greenwich Meridian. It has a population between one and two million people, depending on which areas you reckon among the city (Briggs, 2008). The modern state of Ghana began to take a recognisable shape only in 1873 as the British Gold Coast colony. What are now central and Northern Ghana were annexed to the colony only in 1902. (Briggs, 2008) However it is very interesting to look at the history to see how Ghana became the way it is now, because the history of Ghana still plays an important role in the current life of people in the country. For instance, parts of the country still bear the marks of the slave-trade period in the 16th, 17th and 18th century. But let us first turn to the situation in West Africa before 1500.

West Africa and Ghana before 1500

Ghana belongs to a region of savannah and forest that terminates at the Atlantic coast in West Africa. Before the Portuguese arrived in the Gold Coast in the late 15th century, there had been existed for centuries a trade relationship between several regions in North and West Africa, because Ghana is a country of great mineral and natural wealth. In AD992 Ancient Ghana was at the height of its powers, and its leadership decided to cement the hold on the trade routes out of the Southern Sahara. By that time the surface area of Ghana was roughly 300 km from north to south and 500 km from east to west. (Briggs, 2008).

The early history of Ghana shows that this part of Africa was not a stagnant backwater prior to the arrival of Europeans. The area that lies within the modern state of Ghana played a recognisable role in trade patterns of the early era. Ghana was the major supplier of kola nuts and an important source of ivory as well. And of more lasting significance, the rainforest belt of modern Ghana was in medieval times one of the region's richest sources of gold. (Briggs, 2008)

The earliest people to inhabit the region were hunter-gatherers. Certainly by 2000BC cattle and guinea fowl were being raised in domesticity and substantial villages had been established at this time. From around AD1000, it appears that an increased trend towards urbanisation was under way. (Briggs, 2008)

Oral tradition suggests that most modern Ghanaian population groups migrated to their present homeland from elsewhere in West Africa. The people of modern Ghana are generally divided into four main regional groupings, each of which shares a similar language and culture. The Mole-Dagbani groupings of the Northern region were possibly the first to establish their approximate modern territory. They migrated from the Lake Chad region in the 13th century and established in the Mamprusi Kingdom. Other northern chieftaincies are traditionally regarded to be offshoots of the Mamprusi. Likewise the Dagomba, which are

central in this research, belong to these. As a result of the cross-Sahara trade, the Northern region has enjoyed a strong Islamic influence for centuries. Other significant population groups in Ghana are the Ewe, the Akan, and the Ga-Adangbe (Tsikata & Seini, 2004). However these last ones are of less importance for this research.

The Gold Coast and slave trade

Ghana, as opposed to for example Senegal or Liberia, became the centre of European activities in West Africa because Ghana is the only West African country with a coast that lies close to gold deposits. Just as important as the presence of gold, was the physical nature of the Gold Coast. Instead of mangrove swamps and shallow lagoons, Ghana's coast is studded with large rocky outcrops which boasts a great many good natural harbours. (Briggs, 2008, p. 10)

The Portuguese were the first Europeans who arrived in Gold Coast in the 1471 and gave the country its name. In 1482 the first castle, named St George, was built by the Portuguese at the coastal town Elmina. In the 14th century they build more forts close to the mouths of rivers. These all were built to enhance their trading activities, especially in gold and slavery (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2006).

Because of the opening of plantations during the 1500s, the demand for slaves in the Americas expanded and soon overshadowed gold as the principal export of the Gold Coast. The West coast of Africa became the main source of slaves for the New World. Because of the slave trade and its 'profits' adventurers from all over Europe came to Gold Coast (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

English and French ships arrived in the 16th century and in 1598 the Dutch also came to Gold Coast to trade and built forts along the coastal areas. The Dutch were the first who seriously challenged Portugal's monopoly on the Gold Coast. In 1637 they captured Elmina castle and in 1642 another one at Axim from the Portuguese. This meant the end of Portugal's influence in this part of the world (Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2006).

Several other European traders came to the Gold Coast to trade; among others the British, Danish and Swedish traders. More forts and castles were being build along the coastlines (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2006). Conflicts arose among different European groups and competing African kingdoms was the result of rivalry for control of the slave trade (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

During the heyday of early European competition, slavery was generally accepted. However slavery and slave trading were already firmly entrenched in many African societies before their contact with Europe. Both men and women became slaves. But the traditional methods of agricultural production in Africa, slavery in Africa was quite different from that

which existed in the commercial plantation environments to where the slaves were exported (Ghanaweb, 2010).

A very important aspect of the impact of the trans-Atlantic slave trade concerns the role of African chiefs, Muslim traders and merchant princes in the trade. Traditional chiefs in the vicinity of the Gold Coast engaged in wars of expansion of the sole purposes of acquiring slaves for the export market. For instance, the rulers of the Asante kingdom are known to have supplied slaves to both Muslim traders in the North of Ghana and to Europeans on the coast. It is interesting to know that the supply of slaves from other countries and parts of the Gold Coast to the slave trade centres at the Gold Coast was entirely in African hands. Powerful traditional chiefs were known to have engaged in the slave trade (Ghanaweb, 2010).

The volume of the slave trade in West Africa grew rapidly from its beginning around 1500 to its peak in the 18th century. It has been estimated that 6.3 million slaves were shipped from West Africa to North and South America. Every year around 5000 slaves were shipped from the Gold Coast alone. A significant number of the slaves perished in the dungeons or during their transport. Along with the increase in slave trade the anti-slavery sentiment among Europeans also grew. During the 18th century more and more European countries stopped the trading in slaves. In 1807 the importation of slaves into the United States was outlawed and the British began a campaign to stop the international trade in slaves. However, these efforts were not successful until 1860 because of the continued demand for plantation labour in the Western World (Ghanaweb, 2010).

The Gold Coast and colonialism

By 1800 Britain was the major European trading power on the Gold Coast and the developments showed a clear trend towards British colonisation. After almost a century of clashes between the British, Ghana's native inhabitants (especially the Ashanti) and the Dutch, Great Britain formally declared the Gold Coast to a Crown colony on 24 July 1874 (Briggs, 2008). The British government established their headquarters at the capital Cape Coast castle. This castle has many dungeons which were used to keep slaves before being transported to other countries. There had been many wars between the citizens of Gold Coast and the British conquerors. In 1876 the capital changed from Cape Coast to Accra (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2006).

In its earliest incarnation, the Gold Coast colony was a fraction of the size of modern Ghana, with an identical coastline, but barely extending more than 50 km inland. By the 1890s, however, both France and Germany were eyeing on the interior of what is now Ghana. As a result of this, Britain extended its borders to cover more or less the whole of modern Ghana in 1902. The Gold Coast was run along the system of indirect rule (in

opposite to French and Portuguese systems). Traditional chiefs would continue to rule locally as before, but under the supervision of the colonial administration (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

After the Second World War the discriminations against educated Ghanaians increased and high positions were reserved for white men, while Ghanaians became woodworkers and carriers of water. The European and Asian companies were seriously exploiting the Africans. The Ghanaian soldiers who fought in the World War helped to expose the weakness of the British. They found out they performed better on the battlefield than the whites (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2006). However in this period also more and more people living in big cities gained the right to vote, but the Northern Region had no right vote at all for a long time (Briggs, 2008).

Ghana

On 6 March 1957, the former Gold Coast Colony became independent Ghana. It was the first African colony to be granted independence in the post-war era and its name was adopted from the most ancient of West African empires: in the words of Nkrumah 'as an inspiration for the future'. Nkrumah played an important role in Ghana's independence. Next to perceiving himself as the spokesman of Ghana, his broader goal was to liberate Africa from colonial rule. He was also the prime mover behind the formation of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963. Far reaching successes of his government were the improvement of the transport network, the construction of the Akosombo Dam and a good education system (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

On 31 December 1981, Ghana suffered its fourth coup in 15 years, as power was seized by the popular figure of Jerry Rawlings. At the end of a tumultuous period Rawlings announced in December 1990 that a new constitution would be put in place. In May 1991 Rawlings endorsed the implementation of a multi-party system. The most important parties were the PNC, NPP and NDC. Rawling's years as an elected president saw many positive developments on the economic front, as well as an increased level of political freedom (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

In December 2000 Rawlings stepped down after 18 years in power. John Kufuor succeed of Rawlings and was Ghana's president until July 2007 when John Atta Mills became president (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

Nowadays the slave, colonialist and political history are still recognizable in the development inequalities within the country. Actually the South has always been richer than the North and still is. A reason which contributed to this inequality is the preferable climate of the South in comparison to the dry Savannah North. In the South of Ghana there are also more natural resources available, for instance gold and cocoa. Another reason is that many Ghanaian slaves were recruited in the North of the country and brought to the southern slave

traders. The economic researcher Nathan Nunn (2008) researched the long-term effects of Africa's slave trade and came to the conclusion that the consequences of the historic slave trade are still visible between countries and regions in Africa. This is also one of the reasons that contributed to the fact that the South of Ghana is richer than the North (Mumuni, 2007; Tsikata & Seini, 2004). With this inequality in mind we can later better understand the research results later in this chapter.

4.3 Northern Region

As mentioned before Ghana has been divided into ten administrative regions, as showed in figure 4.1. Because this research took place in the Northern Region, a description about significant historical events and the current situation will be given.

The population of the Northern Region is about 1.8 million, which represents almost 10% of the country's population. The Northern Region occupies an area of about 70,000 square kilometres and this means it is the largest region in Ghana in terms of land area (Mumuni, 2007). If you combine these two features it shows that the region is sparsely populated. The low population density may be the result of the interplay between a harsh climate and ecology, migration and poverty (Ghanaweb, 2010).

The climate of the region is relatively dry, with a single rainy season from May to October. The humidity in the Northern Region is very low. The main vegetation is classified as vast areas of grassland, interspersed with the guinea savannah woodland, characterised by drought-resistant trees such as the baobab and shea nut. The long dry season, when traditional farming is at its lowest ebb, also encourages a greater proportion of the youth, particularly young women, to move down south in search of non-existing jobs (Mumuni, 2007).

The urban localities within the region offer greater economic opportunities and this attracts rural migrants. However they can not afford the high living costs in the city and create squatter settlements on the outskirts. This is also the case in Tamale. Tamale has remained the third largest settlement in Ghana since 1970 (Briggs, 2008).

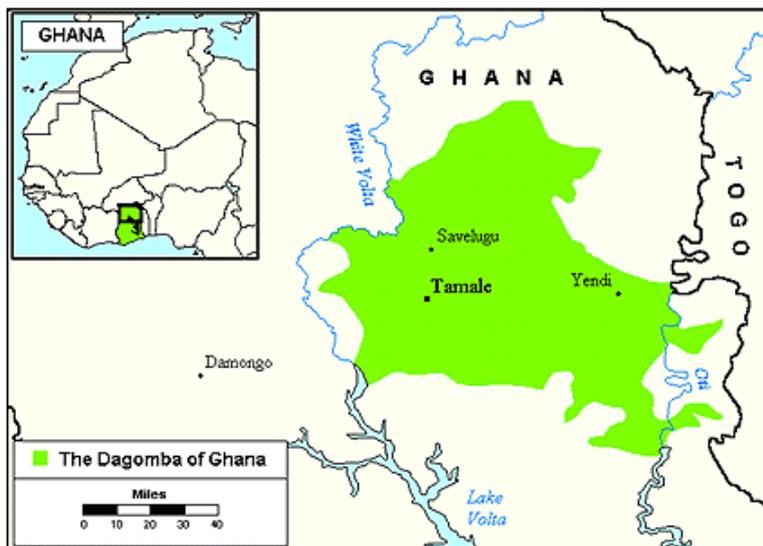
The main industrial activity in the Northern Region is agriculture, 71.2% of the working population is working in this sector. Only 5.7% of the workforce is made up of professionals or administrative staff. The residual people, 23.1% are working in sales, services, transport or production jobs. Among the economically active population, 68% is classified as self-employed, while 22.9% are unpaid family workers. Only a very small percentage, 6.1%, are employees (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2006).

In the Northern Region, chieftaincy has been an important institution from pre-colonial through colonial to postcolonial times. In the past, chiefs were there to lead their people in

war to defend, protect and extend their territory. Their modern role has changed in an attempt to combat poverty (even though poverty has always been there) and other social ills like illiteracy, ignorance and the depletion of resources. Nowadays, the chiefs are under pressure to achieve good governance in their traditional area because they are challenged to integrate tradition and modernity (Odotei & Awedoba, 2002). The Northern Region has four important chiefs: the Yaa Na based in Yendi, Yagbon Wura in Damongo, the Bimbila Naa in Bimbila and the Nayiri in Nalerigu. Each represents a major ethnic group. These major ethnic groups in the region are the Mole Dagbon (52.2%), the Gurma (21.8%). The Akan and the Guan together share a percentage of 8.7% within the Northern Region. Among the Mole Dagbon the largest subgroup is the Dagomba. The Dagomba constitute about a third of the total population of the region (Mumuni, 2007; Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development 2006).

Dagbon

A significant part of the people of the Northern Region belong to the ethnic group Dagomba. This is the ethnic group all the migrants of the migrant organisation DAYA belong to. In map



Map 4.2: The Dagbon region (www.joshuaproject.net)

4.2 you can see the Dagomba area within the Northern Region of Ghana. They call the region they are living in the Kingdom of Dagbon. It was established centuries ago and dominated an area near the Dagomba capital of Yendi. In the 1600s, the Gonja people began to attack Dagbon from the west, pushing the Dagomba across the White Volta river and forcing them to abandon their capital. By the end of the 1600s,

however, the Dagomba pushed eastwards again, establishing a new capital for their kingdom, which they also called Yendi. This city is located east of Tamale and near the border of Togo. In the early 1700s, the Dagomba rallied against the pressuring Gonja and succeeded in driving them backwards. Today, the Dagomba remain a powerful people (Joshua Project. 2010).

