



Radboud University Nijmegen



Seeking Opportunities for Development and Dealing with Migration in Northern Ghana

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Front cover: Traditional housing in rural area, Urban townscape of Tamale (Tessa Verkaart)

Preface

In front of you lies the thesis: Opportunities for Development Through Migration in Northern Ghana. This thesis is a representation of the knowledge I gained during my final year at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. It is a summary of what is thought in the master from Human Geography in the direction: globalisation, migration and development. I want to thank everyone who has supported me during this research.

Foremost I want to thank my thesis supervisor Dr. Marcel Rutten who guided me through the process of doing research abroad and writing a master thesis in general. In addition I would like to thank the people from the inter cultural learning institute (ICLI) both in the Netherlands and Ghana and the Dagomba Youth association (DAYA). These people made it possible for me to have the experience of doing research abroad and made sure I was able to complete my research during a two month stay in Tamale. Special thanks go to Abey the translator from ICLI and Anne Heeren my research partner in Ghana. Without them I would have never been able to collect as much data as I did.

During my stay in Ghana I met a lot of people who deserve a big thank you for showing me around, introducing me into their culture and helping me in gaining a broader insight in how the people in Tamale live. Faruk, Muftawu, Boakye, Norgy and Francis treated me as their sister and did not only learn me a lot about Ghana, they also made my stay a lot of more fun. A special thanks goes to Capito who was willing to share his research about development in the region and with whom I had a lot of great discussions about how the world should be. A small thank you is reserved for Omundi's kids who accepted me as white girl and allowed me to babysit them.

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Summary

Migration has been part of human life since hunters and gatherers wandered with their livestock in search of pasture and water. The form and direction of migration has been changing ever since. There have been different ways in trying to understand, analyze and deal with migration. Migration as a multi-faceted phenomenon is hard to grasp, and to really capture the processes involved is a difficult task. With this research there will be argued that migration is a complex and context bound process which needs an interdisciplinary approach when trying to understand a certain flow of migration.

The world is facing tremendous social transformations with different cross border flows travelling the world creating opportunities for some and leaving others behind. It is important to realize that globalisation is a crucial context to understand contemporary migration. As globalisation, migration can have uneven effects within regions with on the one hand connecting areas in the global and on the other hand it can lead up to the loss of skilled people creating a brain drain within certain regions. However the potential role which migrant diasporas could play in development in their home countries is gaining more attention. Migration does not only affect the migrant itself but the sending and receiving societies as a whole are affected by the phenomena.

Ghana is a country which can be used to illustrate these rising inequalities within the south. Ghana is seen as one of the countries in Africa which are progressing favourably. This is to some extent correct, however, northern Ghana is one of those areas which is struggling to get connected to the global network whereas the south already is. The case of Tamale shows how interacting micro and macrostructures can lead to migration. The macroeconomic environment in Ghana has been evolving unequally since colonial times and northern Ghana is economically lacking behind. There is a lack in job opportunities and there is a pattern of north south migration which has been in existence for over a century. Most migrants move interregional and only a small number migrates towards the developed world. Migration is seen by many as the only solution to break out of poverty. Migration in northern Ghana is perceived as a negative phenomenon. Namely for the internal migration where

northern Ghanaians have to survive under bad living conditions, struggling to earn some money.

Although Ghana is one of the better doing countries in west Africa much more investments will be needed to make sure the north will be able to catch on to the global world market and gain economic growth just as southern Ghana. The government should show a larger interest in the area and should cooperate more with the local NGOs available. There are concrete projects developed to gain growth within distant rural areas but these are not used. NGOs and the university should cooperate more so that concrete problems can be solved. Focus of development should be on education and the development of the agricultural opportunities through the production of comparative and competitive advantage.

Peace and political stability are needed in northern Ghana to be able to reach economic growth in the region. Macroeconomic growth needs to be established in order to help the extreme poor on the micro level therefore research towards how to conduct this change is needed. There are opportunities for development in northern Ghana and with cooperation between the government NGOs concerns of the local community can be addressed if the extreme poor get the extra help needed.

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Abbreviations

CPP: Conventions People`s Party

DAYA: Dagomba Youth Association

EC: European Commission

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

GCIM: Global Commission of International Migration

ICLI: Inter Cultural Learning Institue

IOM: International Organization for Migration

NDC: National Democratic Congress

NPP: New Patriotic Party

ODA: Official Development Aid

OECD: organization for economic co-operation and development

SAP: structural adjustment program

Chapter 1 Introduction

The new paradigm of globalization theory, the age of migration and the new mobility paradigm are all ways of trying to capture the structures and meaning of contemporary society which seems to get faster, smaller and more mobile. Contemporary society is subject to tremendous structural and social changes and transformations which creates new opportunities for development in both the global north and south. Unfortunately there are also difficulties in catching on to the global network and certain areas are still lacking behind due to different causes. Globalisation has uneven effects, when connected to the global capitalist market you are included in this world which is becoming faster, smaller and more mobile. But when you are excluded from the global capitalist market this world seems far away and there is a lack of opportunities creating inequality within the world (Castells, 1996). Being included can also have uneven effects whereas globalization has dramatically increased inequality within and between nations (Mazur, 2000). Global inequality is still rising and now probably the highest ever recorded (Milanovic, 2007). In this case globalization is viewed as an economic process rather than a political project of understanding the contemporary world. Some refer to the term globalism rather than globalisation because of the ideological character of how the world should be reshaped by the rules of market liberalization, privatization and deregulation (Stiglitz, 2002). This ideology however, seems to have betrayed its promise with the rising inequality, growing conflict and the failure to achieve fairer trade rules for poorer countries (Castles and Miller, 2009). There is not only the rise of inequality between the north and the south but also between regions within developed and developing countries creating new elites in the south and in the north labourers lose their livelihoods (Schierup, et al, 2006).

Ghana is a country which can be used to illustrate these rising inequalities within the south. Ghana is seen as one of the countries in Africa which are progressing favourably. This is to some extent correct, however, northern Ghana is one of those areas which is struggling to get connected to the global network whereas the south already is. Figures of the Human Development Index (HDI) show that Ghana has been doing better than the average of sub Saharan Africa over the last two decades. (See appendix 2). Ghana as a whole is thus doing better on the three basic dimensions of human development; health, education and income in

comparison with the region (UNDP, 2010). However the Ghanaian Living Standard Survey (GLSS) is showing that inequality within the country occurs and that the north is generating significantly less per capita income. The 1998/1999 GLSS4 survey shows that the per capita income within the northern region was 2-4 times lower than elsewhere in the country (World Bank, 2006a). The 2005/2006 GLSS5 survey does not present a different picture whereas it presents that northern parts of Ghana and the Volta region are having a significantly lower per capita income in comparison with the southern regions. For example the greater Accra region has a per capita income of 544 (GH cedis) which is 251.39 Euro, whereas the northern region, the upper east and upper west are respectively having a per capita income of 296; 124 and 106 (GH cedis) which are 136.78; 57,30 and 48,98 Euro (GLSS, 2008). (See appendix, 3). Inequality within the country is rising and a lot of young people tend to leave the north due to a lack of opportunities (Hardus, 2010). Interestingly, those who left are now the ones that want to contribute to development within the area. This master thesis is written on request by the Dagomba Youth Association (DAYA) which is a starting Diaspora organization consisting of migrants from northern Ghana. They are willing to contribute to development within northern Ghana but are wondering where help is needed most. Most of DAYA`s members left Ghana years ago and they want to know what the main concerns from the local community are and how they can reach out to the poorest of society.

This master thesis is also written in cooperation with the Inter Cultural Learning Institute (ICLI) which is an organization which wants to contribute to development in northern Ghana through research projects and exchange of knowledge. DAYA`s request was the assignment for my internship for ICLI. Northern Ghana will therefore be used as a case to gain knowledge about the positive and negative effects migration might have on areas that are lacking behind. Research has been done in Tamale, the capital of the northern region, about the main concerns of the local community and towards possible opportunities for development. This master thesis will look into the effects of migratory movements upon sending countries and will gain insight in the potential role diasporas and transnational communities can have for development in their countries of origin. Therefore the central goal for this master thesis is:

Gaining insight in opportunities for development in the Tamale region with a focus on the most favoured ideas in this respect present among the Tamale community and in how far migrants could contribute to this end.

The central question arising from this goal is:

Which opportunities are available for organizations like DAYA to contribute to development in the Tamale area and In what ways could DAYA contribute best to these opportunities?

To answer the research question literature and empirical research has been done. Chapter 2 will present the theoretical framework of the thesis, comparison of and a critical review of different migration theories are provided. Also different policy measures based upon certain theories will be presented and discussed. The methodology used will be elaborated on in chapter 3 describing the research strategy and process concluding with a reflection on the used methods. In chapter 4 a review of the historical context from northern Ghana will be given. The political history, migratory patterns and the economical situation of the region will be described. The empirical data will be presented and analyzed in chapter 5. This data will be compared with the theoretical framework and additional literature found to see which theories can be supported or contested. The conclusion of the master thesis will be drawn in chapter 6 where the research question will be answered and suggestions for further research will be made.

Chapter 2 Migration theories: positive and negative outcomes

2.1 Introduction

Migration has been part of human life since the first Africans left their continent. The form and direction of migration has been changing ever since (de Haas, 2005). There have been different ways in trying to understand, analyze and deal with migration. Migration as a multi-faceted phenomenon is hard to grasp, and to really capture the processes involved is a difficult task. This thesis argues that migration is a complex and context bound process which needs an interdisciplinary approach when trying to understand a certain flow of migration. This chapter will provide a description of migration theories which evolved over the past century and aims to provide insight in the complex phenomena of migration.