The Dagomba make their living primarily through farming. Much of the land in Dagbon is infertile and requires that a farm be left fallow for up to 5 years, therefore the villages are

somewhat small, leaving room for farms to be widely separated. Yams are the speciality crop and the Dagomba plant over 32 varieties. Next to yam they also cultivate maize, millet, rice, peanuts and beans. Regardless to traditional professions like farmer, trader, fisherman, smith and barber, Dagomba people in urban environments have also started, 'modern' professions like in management positions and taxi driver (Joshua Project 2010).

In rural villages in the Dagomba society, villagers arrange their houses in a particular order. Every village has its own chief and he locates his dome-shaped hut in the centre. The village is divided into wards or quarters, all facing the chief's home (Joshua Project, 2010).

It is common for the Dagomba people to have large families. This practice was to get more people to help on family farms, which relates especially to a need for sufficient labour by (young) adults. It is considered a great pride among the Dagombas to marry more than one wife. The number of children one owns is one of the indices for measuring one's wealth. In the Dagbon tradition property is communally owned. Animals such as cattle are family properties and no family head can dispose of a cow without consulting the other members of the family (Ghanaweb, 2010).

The most important traditional festival in the region is the Damba. It is a relic of Islam, which has lost its religious origin of the celebration of the birthday of Prophet Mohammed. The Damba celebration is also a mix of music, dance, excitement, horsemanship and regal pageantry (Ghanaweb, 2010).

In February 1994, during Rawlings years as elected president, there was an outbreak of ethnic violence in the Northern Region and Upper regions, which originated from a land dispute between the Konkomba and Dagomba (Briggs, 2008). The relationship between the Dagomba and the Konkomba has always been problematic. The Konkomba are not closely related to the Dagomba, but they are also living in the Dagomba area. When the Dagomba invaded this area, they probably encountered the Konkomba as the original inhabitants and pushed them eastwards. Under the colonial system, the Dagomba were given administrative control over all Konkomba in Northern Ghana. This has led to several conflicts. One of the main causes of Konkomba discontent was that they were compelled, like everyone else in the area, to work some days for free on the farms of the chiefs and also pay rent in the form of foodstuff and livestock (Mumuni, 2007; Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

Other conflicts were about the tension of land and a potential chief of the Konkombas. Certain incidents provided the trigger for violence (Tsikata & Seini, 2004). In 1994, the violence had spread to many parts of the North, leaving as many as 6000 people dead and a further 100,000 displaced as 200 villages were razed (Briggs, 2008).

Next to this conflict there is another dispute about chieftaincy present in the Dagbon area. The Dagomba migrated to the area they now occupy and established the traditional state of Dagbon and brought with them the institution of chieftaincy. Conflicts tend to revolve

around questions of succession, since the rules for succession tend to be rather flexible and allow for a number of candidates. Part of the current dispute hinges on whether or not it is a rule of tradition that succession to the throne should alternate between two rival sections of the royal family; the Andani and the Abudu. These two sections originated in the late 19th century, following the death of chief Ya Na Yakubu who was succeeded first by his son Abdulai and then by another son Andani. Since the death of Andani in 1899, there has been in some measure an alternation between descendants of the two brothers, and the extent to which this rotation constitutes another rule for determining succession remains unsettled (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

There is also disagreement over who has the right to select a successor, and over which particular act in the installation ceremony makes one the chief. One major source of conflict in modern times is the tradition that 'you do not destool a chief'. In former times, a chief who proved unacceptable was simply killed (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

Joe Bapuohyle, one of the respondents who knows a lot about the history of the Ghana, told me that in the 1950s there was a dispute about succession because one family wanted to succeed their own instead of alternating it to the other family. After many other disputes between the two families it became to a big clash in 2002. On 27th of March chief Ya Na Yakubu Andani II was murdered. His murder was connected with a dispute between the two sections of the royal family over the performance of the funeral of former chief Ya Na Mahamadu IV. He died as a former chief at a time when Ya Na Yakubu Andani II was the ruling chief (Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Mumuni, 2007). This conflict gained much attention in the whole of Ghana and led to negative consequences in the Northern Region. For instance the government does not want to help the Northern Region in terms of finance or projects as long as there are conflicts. Another consequence is the leaving of people and companies out of the region because of the conflicts and this results in, among others, less job opportunities (pers. comm. with Joe Bapuohyele, 2010). Later on in this chapter it will become clear that Northerners are still suffering from these conflicts.

Tamale Metropolitan District

The Northern Region is subdivided in 20 districts, of which Tamale Metropolitan District is the one we will focus on in this research. In this district you can find urban communities within the city of Tamale as well as you can find rural communities at the edges and suburbs of the city, which makes it a useful area for this research. The research is carried out in both rural and urban communities to make an interesting comparison of the results later on in this chapter.

The Tamale Metropolitan District is located at the centre of the Northern Region, like is shown in map 4.3. It occupies 750 square kilometres, 13% of the total region. Tamale is

the political, economic and financial capital of the region. Around 400,000 people are living in this district. Currently it is estimated that 60% of the people are engaged in agriculture in the Metropolis. The major crops cultivated include maize, rice, sorghum, millet, cowpea, groundnuts, soya bean, yam and cassava (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2006).



Map 4.3: Tamale Metropolitan District (www.ghanadistricts.com)

Almost all people in the surrounding villages of Tamale are Dagombas, and in Tamale Dagombas constitute about 80% of the total population. Especially in the urban communities the Dagomba culture is influenced by different cultures. The urban population is 67% and this makes Tamale Metropolitan District the only district in the region which is predominantly urban. Islam is the predominant religion in the district, 84% of the people is Muslim. The other 16% consists of Christians, traditional religions or no religion. Most people live in (rented) rooms as part of a compound house and 79% of the households have a water pipe either inside or outside their house. Around 78% of the over 45,000 households in this district do not have their own toilet in the houses they live in, 35% of them do not have access to any kind of toilet facility whereas 41% use public toilet facilities (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2006).

Even though Tamale is an urban district it is still vulnerable in terms of adequate potable water supply. During the dry season, most of the water bodies dry up while the already poor underground water level falls, making boreholes and wells to dry up. The capacity of the Tamale water supply system is almost 20 million litres a day while the daily demand is 55 million litres. The Ghana Water Company in cooperation with the government agency in supplying potable water has already put forward its plans to the government to expand the water system of the Tamale Metropolitan District and its surroundings. This includes the building of a new water treatment plant to increase the water supply by an additional 27 million litres per day (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2006).

The number of health facilities within the district is quite satisfactory. However, most of these, which are in the rural areas are poorly equipped. Only in Tamale there are well equipped facilities at hospitals and private clinics. The high level of illiteracy, poverty, poor sanitation and limited access to safe drinking water have combined to expose many people to health problems. Diseases like malaria, diarrhoea and anaemia have contributed greatly to most deaths in the Tamale district, especially among infants. Malaria alone accounts for

nearly 25% of all deaths within the district (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2006).

Another important issue in the Tamale Metropolitan District is education. There are around 100 kindergartens, 300 primary schools, over 100 Junior High schools and around 10 Senior High schools. There are also some vocational institutions and two colleges of education, a polytechnic and two universities. To provide relevant education civil society organisations and other stakeholders in all spheres of life, irrespective of tribe, religion, gender collaborate for children to acquire skills that develop the individual to reduce poverty and promote socio-economic growth in the district (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 2006).

The aforementioned issues are facts provided by authorities of Ghana and the Northern Region. However we will take a look now how the inhabitants of the this district see their living situation; what are the problems they and their region face? And in what way could transnational links, like with migrant organisations, could help to contribute to a solution to the problems, in their opinion? A distinction will be made between the rural and urban communities within the district.

4.4 City and countryside: the results

After asking people about their personal things like age, household statistics and the division of their income, I asked them about their relation to migration. Are they having migrants within their family and if yes where are they living? Do people receive any remittances from their migrants? However, first we will have a look at their perception of the problems that exist in the region, and how and by who they think these problems might be solved in the future.

Challenges and how to overcome them

The most mentioned problems by respondents living in the rural community Kpakpayili (mentioned by more than 5%) are shown in figure 4.4. People were asked what the main problems in the region are in their opinion. Almost 75% mentioned problems concerning healthcare, for instance the occurrence of malaria and the lack of close healthcare possibilities. Insufficient education facilities is another problem mentioned very often. People see education as a possibility for a positive change in the future, but as long as there is a lack of facilities on several education levels, this chance is also seen as little. Another problem mentioned by almost half of the people is poverty in general. Obviously poverty can take on many dimensions, however for people it is very difficult to define the exact poverty they mean, especially for the non or low educated people. This is why I choose to typify it as

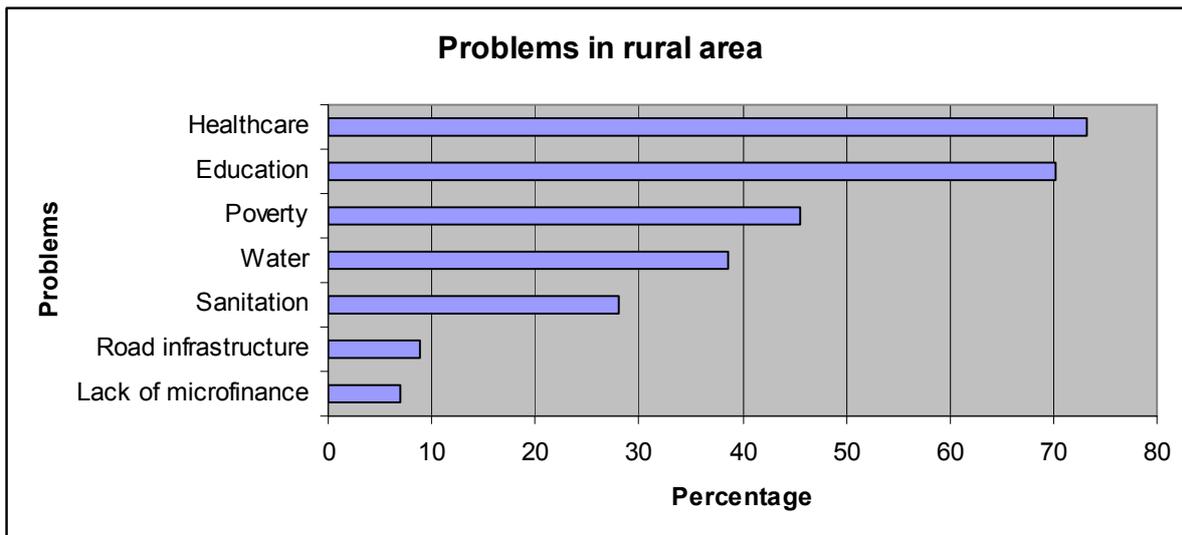


Chart 4.1: Problems in the rural area

poverty in general. Two other problems mentioned by a significant share of the respondents are bad sanitation facilities and lack of clean water. Most of the people do not have their own toilet, but make use of the public toilets of the community. Except for the rainy season, it is difficult to get enough clean water for the people in rural communities. The drinking of polluted water has consequences for the health of people. Other significant problems which were mentioned several times are the bad roads and the lack of microfinance possibilities to start an own business. Next to these problems, people also put forward different problems, but to remain it clear only the most mentioned problems are shown in chart 4.1.

People were asked what instruments or actors should help to contribute to a solution of the mentioned problems (chart 4.2a and 4.2b). In Kpakpayili the most indicated actor was (national and international) NGO's, mentioned by 23% of the respondents. Although a great share of the people do not have faith in the government, almost 20% pointed to the government and their task to provide solutions for the problems in the Northern Region. People have lost their belief in the government because they see the South of Ghana developing while the North is lacking behind. Nevertheless, they say the government is responsible to overcome this disparity. Around 8% of the respondents indicated migrant organisations as possible actors in development. Respondents also indicated several implementation instruments which can contribute to the solution of the mentioned problems. The most often mentioned instrument solution is the building of a vocational school, a school where children can learn a practical profession after their high school. People see this educational solution as one of the solutions to prevent migration out of the region. When young people can learn a practical profession like carpenter or auto mechanic, they can stay and work in their own region, instead of migrate to big cities in the South of Ghana to look for a job as street vendor, carrier of luggage or even more dangerous jobs. Next to the specific

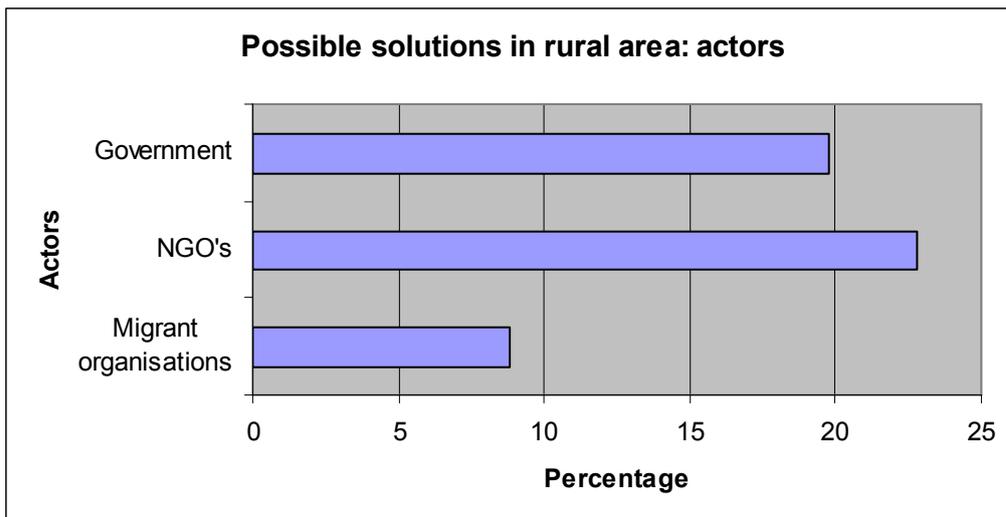


Chart 4.2a: Possible solutions in the rural area: actors

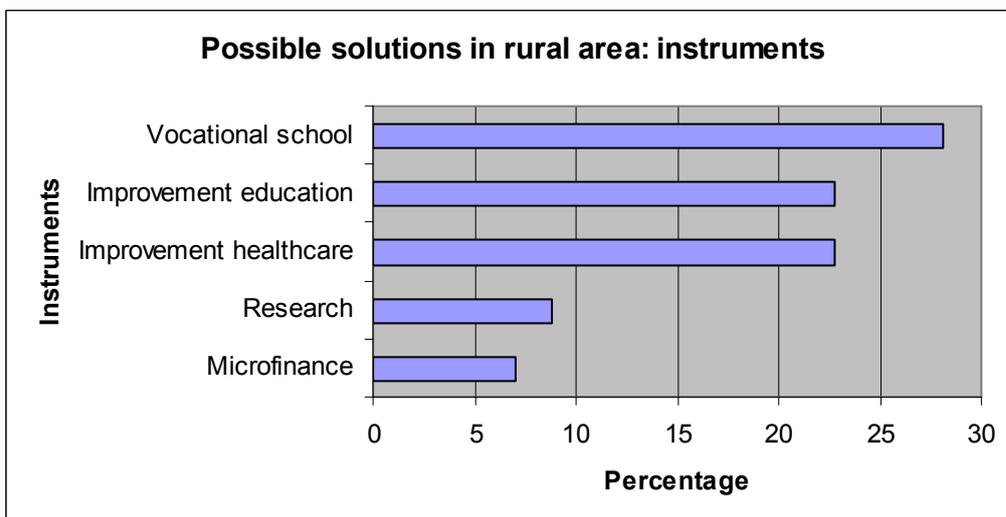


Chart 4.2b: Possible solutions in rural area: instruments

wish for a vocational school, education in general is also mentioned for the same reasons. Primary and secondary education are important for a better future of their children. Of course the respondents also answered frequently that there is need for a sufficient healthcare centre in the community so they can get healthcare when they need it. Several people say that there should come more microfinance projects as well as more research. These mentioned instruments and actors together could, in the eyes of the respondents, lead to development and less poverty in general.

Let us now turn to the results of the same questions asked in the urban area (chart 4.3). Here the mentioned problems were less unanimous than in the rural community. Almost half of the respondents mentioned poverty in general as an important problem in the whole

region. Many of them know people living on the poor countryside or even lived there themselves and so know about the problematic situation there. Besides, there are very poor people living in the city as well. Three other significant problems are the chieftaincy conflicts, the insufficient education and unemployment. The continue conflicts have a significant negative influence on the Northern Region because people and companies migrate out of the

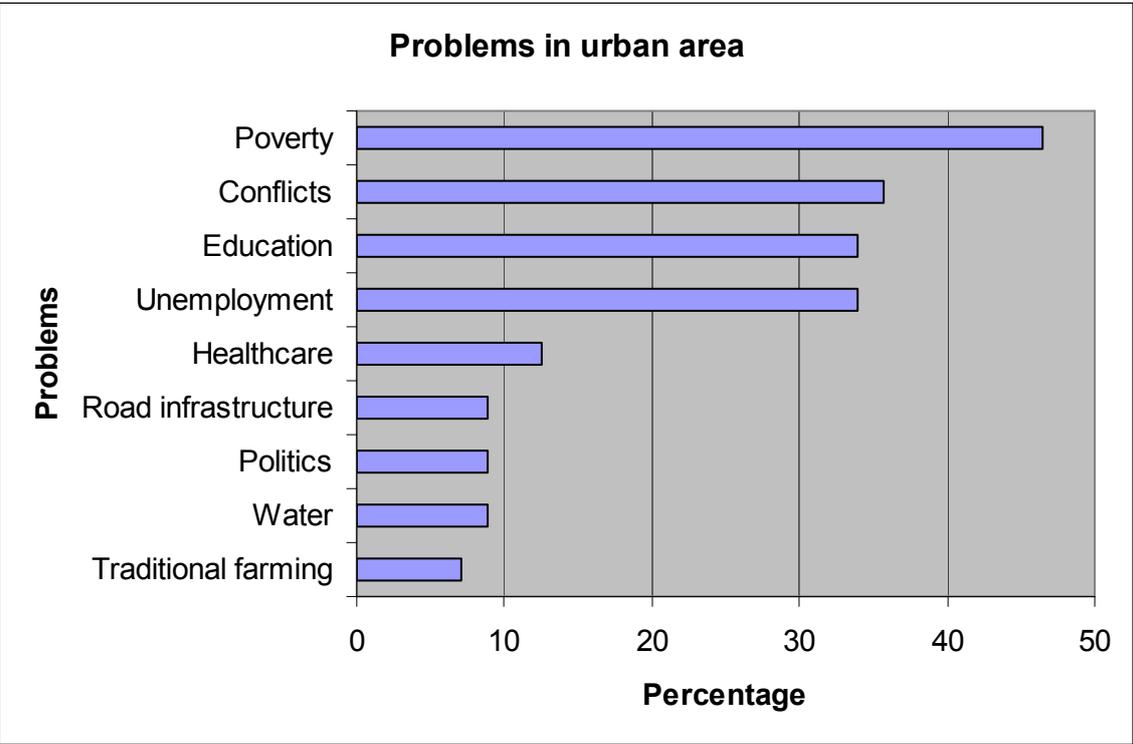


Chart 4.3: Problems in the urban area

region. Likewise the government does not want to spend money for development of the region when there are conflicts. In Tamale the quality of education is also mentioned as a problem and unemployment is connected to this, because without good education it is hard to get a sufficient job. A lot of people do not have a job through which they easily can support their family. Other problems which are mentioned by around 10% of the respondents are bad roads, insufficient healthcare facilities, political problems, the traditional farming system and scarcity of water.

Here we can see already a significant difference between the problems mentioned in the rural and urban areas. In the rural area people almost never mentioned conflicts, while respondents in Tamale town talked about it frequently, independently from each other. On the other side the problems of water and healthcare are mentioned much more in the rural area than the urban city. The reason for the difference in answers between rural and urban areas can be found in the degree of current development. Frequently more than in urban Tamale, the people in Kpakpayili complained about the basic necessities of life. In this rural

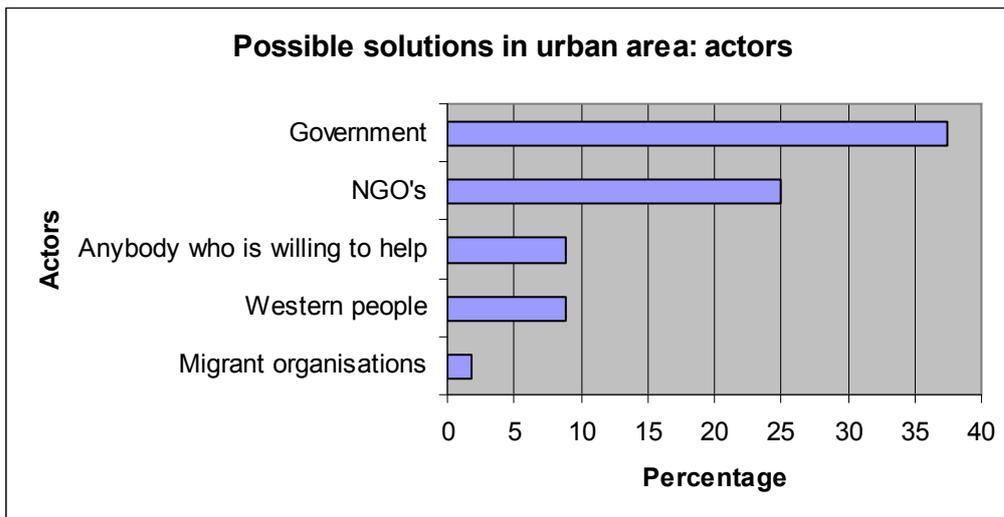


Chart 4.4a: Possible solutions in the urban area: actors

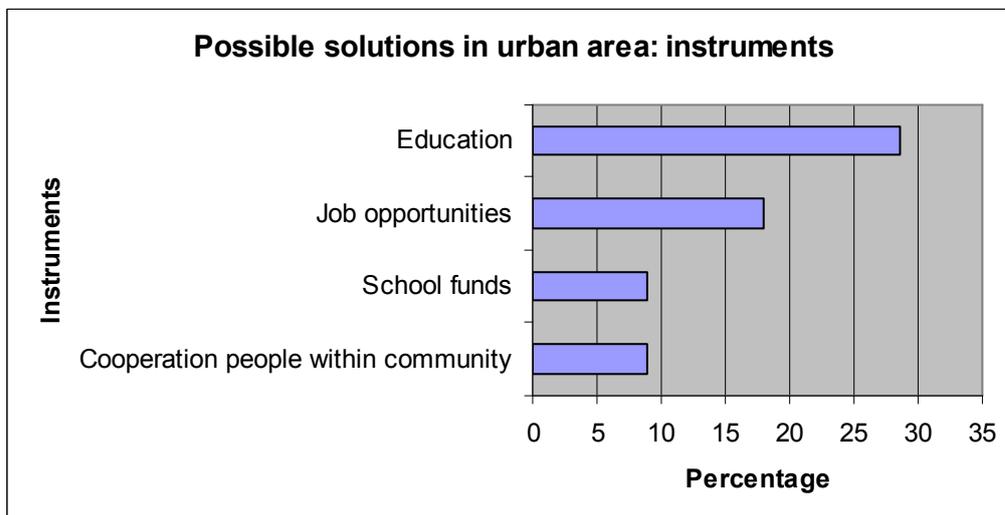


Chart 4.4b: Possible solutions in the urban area: instruments

area there is scarcity of water and insufficient sanitation and healthcare opportunities while the city Tamale is more developed concerning these things. In the rural community a big share of the people are farmers or have their own small business. Rural people who could not find a job, often migrate to the city. For people in the city it is more difficult to find a job through which they can earn an income because there are too many people for too less jobs and that is why they complain about unemployment.

Now we will take a look at how the urban respondents answered to the question who or what should help to solve the problems (chart 4.4a and 4.4b). First of all, in the perception of the urban people the government is the authority that should provide help to contribute to solutions for the problems, although also the urban respondents do not have full confidence in the government. They also want NGO's and western people to support, whether in

cooperation with the national government or not. There is even a significant group of people who says that anyone who wants to help is welcome.

Important possible instruments solutions could be the improvement of the education quality and the offering of job opportunities. Urban respondents also see a chance in the cooperation between people in a community as well as the offering of school funds so that also poor children can attend education. People really see education and jobs as a good solution for a great share of the problems. When people earn (more) money they can improve their living situation, poverty can be reduced and development can be achieved.

Microfinance involvement

Following these questions the respondents were asked if they have ever heard about micro financing. An interview with the local credit coordinator Abdelai Majid of microfinance foundation Grameen made me seriously thinking about the possible contribution of microfinance programs for development. Micro loans might be a good opportunity for people who want to start a business. They can get a loan from a microfinance institution which they can pay back after a time when their business is profitable. Next to financial support the clients can get knowledge lessons about how to start and maintain a business. Grameen Foundation is a worldwide operating non-governmental organisation for providing micro loans. Majid explains that Grameen in Ghana is working on three thematic areas: providing of microloans, security of food through cooperation with farmers and education. They are working together with NGO’s like Cordaid and Action Aid Ghana. Basically everyone can apply for a micro loan, however Grameen Ghana is focusing on rural areas and poor people. One of the reasons for this is to prevent migration of rural residents to the city, because when they earn enough for a living at the country side there is less reason for them to migrate (Abdelai Majid, pers. comm., 2010).

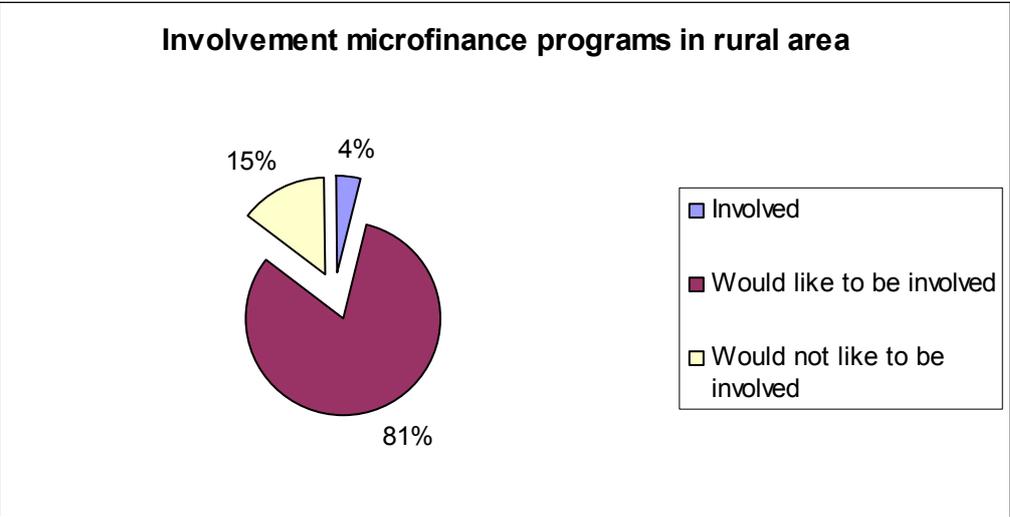


Chart 4.5: Involvement microfinance programs in rural area

Chart 4.5 shows the answers of the respondents in the rural area who ever heard about microfinance programs; 85% of the respondents know about it. Only 4% of these people is at the moment of asking involved in such a program. The people who were not involved were asked if they would like to be involved in a microfinance program when this was possible for them, 81% of them answered positively. The 15% of the people who do not want to be involved were often working in labour professions and so they have no need for it.