There are a lot of theories which claim to explain and understand migration yet there are also a lot of wrong assumptions about migration. This chapter elaborates the strong and weak points of these approaches. In spite of being partly incorrect or incomplete most migration theories still have an impact on contemporary decision-making towards migration policies. It is therefore an important task to explain the complexity of the migratory process to these decision makers with the aim to create policies that will actually fulfil their goals. It is also important to understand the migratory process because it is changing contemporary societies in different ways. Migration can have both positive and negative effects on sending and receiving countries. Therefore it is important to understand how and why migration takes place and how it might contribute to development in developing countries. In this master thesis the focus lies on the sending countries and therefore in the following we will elaborate on these sending countries mostly.

2.2 Migration theories

2.2.1 Economic Theories

There is a dominance of economic theories to explain the migratory process, one of the most famous migration theories aroused from the neo-classical economics: the push and pull theory. Neo-classical theories are based on the assumption that individuals will maximize their well-being by making cost-benefit analysis with full information of the situation. The push and pull theory as Ravenstein puts it is based

on the rational comparison of the relative costs and benefits of remaining home or migrating to maximize the well-being of the individual with perfect knowledge of wage levels and employment opportunities in destination countries (Castles and Miller, 2009). According to the push and pull theory high skilled individuals are more likely to move because it is more likely that they will have a higher return investment which could have a negative impact in sending countries like brain drain.

The dual labour market theory argues that not only high skilled individuals move but also the low-skilled due to a structural demand for both within advanced economies (Piore, 1979). This creates a division into primary and secondary labour markets. Within primary labour markets workers are selected on basis of human capital but also gender, ethnicity and legal status play a role. Secondary labour market individuals are disadvantaged by lack of education but also by gender race or legal status (Castles and Miller, 2009). The importance of the role of governments and employers becomes visible through this division because these actors can change the situation through policies like positive discrimination for women or ethnic groups (Massey, 1998).

Another point of critique towards push and pull theories is that it would be only to maximize the individual's well-being and that it would be an individual decision to move. The theory of new economics of labour migration does pay attention towards the fact that migration is not an individual decision but often made by families, households and sometimes whole communities. Also migration cannot just be explained by income differences between countries, factors as chance of secure employment, availability of investment in capital and the need to manage risk over long periods are important factors in the decision to migrate or not (Massey, 1987). Migration decisions are thus not based on cost-benefit analysis from individuals or groups to maximize their own well-being. The decision to migrate is influenced by different economic, political, social and cultural factors which results in a complex (global) phenomenon: migration. Migration as such can thus not be explained and understood as a purely economic process. The direction of migration is not explainable by economic analysis, whilst there is a lot of cheap labour migration from poorer towards richer countries it does not explain why migrants choose a particular country to migrate towards (Castles and Miller, 2009).

2.2.2 Migration system theory

The migrations system theory derived from geography and is a more interdisciplinary approach in comparison with the economic approaches. This theory tries to capture the concept of migration as a whole in which both start and ending points of migratory flows plus the linkages between the sending and receiving areas are taken into account. It suggests that migratory movement arise from prior links between places due to colonization, political influence, trade and cultural ties (Castles and Miller, 2009). Basic principle of the migration system theory is not a dualistic push and pull model but it argues that any migratory movement can be seen as the result of interacting micro and macro structures. Micro structures are the informal social networks of migrants themselves and macro structures include the political economy of the world market, relations between states and structures, laws and practices which control international migration established by sending and receiving countries (Castles and Miller, 2009).

Migration does not take place as economic laws of supply and demand would predict. Migration flows are complex paths wherein micro structures are important and determining for the route of and possible settlement after migration. Informal social networks can provide the financial, cultural and social capital needed for migration and once a pioneer migrated successfully others follow the same path (Stahl,1993). These paths created by repeatedly migratory movements can lead to self sustaining processes creating migration networks between different locations (Massey,1998). These networks can be used to explain certain directions of movements and might predict migration flows in the future. They can also be used to explain patterns of settlement in receiving countries because migrant groups develop their own social and economic infrastructures (Castles and Miller, 2009). Between macro and micro structures there are also meso structures, agencies looking for labour but also smugglers are part of these meso structures. A migration industry emerged and within both helpers and exploiters of migrants exist. Therefore it is important to have proper migration policies so migrants can be protected from exploitation. There is no clear line between the micro, meso and macro structures of the migratory process because these are intertwined. As Castles and Miller (2009) argue: 'no single cause of migration is ever sufficient to explain why people decide to leave their country and settle in another. It is essential to try to understand all aspects of the migratory process'.

2.2.3 Comparing theories

It is a difficult task to compare the migration theories mentioned above because all theories operate at different levels of analysis and focus on different aspects of migration. Where the Neo-classical theory and the new economics of labour migration focus on the supply side of migration, the dual labour market theory has its focus on the demand side. Table 2.1 shows that these different ways of dealing with migration lead to different predictions of migration outcomes. Most of these outcomes are highly contested whereas migration so far has not led to a global economic equilibrium, as global inequality seems to be rising instead. On the other hand it needs to be mentioned that global inequality might be even bigger without migration. Different factors creating labour market segmentation such as race or gender are not creating dualism but seem to create a more complex segmentation of the labour market (Portes and Bach, 1985). According to Castles and Miller the economic theories concentrate too much on push and pull factors which is simplistic and misleading, whereas migration decisions are influenced by a wide range of conditions. 'These conditions are not static but in process of constant change linked both to global factors and to the way these interact with local historical and cultural patterns' (Castles and Miller, 2009). The migration system theory is a more

Table 2.1: migration theories

Theory	Neo-classical theory	Dual labour market theory	New economics of labour migration	Migration system theory
Theory based on	Statistical laws of migration: maximize well being	Different factors creating labour market segmentation	Maximize well-being of the household	Interacting micro and macro structures
Decision to migrate based on	Rational comparison, cost benefit analysis	Structural demand within advanced countries for labour	Diversify income resources	No single cause is sufficient to explain migration
Unit of analysis	Individual	High and low skilled workers	Families, households or communities	Transnational networks
Migration will lead to	Global economic equilibrium	Global primary and secondary labour markets	Economic security system for households	Global self sustaining social processes leading to migration networks

Source: Castles and Miller, 2009; Massey, 1998; Piore, 1979; Stahl, 1993

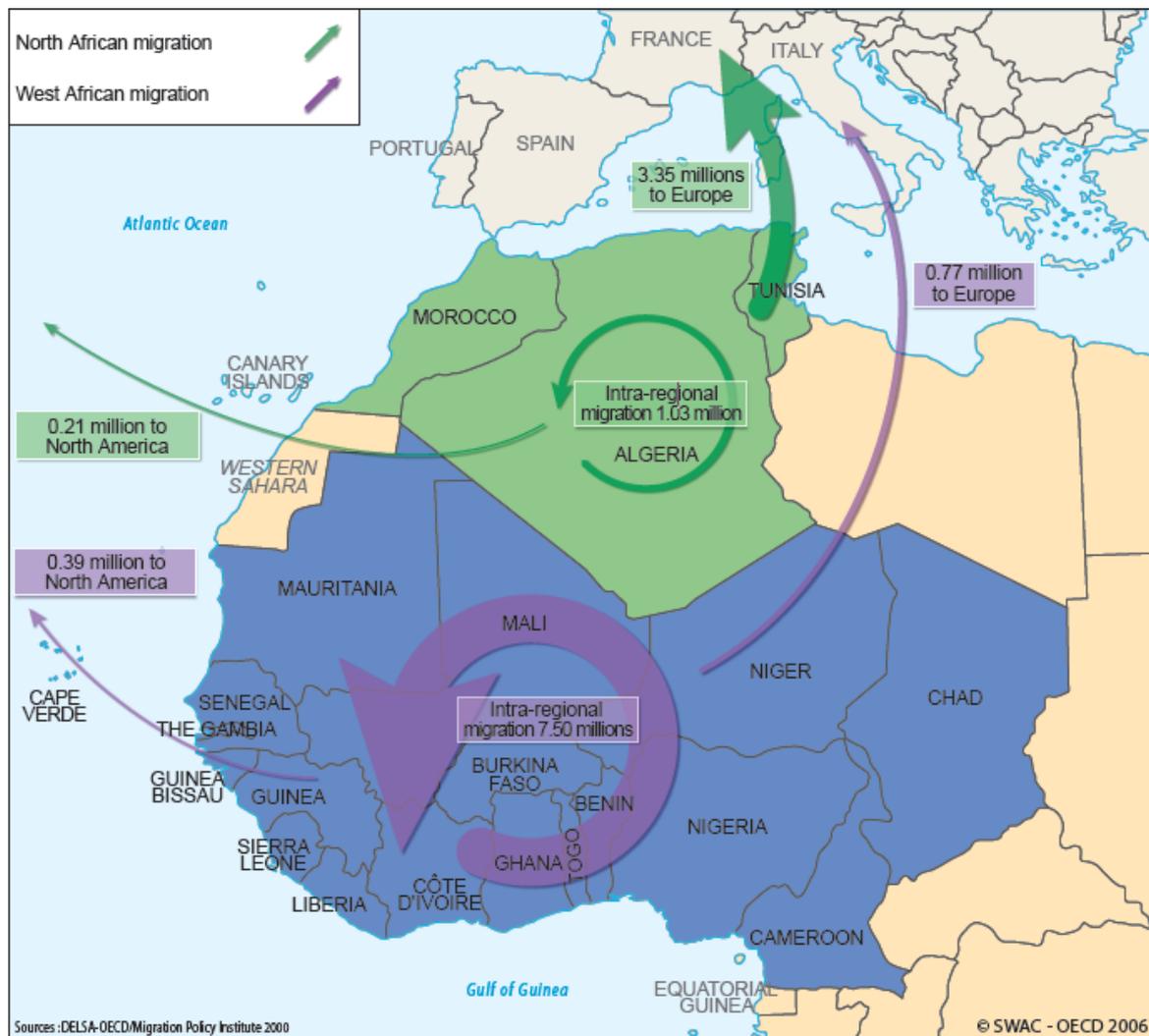
interdisciplinary approach and takes economic, political, social and cultural factors into account and is therefore able to give a more complete insight in migratory movements than the economic theories (Castles and Miller, 2009).

2.3 Migration flows in sub Saharan Africa

The focus of this paragraph is on migration flows in sub Saharan Africa. Throughout history different dominant migration patterns occurred within sub Saharan Africa. Pre-colonial migration took place as seasonal and cyclical migration and was driven by sociopolitical and ecological conditions. The way migration took place was unstructured group migration due to population growth, warfare and natural disasters, also search for farmland was a motivation for migration (Adepoju, 1998). Throughout history dominant migration patterns changed due to the slave trade from Africa towards the new world between the sixteenth and eighteenth century and later through colonial labour recruitment in mines and plantations during colonization of the area at the end of the nineteenth century. The colonial labour recruitment was based on temporary migration because permanent concentrations were seen as potential threat to order. Colonialism did change migration flows and increased processes of urbanization within sub Saharan Africa which are continuing today (Castles and Miller, 2009). Contemporary migration patterns in sub Saharan Africa are still driven by economic, political and social change. Motivations to migrate arise from the search for better living conditions like fleeing from warfare or seeking opportunities to generate income (Castles and Millers, 2009). Movement takes place on national, regional and global scale but it is a myth to say that dominant migration patterns occur as massive illegal flows of people from Africa towards Europe whereas most movement occurs within the African continent itself (de Haas, 2005; Castles and Miller, 2009). According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) migration within the region represents about 90% of total migration in West Africa and these intra-regional flows are at least seven times greater than migration flows to Europe (OECD, 2010).

A global dominant migration pattern is from rural towards urban areas in Sub Saharan Africa. Also huge population movements can be seen from rural to rural areas. Economically this can be explained by migration towards capital and financial sources in rural areas like plantations and mines (Adepoju, 1998). Within western Africa the dominant migration direction took place from North to South towards the

Figure 2.1: migratory movements in sub Saharan Africa



Source: OECD, 2000

economic hubs by the sea which are easily connected to the global market. In the 1990s these migration patterns were disrupted due to economic decline and civil wars. It is thus important to be aware of the political context and economical situation of a location because lots of migration patterns are determined by these factors (Adepoju, 1998). Nowadays migration is still taking place from northern to southern areas, often on temporary basis, but also lots of skilled and unskilled workers move outside the region towards new migration poles like Libya and South Africa (Castles and Miller, 2009).

So while in sub Saharan Africa migration is predominantly intra-continental, globalisation did facilitate conditions for increased movement from Africa towards developed countries outside the continent. Although these migratory movements take only place on a relatively small scale there is a lot of discussion about these movements and a lot of policy measures are made to control intercontinental

migratory movements. Migration is dividing contemporary society in both sending and receiving areas and therefore it is important to understand which effects migratory movements have on contemporary society.

2.4 Globalisation and migration

The world is facing tremendous social transformations with different cross border flows travelling the world creating opportunities for some and leaving others behind. It is important to realize that globalisation is a crucial context to understand contemporary migration. As globalisation, migration can have uneven effects within regions with on the one hand connecting areas in the global south to the global economy which were formally excluded and on the other hand it can lead up to the loss of skilled people creating a brain drain within certain regions (Newland, 2003). However the potential role which migrant diasporas could play in development in their home countries is gaining more attention (Newland, 2007). Migration does not only affect the migrant itself but the sending and receiving societies as a whole are affected by the phenomena (Castles and Miller, 2009).

2.4.1 Transnationalism

Globalisation drives migration and changes its direction and form through new technologies that facilitate mobility. Globalisation creates the cultural capital needed for mobility and it creates the social capital necessary for migration (Duffield, 2001). On the other hand migration itself is an intrinsic part of globalisation and is itself a force of reshaping communities and societies (Castles and Miller, 2009). Rapid improvement in technology in both transport and communication make it easier for migrants to maintain close links with their areas of origin which create transnational social fields which are crossing borders. These fields make it visible that the social activities of human beings are not just taking place in the container of the nation-state but cross borders creating complex networks which link different regions to one another (Levitt and Nybers-Sorensen, 2004). The lives of many individuals can therefore no longer be understood by looking at what goes on within national boundaries but have to be viewed from a transnational perspective (Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004). Migrants often have double engagements in which they want to establish fruitful livelihoods in the societies they migrated to but they also want to contribute to development within the country of origin (Mazzucato, 2008). These

double engagements migrants feel can create opportunities for direct development aid but can also be a burden for migrants who are lacking the capital to actually contribute to development (de Haas, 2005; Levitt and Nyberg-Sorensen, 2004).

Contemporary societies are to a large extent influenced by globalisation and migration which resulted in the rise of internationally connected locations through complex transnational networks. These complex networks change sending and receiving societies in different ways and can have both positive and negative outcomes which will be elaborated on in the next paragraph.

2.5 Migration and Development

It can be concluded that migration is a complex phenomena which became even more complex due to globalisation. The direction and motivation to move are determined by different economical, political and social factors on different scale throughout the whole world. The phenomena of migration resulted in a world that exists out of complex transnational spaces which are changing societies of both sending and receiving countries. A key question that needs to be answered is: which positive and negative effects does migration have on sending countries and how can the positive effects be used to enhance development?

2.5.1 Remittances

One of the positive effects migration can have in sending countries is the flow of money coming in as financial remittances send by migrants which want to contribute to their families back home. There is a huge flow of money through remittances crossing the world which provides direct opportunities for development within families and whole communities through these flows of money (Castles and Miller, 2009).

Remittances are becoming a broad researched phenomenon and are seen as a significant financial flow for developing countries (Sander, 2003). The amount of financial remittances sent are exceeding flows of Official Development Aid (ODA) and Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) but it is difficult to estimate the precise amount because a lot of remittances are sent through informal channels due to high tax rates on money flows (World Bank, 2006b; Davies, 2007; de Haas, 2005). It is also difficult to collect data on remittances for research purposes due to these informal and formal flows and an overall lack of data about remittances within developing countries (Sander, 2003). Although there is a difficulty in precise data collection, remittances

are viewed as a crucial economic factor in developing countries because they flow directly to (low-income) households and have a direct effect on poverty reduction (Newland, 2007).

Besides positive outcomes of remittances there are also possible negative outcomes and there is rising critique against the 'remittances development mantra'. Different scholars argue that remittances can have uneven effects between migrants and non-migrant families and increase inequality between them (de Haas, 2005; Massey et al., 1998). People who migrate are often not from the poorest background because to be able to migrate there is a need for certain resources in the first place (de Haas, 2005). Remittances will thus not flow back to the poorest families and these people can even be worse off due to price inflations for land and other scarce resources (Massey et al., 1998). It is thus important to note that remittances do not automatically lead to development and that it might even have a negative outcome. Still remittances are a huge money flow into developing countries and have great potential for development if spent wisely.

Next to financial remittances there are also social remittances which can have both positive and negative effects on developing countries. Social remittances can be defined as the ideas, behaviors, identities and social capital that flow from receiving to sending countries and make it possible to link global economic and political changes to local-level action and attitudes (Levitt, 1998). Positive outcomes found in studies on the effect of emigration are that attitudes and skills leading to change improve and this can have a positive effect on development. Important to note is that the impact of skills and attitudes in conduct to change differ from place to place and between different migrants. It can even lead to negative outcomes where it becomes a natural rite of passage for young people to migrate in their young years to earn money whilst these are their most productive years which might have a negative effect on social change and economic growth (Castles and Miller, 2009).

Social and financial remittances can both have positive and negative effects in sending countries and it is therefore important to note that there is a need for policy approaches which link transfer of new attitudes and income of financial flows with development-friendly economic and social reform in both sending and receiving countries (Castles and Miller, 2009; de Haas, 2005).

2.5.2 Policy measures

Although scholars have been doing research towards transnationalism and the possible positive effects that might come from cross border social fields like remittances for a long time now, the interest of policymakers to use these migration processes for possible development is rising this past decade. In fact there have always been migrant networks but advanced technology and reduction of costs surrounding transportation and communication intensified transnational connections, practices and mobility (Vertovec, 2007). As de Haas and Levitt argue transnationalism can be ignored or counteracted upon, it can also be seen as a new form of development aid which can be beneficial for sending countries. It is therefore an important that policymakers on a macro level understand the importance transnational networks might have. The complexity of the migratory process is gaining more attention and also the importance to understand how this process takes place is being used by policymakers in trying to come to development through migratory movements. These insights make it possible to think about policy which might create a win-win-win situation. Receiving countries can benefit through meeting labour markets shortages, sending countries can benefit through guaranteeing remittances for development and the migrants themselves are helped by offering them employment and control over the use of their wages. Different international institutions, governmental and non-governmental are discussing policies surrounding the relationship between migration and development (Castles and Miller, 2009; Vertovec, 2007).