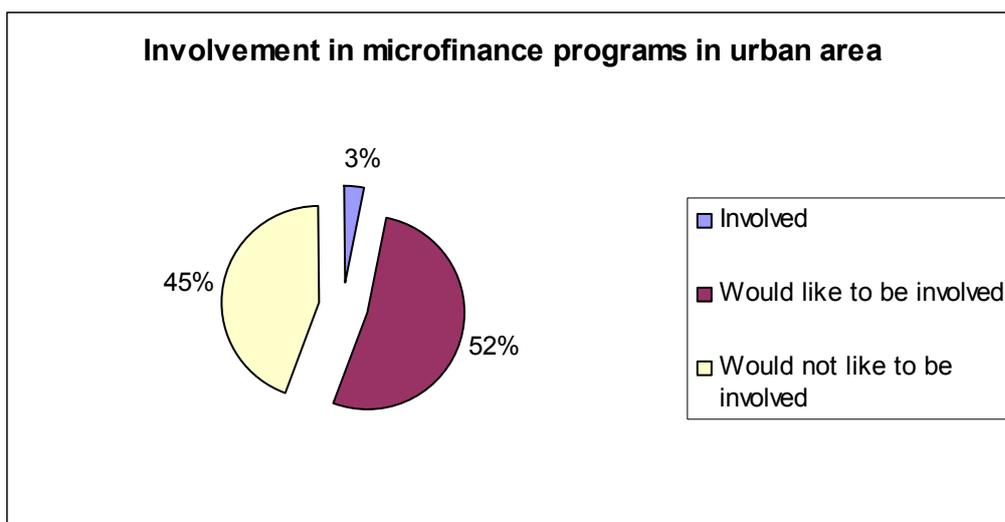


Chart 4.6: Involvement microfinance programs in urban area

The same questions were asked people in the urban town Tamale, however the results were somehow different. Less people had ever heard of microfinance programs, only a few more than half of the people knew about it; 52%. This relatively low percentage might be a result of the focus of microfinance organisations on rural areas in Ghana. Of the people who ever heard about microfinance (chart 4.6), only 3% was involved in such a program at the moment of asking. A few people answered that they used to be involved in the past. Of the people who were not involved, 52% would like to get a loan to start a business. The reasons why 45% of the people who ever heard about microfinance did not want or need to get a loan are because they do not have or want to start an own business. Usually they were employees.

The results show a significant interest in micro financing. Some of the problems mentioned earlier might be solved by microfinance. For instance it can lead to a decrease in unemployment because people can start their own business to earn an income, which also means that it might lead to less poverty.

The possible contribution of migrants

Contributing to, or starting a small microfinance program might be one possible option for a migrant organisation. A microfinance organisation like Grameen, where they also provide

people with information how to start and run a sustainable business, would be an even better idea, because this kind of microfinance can be seen as a way of help consisting of a combination between financial and knowledge transfer.

The respondents in Ghana also had to answer a question about how they think migrant organisations can contribute to (community) development in northern Ghana, they could choose between financial transfer, knowledge transfer and the sending of goods, or a combination of these. Although we did not ask for an explanation for their choice, almost all of them clarified their answer. The results are shown in charts 4.7 and 4.8. It is clear that financial and knowledge transfer are both popular in rural and urban areas and the sending of goods is rarely mentioned. A significant share of the people mentioned that the sending of money is not enough, they also ask for knowledge and education possibilities.

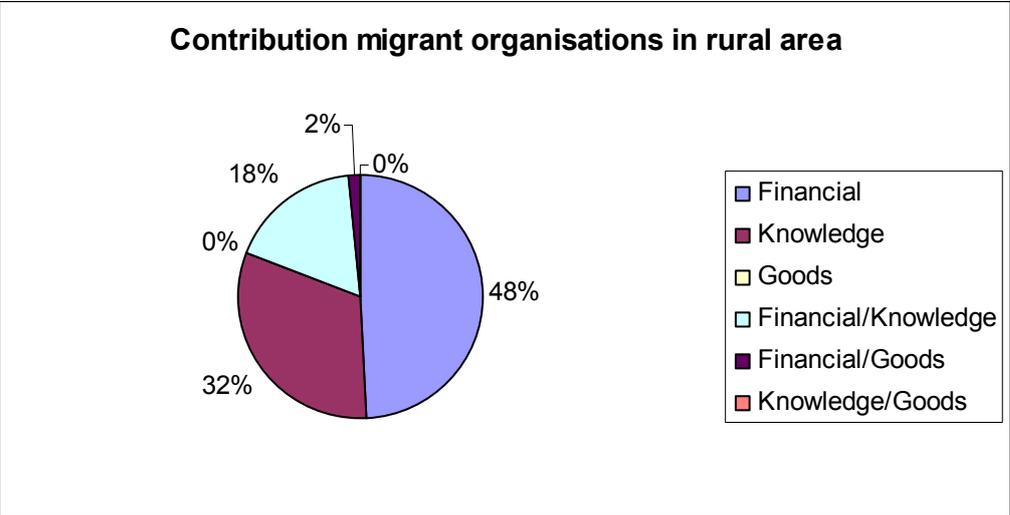


Chart 4.7: Contribution migrant organisations in rural area

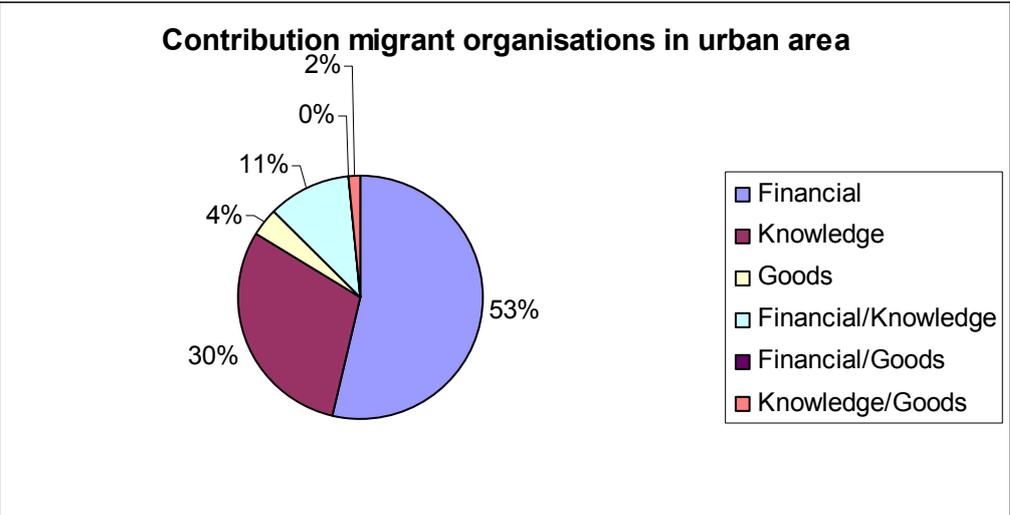


Chart 4.8: Contribution migrant organisations urban area

I was also interested in how many respondents in fact are having migrants within their own family and how the transnational linkages between them and the migrants are. When people answered positively to the question concerning having any migrants within their family, I wanted to know if they were residing inside Ghana (internal) or outside Ghana (international), if they are having regularly contact and if they receive any financial remittances from them. And if they receive (private) remittances, how do they spend them; invest them in community projects or just use them for basics like the literature suggests?

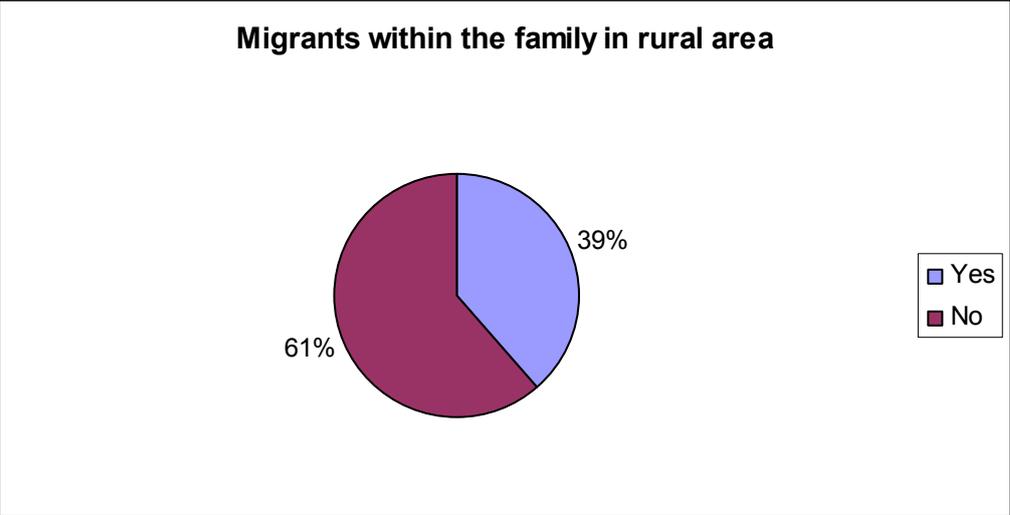


Chart 4.9: Migrants within the family in rural area

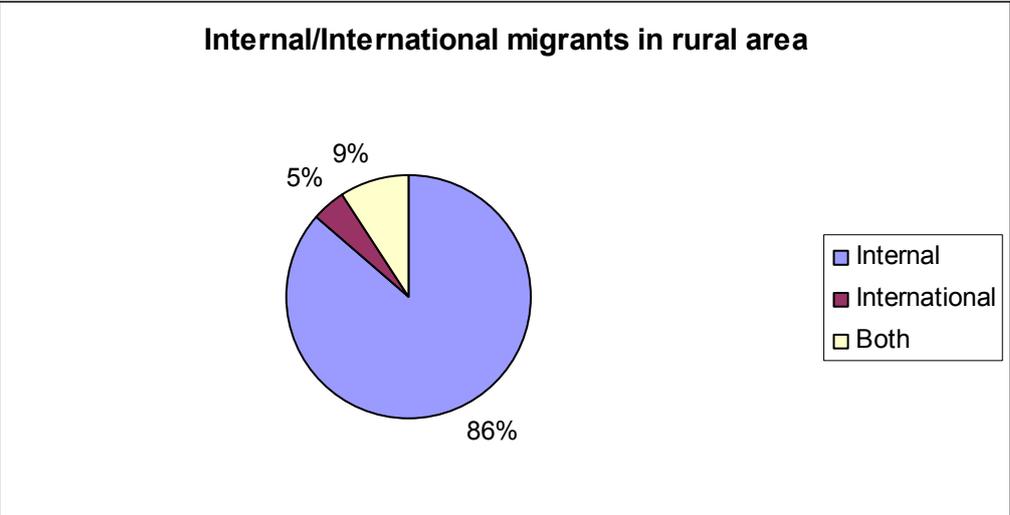


Chart 4.10: Internal/International migrants in rural area

In the rural community Kpakpayili 39% of the respondents are having migrants within their family, while in the urban Tamale 62% of the people are having migrants (chart 4.9 and 4.10). In Tamale some of the respondents were even (internal) migrants themselves. In the rural community 86% of the mentioned migrants were internal migrants, this means still living

within Ghana, often in the capital Accra. Only 5% of the respondents are only having migrants who are living outside of Ghana and 9% are having both internal and international migrants (figure 4.10). Respondents in Tamale show a different profile; 62% is having migrants within their family (figure 4.11). Of the respondents 69% are having relationships with internal migrants, however the percentage of international migrants is higher than in the rural community: 29%. Also 3% of the people have ties to both internal and international migrants of their family (chart 4.12).