On a macro level ideas develop about transnational relations existing on meso and micro level and on how to make use of these linkages to gain beneficial outcomes for migrants and their sending and receiving countries. A key phenomenon in these policy measures is circular migration arising from the recognition of the significance of migrant practices. As Vertovec (2007) argues circular migration patterns are based on and create further transnational networks which might contribute to development in sending (development) countries. The Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the World Bank, the European Commission (EC) and other national commissions are promoting a policy to stimulate circular migration to make use of the potential development opportunities through transnational networks (GCIM 2005; IOM, 2005; World Bank, 2006b; EC,2005; Vertovec, 2007). Institutions on a macro

level acknowledge the fact that transnationalism exists and policy is made to deal with the phenomenon. Although these policy measures might not always provide superior economic benefits, according to the World Bank proposing circular migration could be the best opportunity. Especially in places where the public opinion is strongly resistant towards permanent settlement of low skilled workers (World Bank, 2006). So also the receiving countries are considered to continue the policy to promote circular migration.

While there are opportunities through transnational networks for development in sending countries there can also be negative effects through certain policy measures. Policy measures to promote circular migration that are thought of now include:

- Give incentives to migrants by offering future return to the same job (IOM, 2005)
- Give priority for obtaining new residence permits to migrants who already returned at the end of former contract (EC, 2005)
- Give long term multi entry visa for returning migrants (EC, 2005)

These measures might lock migrants in modes of dependency which can lead to exploitative relationships with employers. Also the access for new would-be migrants will be difficult which can even create more differentiation between migrant and non-migrant families in sending countries (Vertovec, 2007). As argued earlier, the poorest do not have the resources to migrate and with these policy measures it will be even harder for this group to be able to migrate. This way they miss out on the direct beneficial effects migratory movement might bring.

The process of globalization and migration policy measures to promote circular migration might result in unequal opportunities. It is therefore very important to realize that every transnational practice and mobility differs from one another and that every migrant network might contribute to development or create a bigger differentiation between households within sending countries. Policy measures should be taken with great care and consideration based on insight in particular situations to eliminate negative outcomes and create positive development opportunities.

2.6 Conclusion

Migration is a complex phenomenon. It is a flow of people between different places with particular economical, social, political and cultural backgrounds and no single

theory can fit the total complex character of migration. Therefore, in order to trigger processes to enhance socio-economic development it is important to understand the specific factors linked to the specific area where development is wanted. Globalisation and migration can create uneven effects but can also be used for development. Transnational networks through which remittances are send back might be able to enhance development and with the right policies in place there are great opportunities for economic growth through remittances. It is hard to create policies which create win-win situations only as it is possible that policies might impact negatively in certain aspects. Historical, economical, social and political factors should all be taken into account and analyzed to be able to enhance development in a certain specific location. The migration system theory is trying to capture all these factors within its analysis and can be connected with the concept of globalisation and transnationalism. The interacting micro, meso and macro structures which occur through globalisation, determine migratory movements which create migrant networks which can be seen as the transnational social fields.

Chapter 3 methodology

3.1 Introduction

Globalisation is changing contemporary societies and migration is a part of this transformation. Due to migration places are connected across borders and transnational networks emerge. Within these transnational networks migrants have a double engagement, while creating new livelihoods in a new country they still are connected to their homelands (Mazzucato, 2008c). Globalisation and migration have uneven effects and developing countries are now facing new possibilities but also new threats due to the complex phenomenon of migration. The aim of the research presented here was to establish and understand the effect migration can have on sending areas and to gain insight in opportunities for development within these areas.

In this chapter the selected methodology for data collection and data analysis will be discussed. First, the research strategy and methods used will be outlined followed by an explanation of the data analysis.

3.2 Data collection

A single-case design is used because it gives the possibility to analyze an area which has not been subject to surveys in the past (Yin, 2003). Interviews were held in northern Ghana with respondents living in the urban area of the regions capital, i.e., Tamale and in a nearby rural area called Kpakpahillah, which has not been absorbed by the urban expansion of Tamale yet.

The research is both exploratory and describing. Exploratory because it tries to thoroughly understand the role migration has on development in sending countries. It can also be labelled descriptive because it makes use of a reflection of the particular case of Tamale to find opportunities for development. The descriptive research is extending the exploratory research to gain knowledge about opportunities for development in Tamale (Saunders, et al. 2008).

To make sure that the data found is accurate, a triangulation of sources has been applied (Saunders, et al.,2008). Chapters 2 and 4 of the thesis are based on a critical review of existing literature about migration and development, respectively of general theories in chapter 2 and on the specific case of Ghana in chapter 4. For the collection of the actual empirical data interviews were conducted during a two month

stay in Tamale where participative observations were also made. Results from this research will be presented and analyzed in chapter 5.

3.2.1 Literature review

A review of the literature was conducted to explore the ways if and how migrants could contribute to the well-being of their country of origin. Especially the option of sending remittances was evaluated. Through the literature review indications were made about which chances but also difficulties there are for the use of remittances as tool for development and which other opportunities there might be. The theory of transnationalism was explored to understand the border crossing social fields migrants live in and to look for possibilities for development through these fields within the region of Tamale. In addition, literature about the particular case of Tamale was studied to understand how this place became the particular place as it is now, awareness about the historical context of a place is important to find opportunities for development.

3.2.2 Interviews

For the collection of the quantitative and qualitative data semi-standardized interviews were conducted in collaboration with another master student who was an intern for ICLI as well. One questionnaire was used to be able to interview respondents without bothering them with two different questionnaires and to gain as much respondents within the limited time available. In total 112 interviews were held with 56 individuals living in a rural area within the Tamale district and with 56 urban individuals living within the urban area of Tamale city. The goal was to have at least 65 interviews with locals to make it able to compare the data with a statistical reliability, the totality of 112 interviews makes the research statistical reliable (Vennix, 2006). Semi structured interviews were used to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. The standardised questions are used to collect quantitative data which is needed to collect information about household characteristics, such as the presence of migrants in the respondent's household and how Diaspora organizations could help from their perspective. These data can be compared and statistically analyzed. In addition to the standard questionnaire additional questions were asked to gain more in depth information about certain topics and to give details about certain statements (Saunders et al., 2008).

In order to test the interview questions the first interviews were held with our key informants and after these interviews the list of questions was corrected and finalized (see appendix 1). Among the key informants were the interpreter who worked for ICLI Ghana. He brought us in contact with another key informant whom is doing a master research himself towards development within a particular village in northern Ghana to complete his studies at the University of Development in Tamale. The key-informants helped with creating questions which were appropriate in order to their culture but still would gain the answers needed to make sure respondents would be willing to participate (Saunders et al., 2008). For example; it is not appropriate to ask directly about amounts of money the respondents possess or earn so the questions about remittances were about how they were spent instead of how much the respondents received.

Next to the semi-standardized interviews extra in-depth interviews with the key informants were held to gain additional information which could not be acquired from the other respondents and to gain a broader understanding on certain topics. Finally, two in-depth interviews with powerful individuals of the region, a sub chief and a professor of the university for development were conducted. These interviews were used to gain more knowledge and understanding concerning the possibilities available and difficulties to overcome for development in the Tamale region.

Respondents were found through snowball sampling, self selecting sampling and convenience sampling (Saunders et al., 2008). Three methods were used to be able to gain a significant number of respondents in the limited time available. For the rural interviews snowballing and self selection were used where our translator got in contact with rural respondents who could point out others who might be interested to participate. In the urban areas at first snowball sampling and self selecting sampling were used where our interpreter got in touch with rural inhabitants, first through self selection and later through snowballing. Convenience sampling was first used for the interviews in English for which there was no interpreter needed. Through these interviews self selection sampling became possible whereas a respondent offered to promote the research to others and respondents came to us because they were willing to participate. The same respondent was used as interpreter for the rest of the urban interviews which were found through snowballing and convenience sampling. Because of the goal to be able to help the poor, but also to find out which problems are identified by individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds both

interpreters tried to bring us in contact with different layers of society. Through wealth ranking can be shown how many individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds participated in the research which will be elaborated on in paragraph 3.3.

3.2.3 Participatory observation

Finally, participatory observation was used in the Tamale region. As I was participating in the daily life of Tamale for two months, primary and secondary data was collected by keeping a journal. Certain situations and conversations can be literally described and also information based upon experiences and stories of individuals can be used to complement the other data (Saunders et al., 2008).

3.3 Data analysis

The data collected through the survey interviews was analyzed using SPSS. Cross tabs, frequency tables and clustered bar charts were used to analyse the data. Through the SPSS procedure crosstabs two variables are cross-tabulated through which their relationship is displayed in tabular form, it generates information about bi-variate relationships. In this case data about remittances, migrants in family, main concerns and education according to wealth are cross tabulated. Frequency tables are used to summarise information about one variable in this case about the most important concerns present within the local community. Clustered bar charts are used to present the results of different independent variables according to remittances, most important concerns and wealth (de Vocht, 2005).

3.3.1 Wealth ranking

To come to accurate statements from the interviews a wealth ranking was used to make a distinction between four categories; the extreme poor, poor, poor but doing better and relatively rich. This distinction is made because a lot of development aid is not reaching out to the poorest people, also remittances are mostly received by households who are not the poorest of the community (Sander, 2003). It will be interesting to see if the same concerns and ideas will be mentioned by people of different wealth or if there is a big difference in what different people see as problematic for the region. DAYA would like to contribute to development which reaches out to the community as a whole especially to reach the extreme poor.

Therefore it is important to be aware of what these people see as problematic and what they would like to see developed (Heargraves et al, 2005).

In the case of Tamale wealth ranking has been done by making an asset index for the households of the respondents. Resources people have influence the strategies of what they can do to make a living and this can be representative of long-term wealth (Clark, 2006; Sahn and Stifel, 2003). Making an asset index can be done in different ways and in this case an index was created on important assets the households posses. Different weights were ascribed to different assets. Difficulty in making an asset-index is that it is rather subjective therefore the assets were determined after interviewing key informants on importance of certain assets. The assets discussed with the key informant are derived from a factor analysis Sahn and Stifle (2000) did for assets which assume to represent wealth. A distinction is made between the rural and urban interviews because the representation of wealth through certain assets is different between the rural and the urban (Clark, 2006). The asset index used in the case of Tamale makes a distinction between assets ranked with one point and assets ranked with two points. In the rural area assets ranked with two points are assets which represent an evident standard of wealth namely; access to electricity, having a car or motorcycle, having direct access to piped water and having a flushed toilet instead of using public sanitation facilities. The assets ranked with one point are: owning a radio, television, DVD/video player, refrigerator, bicycle or telephone.

In the urban area electricity and owning a motorcycle are not assigned two points because the access to electricity and cheap motorcycles in the city is easier than in rural areas and are therefore not representing an evident higher standard of wealth. For the rural and urban, respectively, a maximum total of 16 and 14 points

Table 3.1: wealth ranking (absolute numbers)

Location	wealth ranking				Total
	extreme poor	poor	poor but doing better	Relatively rich	
rural	19	16	9	12	56
urban	8	25	14	9	56
Total	27	41	23	21	112

Source: authors fieldwork, 2010

can be reached, respondents with a score between the 0 and 3 are ranked 'extreme poor', respondents with a score between 4 and 7 ranked 'poor', respondent with a score between 8 and 11 ranked 'poor but doing better' and respondents ranked with a score of 12 or higher were ranked 'relatively rich' (see table 3.1). Due to the wealth ranking concerns from the extreme poor can be distilled and acted upon.

3.4 Reflection on used methodology

Doing research in a developing country is challenging because there are different problems that need to be overcome which can influence the reliability and validity of the research. First, there is a language barrier and a need for an interpreter. This makes the answers collected dependent on the interpretation of the answers by the interpreter which cannot be controlled. Secondly, there was a limitation for the time schedule of two months which was influential on the sampling possibilities which makes generalization of the data difficult. The sampling methods used are not representative for the whole community because snowball sampling might lead towards biased sampling. Although there is a possibility in leading towards an equal sample with the help of our interpreter we did manage to interview individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds and the wealth ranking can confirm there are different socioeconomic individuals represented. Finally, the method of wealth ranking is seen as highly subjective, but it can be useful to make a broad distinction in wealth.

Triangulation of data makes it possible to draw plausible conclusions from the collected data, which might not be generalized but can be useful to gain insight in the perspective of the local people. The linking of the theoretical and empirical data collected is thought to be sufficient to answer the research questions and to achieve the research goal.

Chapter 4 Historical context of Northern Ghana

4.1 Introduction

Ghana is seen as one of the economically better doing countries in Africa and the country is having an image of peace and stability (Hardus, 2010). Reality however is much more complex; in the recent past there have been conflicts which are still having impact on the development process and migration in the present day. Not just conflicts are interfering with socio-economic progress, inequality within the country is causing uneven development as well. There are cases of urban and rural inequality, class and gender inequality and the most apparent inequality is between the north and south. These inequalities are causing internal migration and exclusion to development of certain areas and people (Tsikata and Seini, 2004). Northern Ghana encompasses the Upper West, Upper East and Northern regions, the other regions to the south of this Northern region are also known as southern Ghana (see figure 4.1).

The situation of how Ghana came to be is of importance to understand how these inequalities have been growing and how they might be turned around. The Northern parts of Ghana are lacking behind and are in need for economic growth (Anarfi, et al., 2003; Sheperd et al., 2005). In this chapter, the case of Northern Ghana will show how important the context of place is, to be able to understand

Figure 4.1: map of Ghana



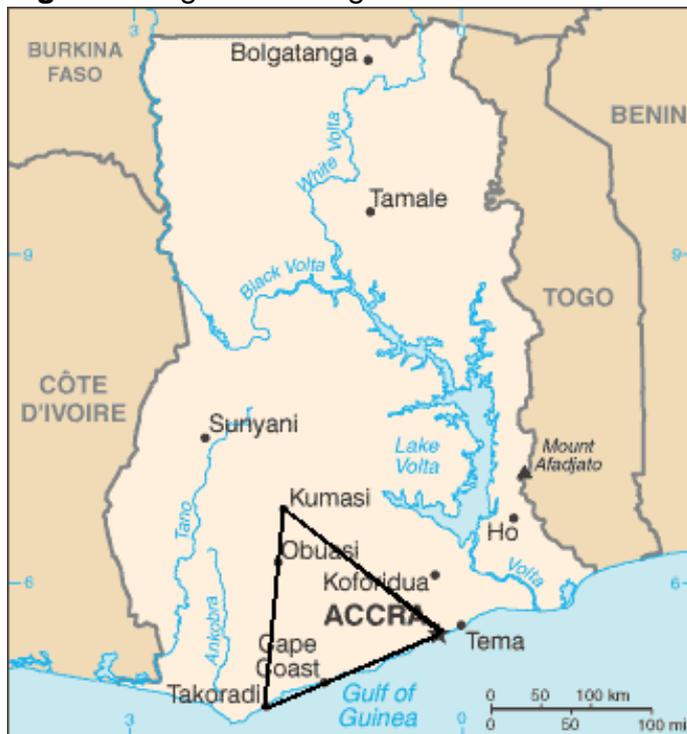
Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ghana_regions.png

certain migratory flows and disabilities for development. Let us turn to the political history of Ghana and in particular the North, first of all.

4.2 Political history

In 2002 a conflict of chieftaincy occurred in the Northern region, of which the cause dates back to times of colonial rule. In pre colonial days Northern Ghana was made up of several kingdoms, the Dagbon kingdom was ruled by a Ya-Na. Prior to the installing of a Ya-Na there were periods of succession disputes which brought instability and disorder. The English colonial rulers at that time thought these succession disputes should be regulated and they laid down a written constitution to solve the disputes limiting succession rights to two families: the Andani and the Abudu. The office of Ya-Na would rotate between these two families. The succession disputes declined but not completely and ahead of naming a Ya-Na there were still turbulent periods of political disorder and insecurity. Moreover, the colonial constitution failed to solve two structural problems; what to do with the family not in charge and what is the relationship between the colonial and the traditional state. The colonial state was weak especially in the north and therefore strong local authorities were needed through which the colonial state could impose its vision of

Figure 4.2: golden triangle



source: <http://www.gettingaway.com>

stability and order. The northern colonial state kept weak due to lack of economical investment and a general political disinterest in the region so the impact of the traditional leaders kept increasing (Weiss, 2005).

The colonial authorities invested more in the southern parts of Ghana because it had more economic value for them, creating inequalities within the country which are still visible today (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Sheperd et al, 2005; Tsikata and Seini, 2004). After the period of the slave trade Ghana was still economically interesting for the colonial rulers because of the presence of primary commodities such as gold, cocoa, other minerals and timber in the forest areas. The construction of a rail network and roads in these areas created an economically successful region resulting in a golden triangle between Accra, Kumasi and Takoradi (see Figure 4.2). The regions outside the triangle were neglected for economic investments, social services and infrastructural development creating inequality within the country. The underlying cause of inequality in the case of northern Ghana however dated back from earlier merchant activities on the coast changing trading routes. The north was part of the trading route between the forest in central Ghana and the Sudan-Sahel zone and economic decline started when the trading routes northwards were reoriented towards the south (Tsikata and Seini, 2004).

So while the North was lacking behind economically there were both stable and unstable political periods but due to the weak colonial state traditional power became strong so after independence a strong North state was likely to evolve. However this was not the case, after independence problems occurred when the opposing families tied alliances with different political parties leading to conflict and an unstable Northern region (Tsikata and Seini, 2004; Weiss, 2005).

Ghana gained independence as the first Sub Saharan African country in 1957 (Hardus, 2010; Tsikata and Seini, 2004; Weiss, 2005). After independence Ghana has been going through turbulent political times. Regimes changed ever since, the first government of Nkrumah was overthrown by a coup d'état and ever since there have been diverse kinds of rulers from military regimes to democratically chosen governments (see Figure 3). President Nkrumah tried to improve the country's economy for all Ghanaian citizens. However, jobs were given to (un)skilled people who had been activists during the elections. Nevertheless the Nkrumah government did try to implement anti-discrimination laws and equal pay but unfortunately a lot of Ghanaians were working in the informal sector so most people did not benefit from

these laws. The government also tried to implement a policy towards the promotion of Ghanaian national consciousness based on tolerance and respect for all, better education etc. Had these policies been continued in post-Nkrumah governments Ghana would have been in more ethnic harmony today. At present there are fundamental issues of inter ethnic tensions relating to land and sovereignty which require solutions which all regimes including the Nkrumah government have failed to address (Tsikata and Seini, 2004). After Nkrumah was overthrown by a coup d'état politics in Ghana focused on relationships between the military and civilians and between different ethnicities rather than on class or ideology. Political parties became associated with ethnic groups and the military became visible in daily life. At the end of the Nkrumah government corruption became integrated in politics and in the present day corruption plays a big role in politics and economics in Ghana. In the 1970s a coalition of worker an students movement protested against different military regimes. They demanded better terms and conditions of service, greater democratization and respect for human rights. The strikes and demonstrations were violently put down by the police and military (Tsikata and Seini, 2004).