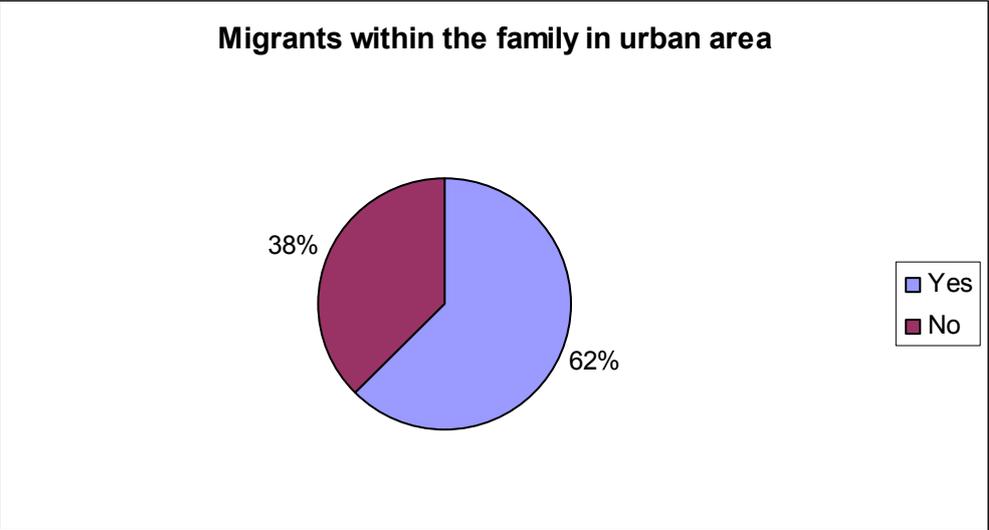


Chart 4.11: Migrants within the family in urban area

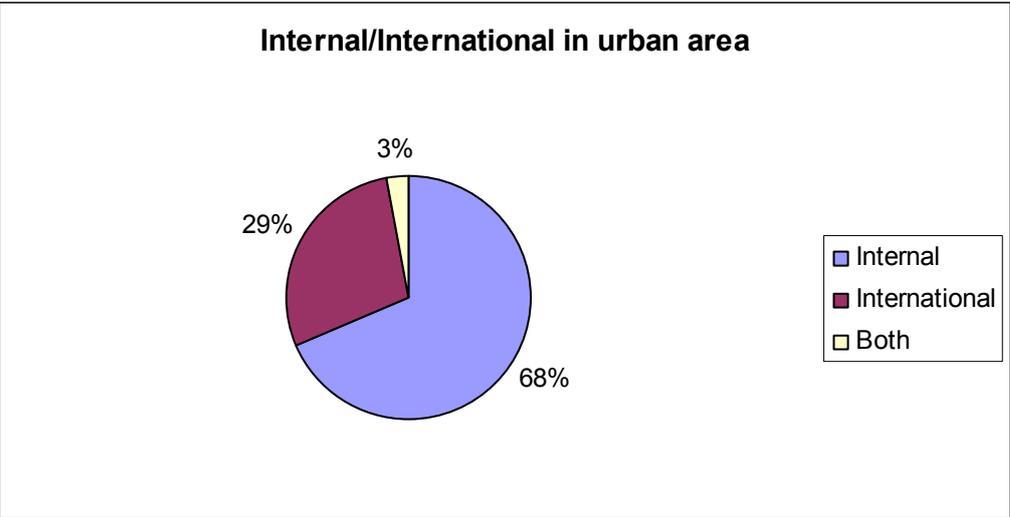


Chart 4.12: Internal/International migrants in urban area

To get to know more about the transnational links between Dagombas and their migrants (internal and external) respondents were asked about their mutual contact and financial remittances they were receiving. The respondents were asked how regularly they had contact with migrants (figure 4.13 and 4.14). We did not make any distinction in intensity or

the person who started the contact. The reason for this is that for the respondents it is hard to remember and define the length and origin of the call or other communication. Besides this it is not really necessary for this research, because the fact if there is any contact already points to a transnational link.

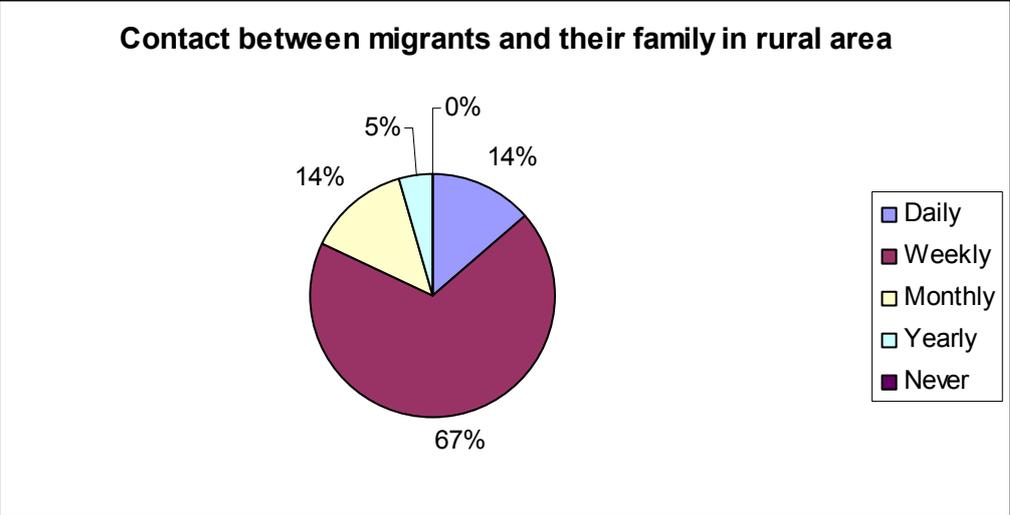


Chart 4.13: Contact between migrants and their family in rural area

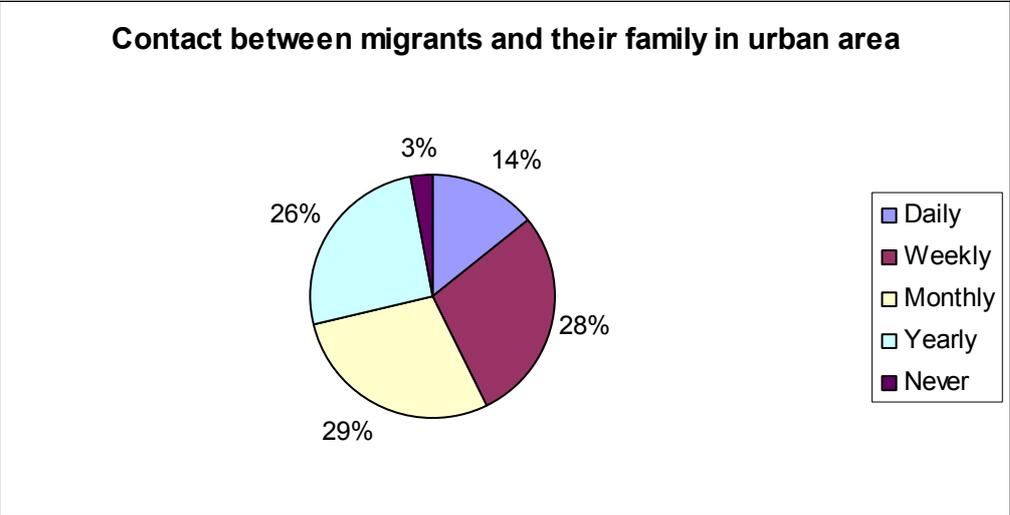


Chart 4.14: Contact between migrants and their family in urban area

In the rural area 67% of the respondents said that they communicate at least once a week with their migrants. Almost 14% even talks daily to their relatives, while the same percentage defines their contact as monthly. Only a small percentage, 5%, indicates their contact as yearly. All rural respondents said that they are having contact with their migrants. This is in small contrast with the urban people, where 3% never has contact with their migrants. The percentages of monthly, weekly and yearly are all between 26% and 29% (respectively 29%,

28% and 26%). The share of the people who communicate daily with their migrants is the same as in the rural area: 14%.

Spending of the migrant money

In general I can say that a great share of migrants and their families stay in regular contact with each other. This is one of the possible transnational links that can exist between home and host country. Another one is the sending of remittances which establishes a link between sending and receiving country. In the rural community 59% of the respondents is receiving financial remittances from their migrants (chart 4.15). In the urban area the percentage is somehow lower, only 46% of the migrants send remittances to their family (chart 4.16). A reason for this difference might be that the welfare within Tamale seems to be somehow higher than in the rural area, so migrants might see it less necessary to send money.

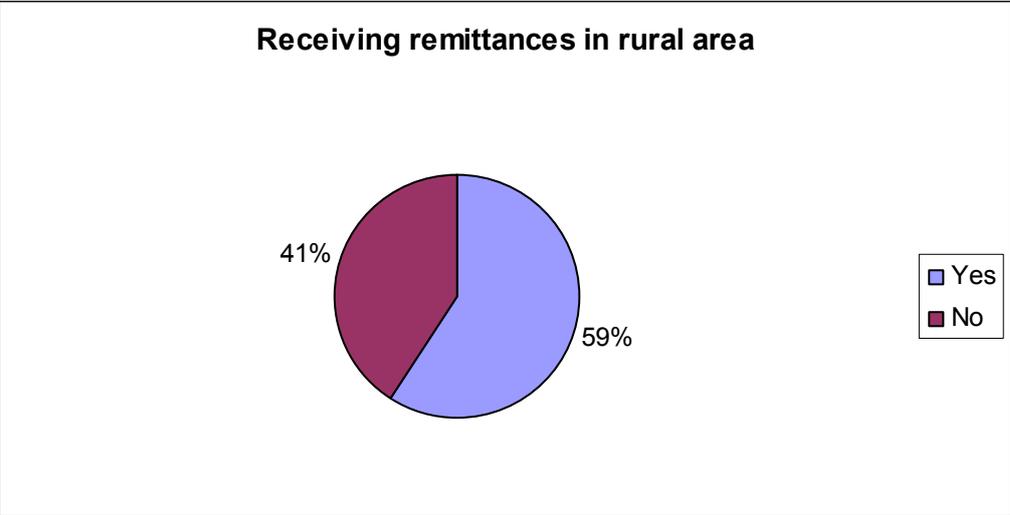


Chart 4.15: Receiving remittances in rural area

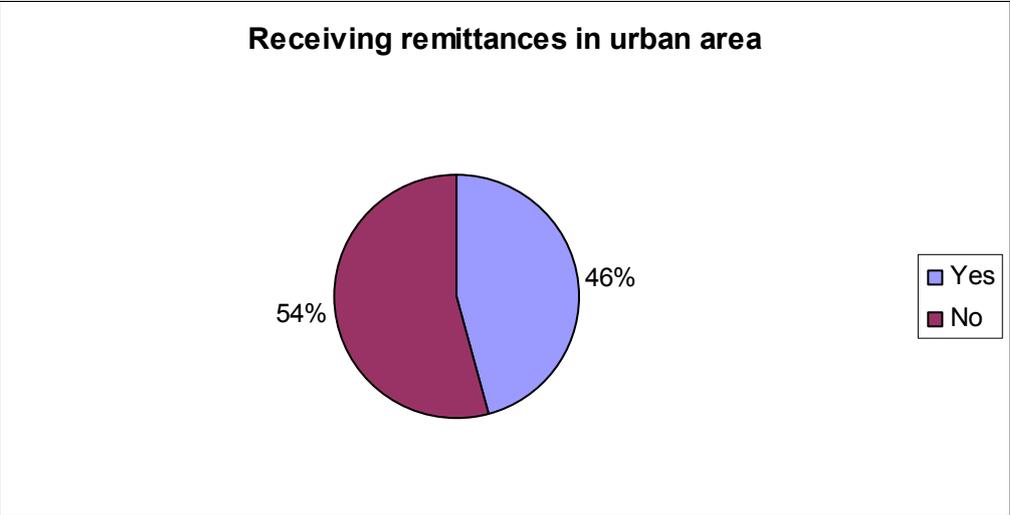


Chart 4.16: Receiving remittances in urban area

The respondents who receive remittances were also asked what they usually use this money for. In the rural community (chart 4.17) 69% of the respondents spend the remittances they get for basic things like food and clothing. Of the respondents, 19% spend their received money on education purposes. A small share of the remittances is spent on business

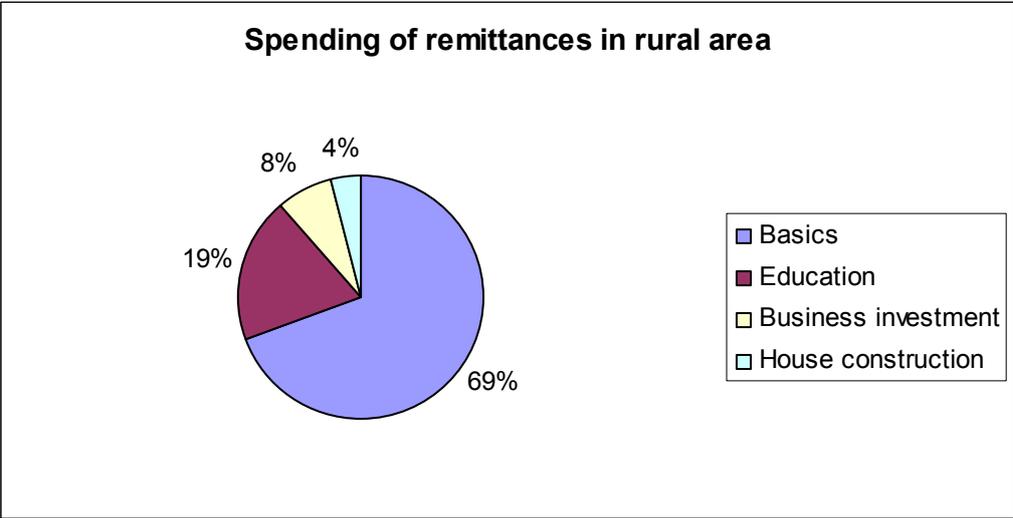


Chart 4.17: Spending of remittances in rural area

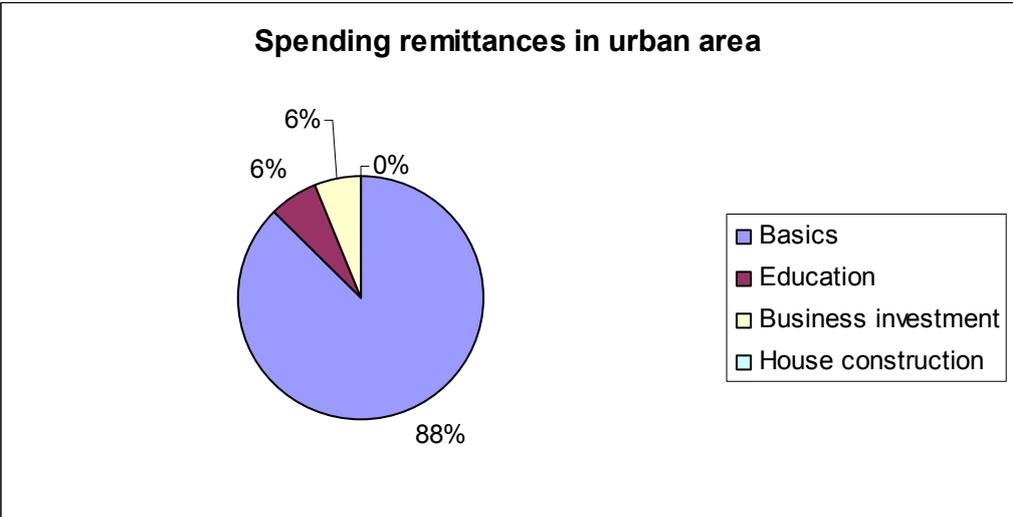


Chart 4.18: Spending of remittances in urban area

investments (8%) and house construction (4%). Chart 4.18 shows the spending pattern of remittances for the urban area. Far out the greatest share, 88%, is spent on basic things like food and housing. The last part is equally divided into education on the one hand (6%) and basics and investments (6%) on the other hand.