In the 1980s, President Rawlings came into power and ended a period of military regimes by holding elections and moving the country towards a more

Table 4.1: political history

Regime	Leader	Dates	Description
Convention People's Party (CPP)	Nkrumah	1951-1966	Ghana achieved full independence in 1957 and republican status in 1960. Regime overthrown in coup d'état
National Liberation Council Regime (NLC)	Ankrah	1966-1969	Coup d'état regime. Supervised elections in 1969 and handed over to constitutional government
Progress Party Regime	Busia	1969-1972	Second Republic. Overthrown in coup d'état
National Redemption Council (NRC)	Acheampong	1972-75	Military Regime. Composition of executive and name of ruling council changed 2 times after internal power struggles. Overthrown in a military uprising of young officers and other ranks
Supreme Military Council (SMC)	Acheampong Akuffo	1975-78 1978-79	
Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC)	Rawlings	June to September 1979	Supervised elections and handed over to a constitutional government
Peoples National Party Regime (PNP)	Limann	1979-1981	Third Republic. Overthrown in a coup d'état
Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC)	Rawlings	1982-1992	Coup d'état regime. Called elections and succeeded itself
National Democratic Congress (NDC)	Rawlings	1993-2000	Fourth Republic
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	Kuffour	2001 to date	Fourth Republic

Source: Tsikata and Seini, 2004

democratic path. Even though, Rawlings was more democratic the governments ruled by him were rather questionable. Rawlings tried to bring economic prosperity but his second coming to power in 1981 was contested due to military brutality, instant justice and the execution of members of the overthrown regime. Therefore there were several counter-coup attempts, military arbitrary and violence. However, the government gained support from the workers movement and different political actors in both rural and urban communities which helped stabilizing the Rawlings regime. In 1983 structural adjustment programs were adopted and decentralization of the government was considered the key solution in ethnic conflicts because of the participation of different ethnic groups in local politics (see paragraph 4.3 for more details). Violent ethnic conflicts declined in the 1980s but in the 1990s several ethnic conflicts arose which could not be stopped by the elected governments (Tsikata and Seini, 2004).

In 2002 the latest conflict in northern Ghana occurred but the cause of this problem dates back to colonial times. The colonial rulers implemented a constitution which dealt with the succession rights of the following Ya-Na, failing in fulfilling the role of the family who did not deliver the Ya-Na. Conflict started to arise after independence whereas the Andani family supported the Convention People's Party (CPP) and later the National Democratic Congress (NDC) while the Abudu family supported the New Patriotic Party (NPP), Abrefa Busia's and John Kuffours governments. During the postcolonial period politicization and escalation of the succession crises in Dagbon could be witnessed. Where the colonial state was a relative neutral player due to lack of interest in the area, the postcolonial state was not, due to political support from the families (Weiss, 2005). Where the cause of the conflict dates back to colonial times the start of the conflict was in 1969. At that time the first postcolonial succession conflict occurred with state interference. The delivering of a Ya-Na always has been contested by the other family trying to get one of their members to be king. In 1969 after Busia became Prime minister, which was supported by the Abudu family, a report came out which concluded that the Ya-Na from the Andani family was not entitled to the throne and he should immediately resign. Fighting broke out and the Ya-Na delivered from the Abudu family was installed with heavy military presence. In 1972 the Andani family delivered the next Ya-Na but still there was no stable situation (Tsikata and Seini, 2004). The rotational system failed with the ties of different families to different political parties. In 2002 a

bloody conflict occurred after the murder of the Ya-Na. There is no proof of Kuffour`s NPP being involved in the conflict but the escalation of political violence and the killing of the Ya-Na in March 2002 are still blurred with accusations from both sides against other`s actions and political alliances (Weiss, 2005).

In 2008, elections were held and after a ruling period of seven years the NPP lost elections to the NDC and the new president John Atta Mills was sworn in as president in 2009. In general, Ghana is in the class of African countries that can show election processes that take place relatively peacefully and therefore it is correct that the country is having a good image in comparison with other African countries. Still, Ghana is facing major challenges to become a true democracy whereas the president now still has a hegemonic position which could encourage political patronage and corruption, which have been problems since independence (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009).

4.3 History of migratory movements

Ghana has been changing throughout history from an immigration towards an emigration country (Anarfi et al, 2003; Black, 2003, Nieswand, 2008; Tsikata and Seini, 2004; Hardus, 2010). From pre-colonial times up to the early 1970s there were self employed traders coming into the country and labour opportunities in the mines and cocoa farms were pulling young unmarried man from neighbouring countries into Ghana (Anarfi et al, 2003).

Until the 1960s, Ghana had relative economic prosperity and immigration was the dominant trend during colonial times. Just a few high skilled migrants moved mostly towards England due to colonial ties. During the colonial times migration patterns within the country were determined by economic opportunities. The English rulers were actively recruiting labourers in the North to work in the South. As mentioned above, the colonial authorities saw the Northern territories as of little direct economic value. This north-south migration was often seasonal in character; migrants returned during the harvesting season which occurs once a year (Anarfi et al., 2003).

During independence migration started due to less job opportunities because of the economic crises from 1965 onwards. Ghana became also less attractive for immigrants because of the expelling of non Ghanaians without documents. Ivory Coast became the dominant destination in the western Sub Saharan region. The

majority of the first emigrants were professionals in search for job opportunities both within the region as beyond in other continents where they had been trained or did not return from after studying (Anarfi et al, 2003). In the 1960s and 1970s national migration increased when international migration within the region became harder (Nieswand, 2008). In the South more opportunities came available due to a new industrial strategy in urban areas put in place by the government. Towns as a place of migration became more attractive as a result. Improved technology in infrastructure and communication made the decision to move easier whereas cheaper mobility and easier communication facilitated easier movements and reduced risks. After the decline of the cocoa industry in the 1970s seasonal agricultural migration shifted towards work in the informal sector or towards plantations in neighbouring countries (Anarfi et al, 2003).

Large scale outmigration started in the early 1980s. Both unskilled and semiskilled labourers migrated towards neighbouring countries in search for jobs. So both national migration from north to south and international migration out of Ghana increased after independence, with skilled individuals moving towards national or district capitals and unskilled dominantly towards mines and plantations. Migration became a survival strategy to many Ghanaians (Anarfi et al, 2003). It is difficult to estimate how many Ghanaians are living abroad because a lot of migrants are not registered. Approximately between 1 and 4 million Ghanaians live abroad. National migration is also increasing (Nieswand, 2008). Economic decline and the lack of jobs in combination with loss of faith in future prosperity partially due to bad governance by both civilian and military regimes are motivations to migrate. The 1975 founding of ECOWAS aggravated migration towards neighbouring countries because it became easier to cross borders within the region (Anarfi et al, 2003).

So, concluding from the above we may state that the main motive for migration has been the macroeconomic environment. This combined with the urban bias policies of the Ghanaian government can explain certain migration patterns in Ghana. Rural-urban migration and north-south migration are dominant within contemporary Ghana. The urban bias policies contain over-valued exchange rates, industrial protection and cheap food policies and in combination with suppressed farm prices and rural incomes, the shift from rural labour towards industrial labour increased and so did rural-urban and north-south migration.

After migration of the economic pioneers, their families tend to follow and settle. This results in increasing urbanization of certain areas. Even though the economy is doing better now and the labour force even declined between 2008 and 2009, migration keeps going on (CIA, 2011). It might be that migration as a developmental strategy is now ingrained in Ghanaian psyche. Also do migrants work as magnets to new migrants, migrating became easier due to improvements in communication and mobility and the certainty of having a relative abroad does reduce risks (Anarfi et al., 2003; Castles and Miller, 2009).

4.4 The economy of northern Ghana

As migration is highly driven by the macroeconomic environment it is important to highlight the economic situation of northern Ghana. Ghana has a relatively diverse and rich natural resource base, agriculture is responsible for 33.7% of the GDP of the country and employs 56% of the total workforce. The service sector accounts for 41.6% of the GDP but is responsible for just 29 % of the workforce. The industrial sector generates 24.7% of the GDP and employs 15% of the total workforce. Individual remittances are next to the cocoa and gold production major sources of foreign exchange (CIA, 2011). Within northern Ghana the main source of income and employment is agriculture but this region does not produce the key export commodities and participates much less in trading activities compared to the south. The north also receives much lower inflows of remittances and as mentioned before regional inequality is significant (Sheperd et al., 2005; World Bank, 2006a).

Northern Ghana has thus been lacking behind in economic development in comparison with the southern regions and the north-south migration is growing, leading to a decline of youngsters in the region. Reasons for the long term economic lack of growth are connected to the pre-colonial and colonial construction of northern Ghana as an economic periphery whereas labour was profound in the mines and cocoa farms in the southern regions (Sheperd et al., 2005; Tsikata and Seini, 2004). The country as a whole became export oriented during colonization and the processes of production and consumption were not integrated within the country increasing spatial inequality (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). After independence ruling governments also tended to be southern oriented and an inadequate distribution of public investments resulted in lack of development in the north. Also outside intervention from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) through

Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) are seen as a negative outcome for northern Ghana (Sheperd et al., 2005).

Since 1983 Ghana has been enrolled in SAPs which are overall seen as an improvement to the national economy resulting towards a consistent 6% growth average of Ghana`s GDP in the 1990s. Even though SAPs seemed to be of positive influence on a macro level, disparities occurred on a micro level (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). Konadu-Agyemang (2000) gives a clear description of what influence SAPs have on public services in a country:

“Structural Adjustment Programs are designed to change the structure of the economy via policies that encourage increasing exportable goods, and implementing institutional reforms to reduce the role of the state in the economy. This would allow market forces to determine not only production, distribution, and locational decisions, but also access to goods and services. According to the IMF and the World Bank, African countries are unnecessarily encumbered by over subsidized state enterprises, and overspend on social services such as education, health, and basic services. Therefore, they call for reduction in government expenditure through privatization, withdrawal of subsidies, and the institution of “pay as you use.” But given the extent of deprivation in most African countries, government involvement in the provision of health and education, inefficient as it may appear to be, still represents the only means of ensuring equitable distribution and access for the poor.”

So while the Ghanaian economy is experiencing the best times at the macro level, benefits did not trickle down to all parts of the country. In rural areas and the northern regions access to education, health and other services have been declining under SAPs (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). Northern Ghana is in need of an attractive investment climate. Key pre-conditions to gain growth are peace, political stability and better infrastructure (Sheperd et al, 2005).

Although northern Ghana has been deprived from these factors¹, there are opportunities for economic growth. Northern Ghana might be interesting to investors

¹ Key factors underlying growth in Ghana over the past fifteen years have been (i) greater openness, both through increased exports (cocoa and other agricultural products, gold and other minerals and timber) and increased imports; (ii) public spending, much of it aid financed; (iii) a significant increased in wholesale and retail trade, as well as transport and construction activity; (iv) increased receipts of remittances, from both outside and within Ghana. (Sheperd, 2005)

Table 4.2: households harvesting, by ecological zone

Crop	Ecological Zone			
	Coastal	Forest	Savannah	Ghana
Cocoa	56,780	651,009	17,691	725,480
Coffee	0	8,513	0	8,513
Rubber	0	412	0	412
Coconut	56,130	47,308	1,882	105,318
Wood lot	862	803	0	1,665
Kenaf	0	823	1,039	1,862
Cotton	0	0	28,229	28,229
Groundnut/peanut	12,621	60,950	625,334	698,905
Tobacco	597	0	18,256	18,853
Sugar cane	17,066	16,629	1,390	35,085
Maize	490,393	1,212,037	826,707	2,529,137
Rice	1,128	25,952	279,073	306,153
Guinea corn/Sorghum/Millet	0	0	848,527	848,527
Beans/peas	22,692	58,401	420,392	501,484
Other Tree Crops (sheanut, cashew nut)	613	4,567	104,518	109,697
Other Root Crops (ginger, tiger nut)	3,258	12,541	688	16,488
Other crops	5,325	50,588	95,594	151,507

Source: GLSS 5, 2008

for several intrinsic reasons; the north has a particular dry and hot climate which means that different commodities can be produced there. These commodities include a large range of sub-tropical or guinea savannah crops and wild products including the shea nut. In addition, a range of minerals are present in the region that can have a comparative and competitive advantage. The growing production of cotton, yams, sheanuts, soya-bean/groundnuts and guinea fowl are promising agricultural commodities whereas there is already a market for these products. The production of cashew nuts, rice, cowpeas, mangos and other horticultural products are also promising but the market prospects are less certain for these agricultural commodities. (Sheperd et al, 2005; World Bank, 2006a). The Ghanaian Living Standard Survey 5 (GLSS 5) shows that within the north several of these promising agricultural field and cash crops are already harvested by households living in the savannah (See Table 4.2). As the household income from the northern regions is mainly coming from agricultural activity it is likely that many households will benefit from enhanced agricultural growth (GLSS, 2008) for more information on this topic see GLSS5.

Northern Ghana can also be interesting for investors whereas the north is the gateway to the Sahel and can therefore be critical to Ghana's participation in regional trade. Mali and Burkina Faso have re-routed much of their export route through the coastal city of Tema via northern Ghana. A limiting factor for this trade is the bad road infrastructure. Finally the north has a distinct tourist potential which

complements that in the south, with Mole national park as the main attraction. This park could be northern Ghana's single tourist destination, however, the park has remained largely underdeveloped (Sheperd et al., 2005; World Bank, 2006a).

There is thus potential for economic growth for the northern inhabitants through producing different commodities which have a comparative and competitive advantage. Agricultural growth can deliver broad based growth. However, the fastest growth is likely to come from tourism and trade (Sheperd et al, 2005).

4.5 Conclusion

Throughout history northern Ghana became a complex region due to economical and political neglect which resulted in an area with little economic prosperity and high political instability in comparison to the rest of the country. Ghana might be doing well and catching on to the global market, the north however is still excluded and struggling to gain substantial economic development. The conflict in 2002 did not make it easier to attract economic activities towards the region and is still having an impact on a lot of individuals. Northern Ghana has been and still is lacking behind resulting in a flow of north-south migration which causes urbanization in the south and a brain drain and loss of youngsters in the north. Migration now seems the best opportunity to break out of the current situation where there are little to none job opportunities for a lot of young people. In Accra there are more chances to get a job or get education which might improve the current situation of their family back home and their opportunities when they return (Anarfi, et al.,2003).

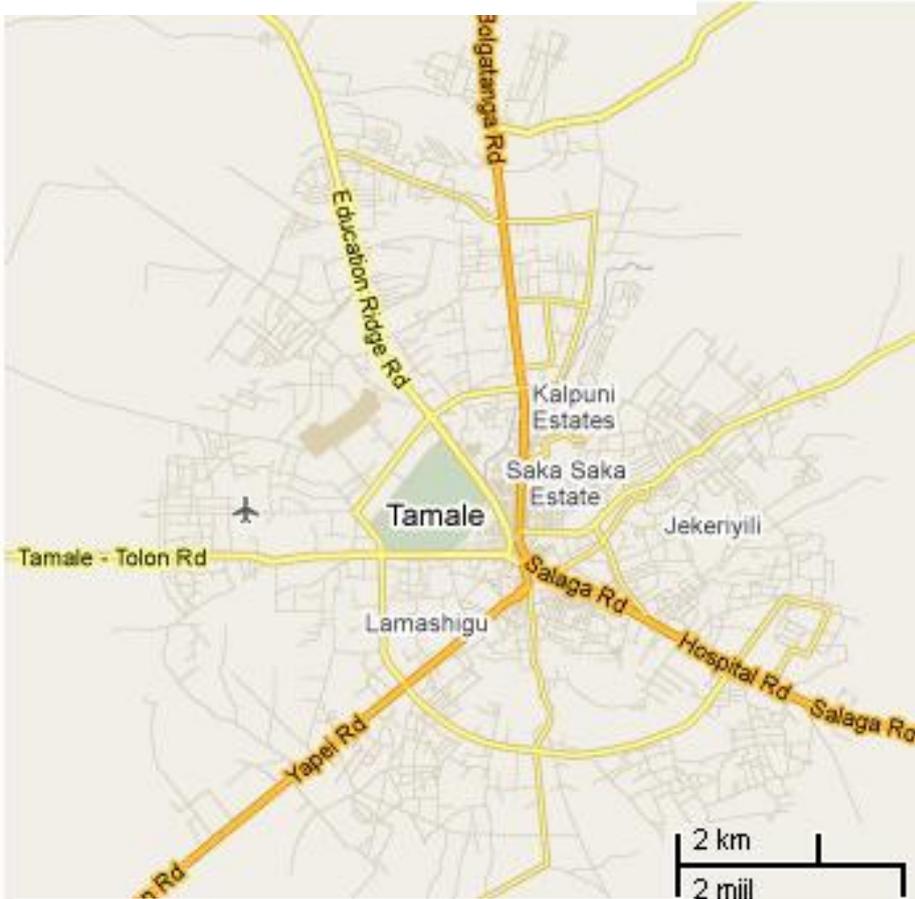
To stimulate economic development in a complex region like northern Ghana is an uphill battle. The area has been economically neglected since colonial times and within the region there are still conflicts dating back to colonial times. The conflict between the Andani and the Abudu families was complex already before multi-party politics became involved. Now politics, traditional ruling and opportunities for development are interlinked towards one another. This makes it difficult for individuals who are not that closely linked to one of the families or to the political party in charge to get opportunities for development compared to individuals who do have these ties. Migration for the former might be the only opportunity to get out of poverty.

Chapter 5 Migration and development in Tamale

5.1 Introduction

The central goal of this master thesis is gaining insight in opportunities for development in the Tamale region with a focus on what kind of developments the Tamale community would like to see happening in their area and in how far migrants can contribute to this development. The empirical goal of the thesis is gaining insight in how locals think about migration, development and about their desires and goals they want to accomplish. Tamale is the capital of the region Northern located in the north of Ghana and inhabits 350,000 people, the whole region covers 31% of the country but inhabits only 9.6% of the Ghanaian population (Fuseini Abaneh, 2010; ghana.gov.gh, 2010) (see Figure 5.1). The city consists of an architectural blend of traditional housing, slums and modern buildings which is still expanding and one of the fastest growing cities of West Africa (Fuseini Abaneh, 2010). Therefore it is not unusual to see traditional housing next to a two story building and farmland in between neighbourhoods which used to be villages but now due to the expanding

Figure 5.1: Tamale



Source: <http://maps.google.nl/>

city became part of Tamale (fieldwork, 2010).