These results confirm what is written in the literature; people use remittances for their private development and do almost never share it with others in investment or community projects.

Summary

Several problems that occur in the region are mutually linked and so there might be need for a holistic approach to solve these problems. However this is not the task a (starting) migrant organisation can and should fulfil. This is a job the government has to take care of. But of course a migrant organisation can contribute small to the improvement of some of the problems that occur in the region, which can be beneficial for, for instance, the people living in some communities.

In this chapter we focused on how the Northern Region of Ghana evolved during history. The history of colonialism and slave trade have shaped the region to what it is now. It has become clear that the Northern part of Ghana is economically much poorer and less developed than the South which has its effect on the problems the people face. This history of Ghana and the Northern Region has been of significant importance for this research. The most important results are again summarized below as an ending of this chapter.

The most mentioned problems in the rural community Kpakpayili are lack of sufficient education, lack of good healthcare facilities, poverty in general and lack of water. The problems mentioned in the urban city of Tamale are significantly different; people complain about the continue chieftaincy conflicts, unemployment, lack of good education facilities and poverty in general.

We also looked to the possible solutions the respondents brought forward, a great share thinks the government and NGO's should provide solutions and especially job opportunities, education and healthcare facilities. Microfinance programs might also be a solution because, mainly rural people, would like to involve such programs to set up their own business.

After these questions, the issue of transnationalism and migrants were brought into discussion. Most respondents think that migrant organisations can help their home region by the transfer of money or knowledge or a combination of these two. Almost 40% of the rural respondents and around 60% of the urban respondents do have migrants within their family, be it internal or international. A great share of them has weekly or monthly contact with them, and there are also people who speak their migrants daily. They were also involved in transnational linkages in the case of financial remittances flows. Almost half of the urban respondents and a little bit more than half of the rural respondents received remittances regularly. The spending of these remittances was generally on private things like basics and education and confirm what is written in the literature; people usually use remittances for their private development.

These results can lead to some possible projects which might slightly contribute to a tackle of one or more problems in a certain local community. Before we turn to more

concrete plans, let us first take a closer look to the migrant organisation DAYA to gain insight in their policy and way of operation. Is DAYA capable to start a project in Ghana?

5. The developmental role of DAYA as a migrant organisation

5.1 Introduction

A migrant organisation is a type of engagement because it allows migrants originating from the same region to maintain ties with this region. Likewise such an organisation creates a new sense of community among migrants with the same background who are new in the destination country. Orozco and Rouse (2007) state that 'the time that members spend on migrant organisations is often limited because it is voluntary work and the working-class migrants are busy with their paid job. Also, the money of migrant organisations often fails to create sustainable development in a community'.

Nevertheless, Orozco and Rouse (2007) conclude in their article '*Migrant hometown associations and opportunities for development: a global perspective*' that migrant organisations are undoubtedly improving living situations in the communities they care for, their influence is limited by funding and organisational restraints. Organisation restraints can be caused by inexperienced leaders or ineffective communication between home and host country. Furthermore they state that migrant organisations are more effective when they are more organisationally mature and so the developmental potential of the organisations grows over time. This is a hopeful statement for DAYA because they are also a young organisation. In addition, migrant organisations are more successful when they work together with other organisations, foundations or governments.

Knowing this, let us turn to the situation of Ghanaian migrants in The Netherlands and the organisation DAYA. It is hard to give a realistic estimation of the number of Ghanaians living in The Netherlands. Official statistics indicate a number that is way too low, because these statistics only count the legal Ghanaians while there are many undocumented migrants as well. However scholars that have a clear insight into the Ghanaian population in The Netherlands estimate that there are living between 30,000 and 50,000 Ghanaians in Holland (Mazzucato, 2006; Stichting Sankofa (n.d.); pers. comm. Smith, 2011). Only a small share of these are Dagomba migrants, of which a part is involved in DAYA.

The abbreviation DAYA stands for Dagomba Youth Association, an organisation existing of migrants originating from the Dagbon region and now living in The Netherlands. Chairman Natogmah Issahaku started the organisation in October 2008 and now there are 40 to 50 members and new members are still arriving over time. Every first Sunday of the month there is a meeting for the members in an apartment of one of the members in the Bijlmer district in Amsterdam. Next to a chairman, the organisation has a secretary, treasurer

and an organizer for member matters. To gain a good overview of the organisation I have attended these meetings six times during the research process.

The concept DAYA has existed in Ghana for quite a long time. It has been started in the 1960s and 1970s at the university of Ghana, in Accra. In several Ghanaian cities and Western countries there were organisations of Dagomba migrants who wanted to stay in contact with people from their own culture and try to contribute to development in their region of origin. DAYA was a very well known name and the organisations were successful in the past. However all these associations collapsed after the murder of the chief in 2002, because members supported different sides of the concurring families and this led to quarrels within these organisations. 'When people in Northern Ghana hear about DAYA, they know it is about DAYA Holland', states Natogmah Issahaku (pers. comm. Natogmah Issahaku, 2010). I doubt if the transnational links between The Netherlands and Ghana are already that strong and extended.

Yet the organisation in The Netherlands decided to adopt the name DAYA because they wanted to set an example for the other collapsed organisations to start again and dedicate for the same purposes of helping each other and their people at home. Despite of transnational contacts with Dagombas all over the world, the chairman of DAYA Holland claims that there are no other DAYA organisations that have restarted again elsewhere (pers. comm. Natogmah Issahaku, 2010).

In this chapter we will first take a closer look into the policy and objectives of DAYA The Netherlands. Thereafter we will look at the history of the organisation leading up until the current situation of the association. We will also pay attention to the visions on development of the organisation in relation to the situation in Northern Ghana and what the perceptions are of the members of DAYA. In the end we will try to provide some preliminary advice for the future of the organisation, to which we will return in the next conclusion chapter.

5.2 Policy and objectives

DAYA has two main objectives. The first and most important one (according to the members) is to cater for the well being of Dagombas living in The Netherlands. When they are together they can maintain their culture and help each other with work, immigration problems, adaptation to the Dutch way of living and so on. This togetherness creates unity among each other. The second objective is to support development projects back home in Dagbon as well as promote the exchange of cultural ideas between the people of Dagbon and the people of The Netherlands (DAYA, 2010).

When we take a look at DAYA's transnational perspective, we can say that the organisation DAYA Holland is operating transnational to some extent. They stay in contact

with people in their region of origin. For instance, during the last Damba festival they invited an important chief and some musicians from the Tamale Metropolitan District. DAYA maintains links with this chief because he knows much about development in the Dagbon region and might be of importance for the coordination of prospective development projects. Obviously, members are maintaining transnational ties with family members back home and migrants in other countries in the world. These ties might be further connected to DAYA and can be of later value for the organisation. This is also the way in which they are operating at the moment; making use of the transnational links of their migrants in order to gain more information about possible projects in the future. This can be projects concerning development in the region of origin, but it is also possible that families of DAYA members arrange the sending of Dagomba clothes for festivities in The Netherlands. The organisation DAYA makes principally use of the individual transnational network of their members. However, it would be in the interest of DAYA Holland when more DAYA associations would re-emerge around the world to get one extended transnational DAYA network. This can lead to cooperation and more advanced projects in their region of origin. Apparently this is beyond the ability of DAYA Holland, however when it happens it will broaden the transnational perspective.

According to the chairman of DAYA, Issahaku, the organisation is primarily meant for Dagombas because of the specific situation and problems in their region of origin. However, whoever identifies with the region Dagbon or Dagombas is welcome to become a member, but this has not happened yet. Currently there are 40 to 50 DAYA-members who are living throughout The Netherlands. Although many of them join the special festivals and celebrations organised during the year, not even half of this number joins the monthly meetings regularly. Usually, at the end of every meeting a financial contribution was collected. When the organisation started contribution was being paid quite regularly, however gradually people refused to pay. This signifies the declining commitment of the members. The rule is that everybody who earns an income (job or social subsidies) pays at least 10 Euros of contribution each month. The treasurer of DAYA should ask and stimulate members to pay contribution, because if no money is paid, the organisation has no income to organise festivals or to develop community development projects.

In this research the focus is primarily on the possibility for community development, which means it is necessary to ask the organisation how they see the concepts of community and development. Chairman Natogmah explains that a community can be defined in different ways, for instance you can see the city of Tamale as one community, however a neighbourhood within Tamale can also be called a community. DAYA does not want to focus on a certain geographical scale, the simple definition they use is: a traditionally defined area in a geographical location where people have a common interest in development. By

development they do not only mean financial development but also, for instance, the creation of jobs or the increase of knowledge.

In a broad and general sense they see Dagbon as their community. They see themselves as a larger part of this Dagbon region, which means they see themselves located in a transnational Dagomba network. The elders and chiefs are at home in Ghana and the 'youth' (age does not matter) is here. DAYA Holland has started to maintain a transnational community. The idea that lies behind staying together is commitment to the idea of being together as a group with a shared ethnicity and a common purpose. In the 1980s and 1990s almost all bigger towns in Ghana, like Accra and Kumasi, were having a DAYA association. These all were focused on development in the region Dagbon and this was quite effective, according to Issahaku. However they all fell apart after the murder of the chief in 2002, because the followers of the two different families became rivals of each other and were not longer able to cooperate together for development in their home region.

5.3 History of DAYA

Although DAYA Holland exists since October 2008, I have been 'involved' since the beginning of 2010. Two things immediately drew the attention. First of all most of the member who join the meeting are men. Even though there are also female Dagomba members, they often have to take care of their children during the time of the meeting on Sunday. The second striking thing is that the starting time is set at 3 pm, however most of the members enter the room much later. Chairman Issahaku says that they all should be more punctual to become more effective.

In the meetings of January and February everybody got a paper with the program for that meeting, however in end of the year no programs were handed out anymore. In the beginning of the year 2010 a website was started (www.daya-holland.org), however not much information can be found on it until now. The website is one of the attempts to promote DAYA, to get more members and in the end to get more money. They think it is important to be active on different fields in order to broaden the transnational network and achieve development.

Since my involvement in the organisation, the paying of contribution has been a problem. This means that DAYA has no sustainable income from contribution. It is a big problem within the organisation, members are not willing to pay anymore, also because when they pay, there are still many other members who do not join the meeting and do not pay contribution. There is no penalty for members who do not pay, so present members do not see the necessity to pay. The members agree that when a festival in The Netherlands is

organised, it should not be paid of the little contribution money, but that they should collect money for it separately.

If members do not pay, DAYA does not earn an income. Alternatives are to apply for subsidies from (non-)governmental organisations. Issahaku is trying to apply for it, however he says that: 'applying for subsidies is not the task of a chairman'. The problem is that none of the members wants to put effort in it to make good plans, and that is a pity because it can bring in a lot of money to organise festivals and projects. To receive subsidies it was necessary to open a bank account, so DAYA opened one only in the beginning of 2010.

During the meeting in January 2010 they discussed about a possible project for the migrants in The Netherlands, for instance computer lessons because this might fasten the process to find a job. Likewise there is a project, named Gudia, where migrants can take part in to become a truck driver. They will get the right education and in the end they can have a job. They also told that they wrote a letter to the (head) chief of Tamale. This chief studied development studies, and is involved in a lot of development projects in the region. This is the reason why DAYA approached him so he might help them in the future

5.4 *Current situation*

In this section we take a look at the current situation of the organisation DAYA. In general it can be said that the organisational structure of the organisation is lacking behind.

It is interesting to observe the meetings of DAYA because chairman Issahaku is a very keen man who puts in a lot of time and effort to keep the organisation running. Next to the chairmanship, other people have to fulfil the jobs of secretary and treasurer however Issahaku tells they are very inactive. He tries also to do some secretary and treasurer tasks, however it is better for an organisation when these tasks are separated. He really wants to help the organisation and is complaining about how much effort it costs him. All of the present members agree with him when he tells this, however nobody offers to do these tasks. It seems like all the members like to join the organisation, however they do not want to put any effort in it or pay anything. The reason they mention for this are time constraints and lack of knowledge.

Apparently there are quite a lot of problems within the organisation, for example concerning the payment of contribution, the carrying out of plans and the inactive executive committee. In the meeting of October the members agreed that what they decide in meetings is rarely executed. During the meetings they discuss interesting and promising plans, however when it comes to the execution they decide to talk about that later and so it almost never becomes reality. The members themselves agreed that they first have to arrange one thing before they start discussing about another subject.

Issahaku summarizes these problems as ineffective people and lack of commitment to DAYA. The lack of commitment is clearly shown in the fact that he has to call the members one day before the meeting takes place otherwise they forget or do not come at all. A share of them always tries to find an excuse not to come. Obviously there is need for a totally new approach to get DAYA back to life. Issahaku agrees and thinks the first thing that has to change is the secretary. In his opinion it may also be somebody from outside the organisation, a volunteer. There is desperately need for a person who stimulates members, informs members about meetings and applies for funds.

How are the members currently thinking about community development? In the beginning they had promising dreams to support development in their region of origin. However no project has been started yet, and this again is a consequence of the two main problems; lack of commitment and ineffective people. The lack of commitment leads to the fact that people are not willing to pay and ineffective people are not able to start and maintain a project.

Natogmah Issahaku told me about a former DAYA organisation started in 1997 where always many members came to the meetings. The question is: what has changed since that time? One of the problems is the aforementioned conflicts in Dagbon which also have their influence on Ghanaians abroad. Many organisations like DAYA fell apart because the members supported one of the sides of the chief families that caused the conflicts, so they became enemies of each other. This relates to the kind of development projects DAYA Holland wants to achieve because these conflicts might have led to unstable DAYA organisations which obviously influence the achieving of development projects. However DAYA Holland wants to distance from these conflicts, by trying to leave it behind and in case of any disputes communicate and discuss it in order to focus again on the objectives of the organisation. I proposed the answer that the migrants who arrived 20 years ago, now have settled in the country and do not need the help of an association anymore. The members disagreed with this because they say that Dagombas are arriving to The Netherlands every month. When I started thinking more about it I came to the conclusion that globalisation might be an important cause of the lack of commitment to DAYA. Globalisation has led to a continually shrinking world. Because of all the technological possibilities it is easier for migrants to maintain their transnational links with their home country. Through the internet and by (mobile) phone they can easily stay in contact and share their culture directly with family and friends. For different reasons there might be less need for a migrant to involve in a migrant organisation. First, one reason why migrant organisation DAYA Holland came into being to offer lonely migrants an opportunity to come together in a strange country and to maintain their culture. However, nowadays there is less need for this because people maintain transnational links. The organisation DAYA also exist to contribute to community

development, however for people it became also easier to send money to their families and projects. So I think it can be said that globalisation has had a negative impact on the survival of DAYA.

However also a positive fact about DAYA can be mentioned, because they are quite successful in organising activities for their members. In general all the Islamic celebrations are celebrated together by the DAYA members. The 20th of November 2010 they organised the celebration of the Eid al-Adha. After a long discussion they decided that all the members who joined this day had to pay at least 15 Euros. Likewise they celebrate traditional Dagomba festivities. One of these is the Damba festival; a cultural dancing and drumming festival which originates from people of northern descent (Northern Ghana, Northern Togo, Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger). The 12th of September 2010 a chief and some musicians from Northern Ghana were invited to join the Damba. From now on DAYA wants to organise this every year, because they are very satisfied about the festival. Issahaku is already busy with fundraising and the organisation for next year. A day before, on the 11th of September there was a festival named 'Dance with the Kings' organised by 'Women in positive social action', however DAYA took also part in it. The same chief as at the Damba was present, as well as three other chiefs from Southern Ghana. There were many artists from mostly African countries and it was a big event in Amsterdam.

5.5 Vision on intended development

Given the existing range of problems within DAYA it is clear that the organisation has to become more professional to achieve community development in Dagbon in the end, let alone to mention the sustainability of this development. The members do agree on this point, and the following is suggested.

In the present circumstances it is clear that there is need for money. In today's world not much can be achieved without money. DAYA has two opportunities to get money; collecting contribution and applying for funding and subsidies. This means there has to come a good working system to collect contribution. In November a new list was made which contained all the present members, however every meeting there are coming new members. They decided to start all over again for the paying of contribution, but only three people paid that afternoon. During the meeting in December only a few members attended the meeting and nobody paid. The second opportunity to acquire money is to apply for funds and subsidies in all kind of ways. Although this is a time consuming activity, it can bring in quite a lot of money.

One of the objectives of DAYA for the future is to maintain and extend the transnational linkages by organising projects for Dagombas and their migrants. An example

of this is the 'Dance with the kings' and Damba festival in September. This has been recorded and this will be broadcasted by Ghana TV. DAYA wants to increase the amount of festivals and the contact with chiefs and Ghanaian musicians. This year in June there will be a big Damba festival again through which DAYA also wants to promote tourism for Northern Ghana.

During a conversation with Issahaku and secretary Manaan in May they made clear what their perception is about development. The problems they mentioned were lack of water, transport, agricultural problems, healthcare and education. These problems DAYA sees as their own problems because of its connectedness with their region of origin. The wish of DAYA is to contribute to development of the weakest groups, like women, (orphan) children, disabled and elderly people, because they are the most in need of help. For these groups it is harder to develop themselves and some help, in this case from DAYA, might improve their living situation.

Frequently the education in rural areas is of low quality, as the teachers are not sufficiently skilled; particularly if these are so called 'people teachers'. There are no or only a few qualified teachers because they do not want to come to villages to teach and so they stay in the urban towns. This results in the poor quality of education outside the urban towns as opposed to improving quality in urban centres..

DAYA members are of opinion that the people originating from villages are migrating to larger towns or the south of Ghana because it is difficult for them to get a job in their village of origin. DAYA states that it is important to create jobs in the rural areas and villages so that there is no need for migration.

Until now DAYA does not have a specific idea about what kind of projects they want to spend their money on in the future. However for them it is important that many people can profit from it, because they see the people in the Northern Region, and especially the Dagombas as one big family. Though I wanted to know how they think DAYA can contribute and after a discussion the conclusion was the sending of goods, probably because they realise there is no money at the moment. However when we look to the outcomes of the research in Ghana, we see that almost nobody sees the sending of goods as a good possibility for development.

Actually DAYA is thinking in the opposite order for helping people in the Northern Region. They do not think in a way that they see a village with a community problem that they want to help and try to find suitable support. No, they think the other way around. For instance, when they get some old computers they will start to look where they can send them to. Because computers need electricity they have to find a place where they can use them, because in several rural villages in the Northern Region there is no electricity available. Although this is an outdated way of thinking it is acceptable that they think like that because

nowadays they are dependent on help they get from outside which they can use to transfer to Ghana.

When there are some possible opportunities through which they can contribute to community development in Northern Ghana, there has to come a decision for which of them DAYA will choose. I was wondering how the members will agree on what project will be chosen, because every member has its own preferences, for instance when one of the projects will be executed in one's village of origin. I was wondering how they will make a decision in this in the future and asked this question during a meeting. They said that they will mutually come to an agreement and if this is not possible there will come a vote. They did not see this as a possible problem.

5.6 Challenges for the future

This chapter has given an insight into the situation of the relatively new migrant organisation DAYA. It became clear that the organisation is not really successful yet, although it exists already for some years. Why does DAYA have so much problems, while other migrant organisations are indeed more successful? In this paragraph we will look what should change within the organisation DAYA.

The two most significant problems within DAYA are already mentioned by chairman Issahaku: lack of commitment and as a consequence of that ineffective people. Because of this the whole organisation relies entirely on one person: Natogmah Issahaku. The members should become more involved in the organisation, because now they think Issahaku is perfect in doing everything and they themselves do nothing at all.

If you look at the objectives of the organisation, DAYA definitely needs a kind of professional upgrading if they want to sustain their organisation. There should come an active 'management board' including a chairman, secretary, treasurer and someone for member matters. Likewise there has to be somebody who can apply for subsidies and apply for cooperation with NGO's. Members should be stimulated to be active and come in time to the meetings to discuss with each other. The collection of contribution should change into a system through which members are more or less obliged to pay, independently of visiting the meetings. .

In today's globalised world it might be good to make more use of the website to inform members, attract newly arrived migrants and possibly also provide information for their people living in Dagbon.

When DAYA has put in order their business in The Netherlands they should invest in their transnational linkages with their region of origin. It would be good to also have a representative DAYA section in the North of Ghana. The members of DAYA agree with this

because it is important for the coordination of possible projects, you need people you can trust.

The aforementioned advices are to some extent based on the successful Somalian migrant organisation HIRDA, although both organisations can not be called exactly the same. However, the way to success for HIRDA might be a guide for DAYA. HIRDA is a non-profit organisation founded at The Hague in 1998 by members of the Somali Diaspora in the Netherlands. HIRDA works with other organisations to find lasting solutions to poverty and suffering in Somalia, particularly the South and Central regions. In addition, HIRDA acts as a bridge between local communities and international donor organisations and mobilises the migrants abroad to engage in the development of their country of origin. Since its formation, HIRDA has become one of the leading migrant organisations in the Netherlands working on development issues (HIRDA board, 2011). It is an organisation which consists of a broad transnational network of volunteers in The Netherlands and Somalia. Next to this relations they also have connections with HIRDA organisations in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Despite the fact that they are, like DAYA, a volunteering organisation, their appearance looks really professional. They work together with NGO's like Unicef and Oxfam Novib and executed several community development projects in Somalia.

HIRDA is a good example of a successful migrant organisation and I think it might be very helpful for DAYA to come in contact with them in order to gain information about their working methods and get advices for a more prosperous DAYA.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In this last chapter we will come to a conclusion in connection with the preceding chapters. First, an answer to the sub questions will be given on the basis of the foregoing chapters. Thereafter a link will be made between the results of the field research in the Tamale Metropolitan District in Ghana and the outcomes of the in-depth research into the migrant organisation DAYA. The combination of these two geographically separate, though transnationally linked, research parts will lead to the answer to the central research question, some advices for DAYA and a contribution to the scientific knowledge about the role of migrant organisations for development in their region of origin. This will be followed by a discussion about the answer to the central question and the consequences of this research for DAYA and development in the Northern Region of Ghana and some recommendations for further research. The last paragraph will include concrete recommendations for DAYA.

6.2 Answering the research questions

Before we turn to the answers to the research questions, let us once again take a look at these questions:

1. How do people from the Northern Region of Ghana define the (regional) problems and possible solutions?
2. How do people in the Northern Region of Ghana think about migrant organisations and its potential for development in their region?
3. How do people from the Northern Region of Ghana define their transnational contacts with migrants?
4. What are the possibilities for community development from the DAYA migrants' point of view?
5. How can the organisational structure within DAYA be defined?
6. What should the organisation DAYA Holland accomplish in order to achieve community development in the Northern Region?

The migration – development nexus is about the interconnectedness of these two concepts, however this relation is a much contested one by scientists and so it is too complex for easy generalisations. Therefore there are different approaches which all have their own vision on the relation between migration and development, either positive or negative. This research is executed in two geographically separated places, Northern Ghana and The Netherlands,

however there exist flows between these two places. This supported to the decision for the transnational approach as the underlying theory of this research. Transnationalism refers to sustained ties of geographically mobile persons, networks and organisations across multiple nation states. As migration becomes easier and people become more mobile (globalisation), many migrants are able to sustain important and durable relationships of a political, economic, social or cultural nature in two or more societies at once.

In the current round of the migration-development nexus, migrants in general and transnational migrant associations in particular have emerged as significant agents of community development: 'the presence of, or access to public (not commercially exploited) facilities at a geographical spatial entity level. These include facilities that are financed with both public funds and private funds, both locally and from migrants' (Mumumi, 2007, p. 13). The last years the positive side of the migration-development nexus gained domination again, because it is said that migration might lead to a circulation of knowledge which can be beneficial to developing countries. In recent years the notion of migrants' return as an asset of development has been complemented by the idea that even if there is no final return, the commitment of migrants living abroad could be tapped, for example, through migrant organisations.

During the field research in Ghana respondents from rural and urban origin had to answer several questions. They were asked about their opinion concerning the present problems in the region and how they think these might be solved in the future. The most mentioned problems in the urban community Kpakpayili are poor education and healthcare facilities, poverty in general and lack of water. As solutions for these problems they point to education and healthcare centres and they think NGO's and the government are the actors that should provide these. In the city of Tamale different problems came forward, namely unemployment, the lack of good education facilities, poverty in general and chieftaincy conflicts. Mainly the problems unemployment and chieftaincy conflicts were problems almost never mentioned in the rural community. It is interesting to see that there is a significant difference in the kind of problems people face between rural and urban areas, however the solutions for the problems are for the greater part the same: the government and NGO's should provide jobs and education facilities and solve the chieftaincy problems.

The respondents were also asked about how they think a migrant organisation could contribute to community development in their region. They could chose from the options financial aid, knowledge transfer or sending of goods. The clear outcome was that rural and urban respondents think that financial help and the transfer of knowledge are what the region needs in order to develop. I think it is remarkable that a great share of the people mentioned knowledge transfer, because I expected money would have been the first and maybe only thing people think about. People realise that knowledge can help them to develop. They

mentioned knowledge about, among others, healthcare and education. The sending of goods was only mentioned by less than 5% of the rural and urban respondents, although certain goods might be helpful for example hospitals or schools.

Another question for the respondents was about their own situation concerning migrants in the family and the transnational links they are maintaining with them. Of the rural respondents, 39% has migrants in their family, either internal or international. For the urban respondents this percentage is somehow higher, 63%. A significant part (rural: 95%, urban: 72%) of all these people define their contact with the migrants as regularly (daily, weekly or monthly). They were also asked if they are receiving financial remittances from their migrants. In the rural area 59% of the people with migrants received remittances and within Tamale this was only 46%. However almost everybody used this money for basic things like food, clothes or education. Hardly nobody invests the remittances in (community) projects.

The DAYA migrants would like to contribute to development. They have a clear opinion about community development which has to be sustainable and focused on the weak people of society; living in rural areas, women, children, elderly or disabled. They want to help a great share of the people living in a community. However their current situation is much worse than expected beforehand. When we look at the organisation DAYA itself, its structure is far away from how a healthy organisation should look like. Everything depends on one person, chairman Issahaku. It seems like the rest of the members do not feel committed to DAYA. Together we came to the conclusion that globalisation plays a role within the current problems. Migrants do see less necessity to come together to talk about culture and their place of origin, because nowadays the technology made it very easy to stay in contact with their families back home and even visit them once a while. Migrants can easily send their money straight to their families, although they say they would like to give money for community development.

When the entire organisation depends on one person, it cannot be said that DAYA is acting collectively, although the members agree with Issahaku on everything he proposes. We can not define DAYA as a real organisation because it lacks a secretary and a treasurer and often members decline to pay contribution. They even do not want to put effort in applying for subsidies or relationships with NGO's. Without money DAYA can not undertake anything. This means there is no one stance and strategy being pursued. The strategy of the members seems that they want to profit without supporting.

So the answer to the last research question is difficult to find, because before they can set an agenda for future community development, they should put their own affairs in order. They should realise that there is need for a total change-over to become a 'healthy' organisation. When this happens they can start thinking about contribution to development in their region of origin. Before they start an own project, I think it is better to contribute to

already existing projects. When they want to start a project on their own there is need for a DAYA board in Ghana for coordination. It is not that DAYA The Netherlands is a total failure, there are always chances, however in this current position the possibility of contributing to development is minimal.

When we look back to the statements of Orozco and Rouse (2007) at the beginning of chapter 5, we can conclude that these are somehow applicable to DAYA. Indeed we see that most DAYA members do not spend much time on the organisation, which in the case of DAYA also leads to a minor budget. At the same time the remark about the failure of creating sustainable community development is also kind of true in DAYA's situation, although they have never been able to even try to start a development project. We have also seen that DAYA is suffering from funding and organisational restraints. Currently the capability of DAYA is limited. There is no sufficient management board at the moment and members do not feel committed to contribute to the organisation.

This means we should adjust the expectations of DAYA and we can admit somehow to the statement of Orozco and Rouse (2007) about migrant organisations. Nowadays migrant organisations are sometimes seen as one of the solutions for developing the Third World, however DAYA can not meet this expectation at the moment.

6.3 Combining the results

When we combine the results from both parts of the research it should be possible to answer the central research question thereafter. The main question is: *How can the migrant organisation DAYA contribute to structural community development in their region of origin Dagbon, Northern Ghana?*

We have seen that people in the Tamale Metropolitan District face several problems. Some of these problems are too extended and should be solved by the government or NGO's, like the creation of jobs or the calming down of conflicts. However, a migrant organisation might contribute to the solution of certain difficulties. Here you can think of establishing a (vocational) school or a healthcare clinic. Although respondents rarely mentioned migrant organisations as a possible option for a contribution to solutions for their problems, when they were asked about the possible help of these organisations they pointed to financial support and knowledge transfer.

However when we look at DAYA it is quite clear that at this moment it is hard to contribute to any development. Members do not feel committed to the organisation, are barely paying contribution and do not show willingness to do anything for the organisation. The organisation is totally dependent on chairman Issahaku. When there is no money and no people who want to put effort in a good working transnational network it is hard to contribute

to community development, be it financially or knowledge based. As long as DAYA is not able to provide fundamental structural help, there is no need to talk about sustainable aid.

Members should involve more in the organisation and there should come a serious management board. This could be reached within at relatively short notice. When there is an income again they can start thinking about contributing to already existing projects like the microfinance organisation Grameen. In the longer term DAYA has to establish a contact board in Northern Ghana through which they can organise their own projects. There are already transnational linkages however these should be consolidated in order to establish an extended transnational DAYA network.

For the time when DAYA is stable enough to start a community project itself, I have thought of some interesting ideas which might contribute to a tackle of problems in a certain local area. The first idea is a (small) microfinance organisation, because the research results show the interest in small loans to start a business. Such an organisation offers job opportunities which can lead to less poverty because people can earn money with their own business. It is also important that people who want to take part in this will also be counselled by experts who tell them how they can start and maintain a profitable business. Another possibility is a school fund program which provides funding for children to go to school, because respondents pointed to the fact of education problems. When children are able to go to a good school it is an investment in their future, because in the long run it might lead to a good job and less poverty. The advantage of a microfinance or school fund project is that is not necessarily located in a specific place, which means people in an extended area might make use of it.

Another problem often mentioned is the lack of healthcare facilities, especially in the rural areas. So a second option might be a healthcare centre which might be managed by Ghanaians and western volunteer medical science students. However a healthcare centre is statically established in one place, it can be interesting to think of making a mobile healthcare centre so that more people in a broader area can profit of it.

When DAYA wants to come to these kind of projects they should change their organisation structure, some recommendations for this are offered in paragraph 6.5.

6.4 Discussion

In this paragraph we will discuss the outcome of this research, look to what the outcomes of it mean for DAYA and its possible addition to the already existing literature. In the end there will follow some recommendations for further possible research.

The reason to start this research was the question of DAYA to find out how they can contribute to (sustainable) community development in their region of origin Dagbon, situated in the Northern Region of Ghana. To gain more information about DAYA I attended two of their meetings and had some interviews before I travelled to Ghana. These meetings in the beginning of 2010 gave me a general overview of the organisation. To me it seemed a transnational operating organisation which was trying to reach their objectives, however found it difficult to do so. The field research in Ghana brought in useful results and to me it seemed DAYA definitely could use these in the future. Nevertheless, when I came back and started to attend their meetings again it came true that the organisation was on its way downhill. This is very regretful for this research, because now it is more difficult to help them.

As we have seen from this research there exists a mismatch between the wishes for development seen from people in the Northern Region and the opportunities DAYA migrants can offer. Development is the concept that connects these two geographically separated groups of people, there is an interrelation between them. At this moment we can say there is a gap between the vision on development by the people of the Northern Region and the possibilities DAYA can offer at the moment. Respondents answered that a migrant organisation could help them by transferring money and knowledge, however at the moment the only possibility for development through DAYA is the sending of goods.

What can be said about the contribution of this research to the already existing literature? First, we have seen that multi-sited analysis is important in these kind of researches. Already the division between rural and urban and the different problems they indicated has shown that every case asks for its own approach. It has been said already beforehand that it might be very difficult to apply the research results on to other cases. The same is true for the migrant organisation DAYA because it is an exclusive case.

Second, globalisation might have strengthened the transnational ties between migrants and their families back home, however in the case of DAYA it does not look beneficial for the continuing of the organisation. It seems the migrants do see less necessity to come together in the host country to maintain their culture, because the technology made it easy for them to stay in contact with their own family back at home.

Third, in the literature is often written about private remittances which are not invested in (community) projects and only used for private spending. This statement can be confirmed again by this research and only brings in more the importance of migrant organisation which can bring in collective money for more extended projects of which more people can profit.

Fourth, this research has shown that a migrant organisation really should be an organisation dependent on a management board and its members. Without committed members there is no organisation. The members should make use of their private transnational ties and combine them together in order to be successful.

In this discussion about the conclusion of this thesis we also can come back to the migration-development nexus. In this case study we have seen that migration can possibly lead to development in a certain degree. However DAYA is currently not an organisation that can contribute to such a successful extent that is sometimes mentioned in the literature.

Can we now conclude that the work that has been done by DAYA is useless? The answer is no. We can state that DAYA can not yet contribute to community development on a large scale, like building a hospital. However, they might be able to contribute on a smaller scale, for example assisting a larger (inter)national development organisation. Here you can think of connecting people from this organisation to actors in their region of origin. In this way DAYA can contribute to community development on a level that matches their current abilities. This means we have to adjust the expectations of DAYA as a migrant organisation and have to conclude that they can only offer a modest contribution to development.

Referring to these results we can take a look at some possible research in the future. When you want to research an organisation like DAYA I think it is practical when the researcher is also from Dagomba descent so that he or she really can understand every little word what is been said and when you are an 'insider' I think it might be easier for migrants to share their thoughts with you. This is what Mumuni (2007) referred to when he executed his research in the Mamprusi district in Northern Ghana.

I think it would be interesting when more researches to migrant organisations would be accomplished, although it is quite difficult to involve in such an organisation. However when one or more researchers are involved in different organisations a sufficient overview can be made about what features are important for a successful migrant organisation.

6.5 Recommendations

If we look back at the feasibility of DAYA's objectives we can state that the first one, concerning helping each other to set up a life in The Netherlands and maintaining the Dagomba culture, is on the right way. However when we look at the objective regarding contributing to community development projects in Northern Ghana, we can conclude that this is not yet realised at all. In the current situation of DAYA it is hard to meet any expectations of people in the Northern Region. People in developing regions often see 'their' migrants abroad as a kind of successful heroes: these migrants are living in rich countries so they have to be rich themselves as well. Especially when they group together in organisations they should be able to bring some money and knowledge back to their country of origin. People in the Northern Region would like to see an improvement of, among others, their education and healthcare facilities. Though the migrants of DAYA do like these ideas, they do not feel committed enough to be able to realise these expectations.

At the moment the ability of DAYA is limited and so we should adjust the expectations of this migrant organisation. However, this does not mean DAYA will be unable to succeed in contributing to community development in the future. For the short run I would like to make some recommendations to DAYA, referring to affairs I came across during the research. I think they should make a kind of new start, make an archive which includes all current members and make them 'signing in' to the organisation and be clear about contribution, meetings and so on. Out of these members a management board should be composed, including a chairman, secretary and a severe treasurer. The time of the meetings can stay the same: the first Sunday of the month at 3 pm, however members should be punctual and be there at 3 pm so the time can be spent efficiently. Of course not all members from all over the country can come every month, however there should come a rule about paying contribution even when you can not come to the meeting. During these meetings somebody should take the minutes so all members can see what has been discussed about. For instance, these formal written record of the meeting can be put on the website. Another advice is to update this website regularly in order to inform members and to attract new migrants. Next to these organisational advices it might be a good idea to come in contact with a successful migrant organisation, like HIRDA, to ask for advices from them.

When DAYA has made a new start and is somehow stable again, they can start to think about development projects, however I think it is good to first contribute to already existing projects, for instance come in contact with micro finance organisation Grameen or start the 'free' transfer of knowledge through for example the internet. During the research in Ghana I found out that students of the University of Development Studies in Tamale have to analyse and research one community during their whole study. In this way they gain a great insight into the situation of such a community and they also have to make possible development plans for these communities. I think it would be a good idea to come in contact with the university in order to gain insight into these plans so that DAYA can choose one or more projects which are really based on community development.

Appendix 1 Interview scheme

- 1 Name respondent: 2 m/v 3 Age:
- 4 Household characteristics:
- Members and gender
- 5 Head of household:
6 Place in household of respondent:
7 Highest educational level respondent:
8 Current occupation: job/student etc
- 9 Migrants in family yes/no and who: (direct/indirect)
10 Amount:
11 Internal/external/both
12 Where do they stay:
13 Do you have regular contact? (weekly, monthly,)
- 14 How do you or does your household generate income
- Farming - labour – remittances – other:
- 15 How do you perceive your household in comparison to others in the community?
Poorer – the same – richer
- 16 What is your main mode of transportation?
- Bike – motorbike – car – bus – taxi – foot – different:
- 17 How do you divide your income in percentages
- food and water – clothing – housing – education – transport – leisure – other:
- 18 How are remittances used in percentages?
- basics (food and clothing) – education – house – other:
- 21 Do you think diaspora organisations can contribute to development in your community, in what way? Financial – knowledge transfer – sending of goods
- 22 What are main concerns/problems in the tamale region according to you and which problems need most attention?
- Water – education – transport – healthcare – migration – other:
Please explain:
- 23 What would you like to see developed to address problems in the Tamale region?
Please explain:
- 24 Have you ever heard about microfinance programs?
- 25 Are you involved in such a program?
- 26 Would you like to get involved in a microfinance program?
- 24 Additional/remarkable information from respondent:

Appendix 2 Questionnaire DAYA

1. Name respondent
2. M/F
3. Age (estimated)
4. Living situation Holland:
 - a. Place:
 - b. Family members:
5. Current occupation (job):
6. When have you migrated to The Netherlands?
7. What was your reason for migration?
8. Where does your family live in Northern Ghana? (urban or rural)
9. Do you have regular contact (phone, internet) with your family in Ghana?
 daily weekly monthly few times a year almost never
10. Do you send personal remittances (money, goods or knowledge) to your family in Ghana? Why?
11. If you take your income, what percentage of this do you spend on remittances?
(For example if you earn 100 euro's, you spent 30 euro's on remittances, so 30 % (I do not need to know your income))
12. If you take the amount of remittances, which percentage of this do you want to spend on collective remittances through DAYA?
(For example when you spend 100 euro's on remittances you want to give 50 euro's to DAYA and 50 euro's directly to your own family, so the answer is 50 % (I do not need to know your amount of money you send))
13. How do you think an organisation like DAYA can help to contribute to community development in Northern Ghana?
 financially knowledge transfer goods
14. What are, in your opinion, the biggest problems in the Northern Region of Ghana?
15. DAYA also needs money to organise some activities for their members in The Netherlands (like the festivities last month). Which maximum percentage of DAYA's total income should be spend on this, in your opinion?

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