5.2 Opportunities and difficulties for development in Tamale

There are different ways through which migration might be beneficial for development in an area like Tamale. Opportunities for development through migration are gaining more awareness in research and among policymakers. Return migration, transnationalism and remittances are ways through which migrants can contribute to development (Black, 2003). Unfortunately migration has also negative aspects to it and these are elaborated on in this paragraph.

5.2.1 Return migration

Return migration can be viewed as a contribution to development when migrants who gained knowledge and skills abroad are putting those in practice at the time of their return. In this sense, migration can be seen as a positive outcome for migrants as both high and low skilled individuals will have better job opportunities when returning to Ghana due to their newly acquired knowledge through training or job experience (Black, 2003). As mentioned in chapter 4 it seems to be that migration in Ghana is becoming a rite of passage for young people and migration as a developmental strategy has become ingrained in Ghanaian psyche (Anarfi et al., 2003). In chapter 2 it was argued that this rite of passage of youngsters is viewed as a negative outcome of migration and during the fieldwork many respondents also referred to internal migration in particular as a negative phenomenon.

Many young men and women are migrating to southern Ghana, mainly Accra, to find work due to a lack of job opportunities in the north. Because of these massive flows of people into Accra there are not enough housing facilities and a lot of migrants face bad living conditions and find it hard to earn a living. Away from support from their home communities and families, most migrants end up living and working on the streets facing physical and reproductive health risks, especially sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS (Awumbilla, 2005). Return migrants are now even trying to prevent young women to migrate trying to spare them the difficult circumstances women face in Accra. Still, young women tend to migrate south because their chances of a good life are often through marriage. To be able to get married certain social obligations have to be satisfied such as payment of dowries and these young women migrate in the hope they will gain enough money

and meet these social obligations, as it is the bride which has to provide the payment of dowries (Anarfi, et al., 2003; fieldwork, 2010). A respondent who is a return migrant herself would not recommend migrating to Accra because the circumstances in which migrants from the north are living there are horrible. She herself lived on the street and had trouble with earning enough money to survive and save up for return. A lot of migrants fail to save enough money to be able to come back and benefit from migrating. This woman, was though, able to come back, start her own business and is now able to earn her own money. Her living standard is higher in comparison with the rest of the community (fieldwork, 2010). It is not strange that young people keep migrating because they only see the positive outcomes of returning migrants who are able to start a business. Migrants who are not able to earn enough money are often not coming back because they do not want to be seen as failures or they simply lack the money to be able to go back. If young people would be aware of the circumstances they might be less motivated to go (Anarfi, 2003, fieldwork, 2010).

Although migration as a rite of passage is seen as a negative outcome, it does give people the opportunity to save money and start their own business. Migration should thus not be seen as totally negative, it does give opportunities for development as well sometimes. But as the return migrant mentioned it would be beneficial if there were more jobs and educational opportunities for young people in the north to spare them the horrible circumstances many migrants are facing in Accra. In this case internal migration is seen as negative and little statements were made about international migration which might have more positive outcomes.

5.2.2 Transnationalism

As mentioned in chapter 2 rapid improvement in technology in both transport and communication made it easier for migrants to maintain close links with their areas of origin which have created transnational social fields across borders. These fields made it visible that the social activities of human beings are not just taking place in the container of the nation-state but are crossing borders creating complex networks which link different regions to one another which can be referred to as transnationalism (Levitt and Nybers-Sorensen, 2004). The lives of many individuals can no longer be understood by looking at what goes on within national boundaries but have to be viewed from a transnational perspective (Levitt and Glick-Schiller,

2004). Next to the internal migration international migration will be elaborated on in this paragraph.

Like internal migration which is valued negatively nowadays, in the past international migration has also been considered to be negative. Nevertheless, possibilities for developmental opportunities through migration are gaining more attention and it seems that international migration might have a more positive reputation than internal migration currently.

Until the end of the 1990s the Ghanaian government considered the practice of asking asylum in other countries as betrayal for the government and migrants were accused of desertion (Nieswand, 2008). In the late Rawlings period the general assessment of migration changed and the government recognized that remittances and the loyalty of migrants towards Ghana could be a resource for development (Owusu, 2003). Transnationalism can be seen as a positive outcome of migration for sending countries when migrants are willing to contribute to their country of origin (Mazzucato, 2008b). In Ghana the government implemented different policy measures to increase the opportunities for development through transnational networks. Since 1994 there have been pro remittances policies and the government led by Kuffour introduced double citizenship which made return and remigration easier for Ghanaians in 2001. In 2006 the Representation of People Amendment Act was installed which made it possible for migrants to vote in the Ghanaian national election (Anarfi et al., 2003; Nieswand, 2008).

Although transnationalism can have positive effects it can also create a burden on migrants. Even though most migrants are willing to contribute, as mentioned in chapter 2: transnationalism can also be a burden for migrants who are lacking the capital needed to be able to contribute to development. For example, several respondents with migrants in their family both inside and outside Ghana answered to the question if they received remittances that the migrants were not yet able to send remittances. This will be elaborated on in the next paragraph. So through international migration there are opportunities for development, but there are also downsides which need to be considered.

5.2.3 Remittances

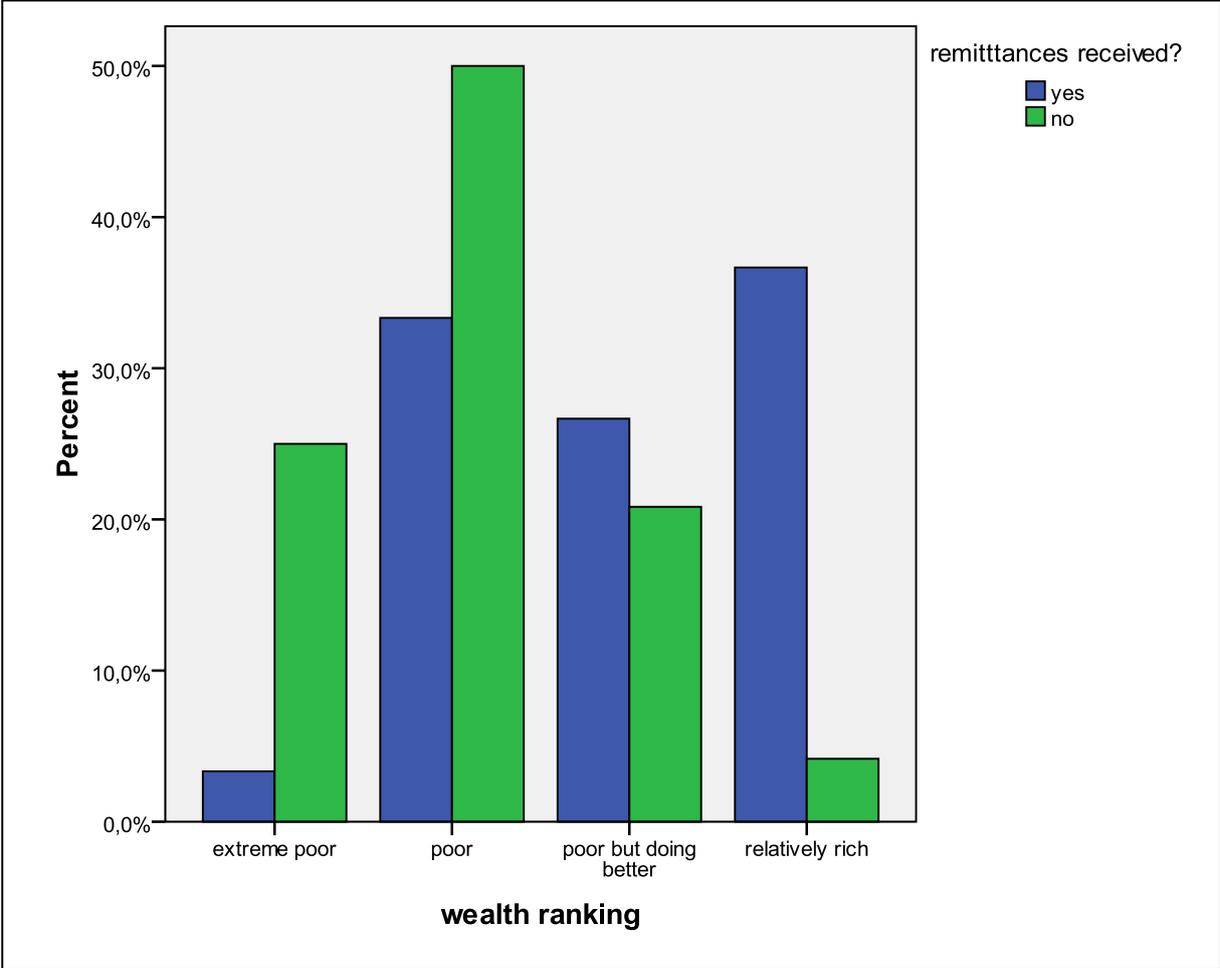
Remittances in general are seen as a positive outcome for sending countries and a lot of countries are implementing policies to gain the most benefits out of these

remittances. As mentioned in chapter 2, remittances are becoming a broad researched phenomenon and are seen as a significant financial flow for developing countries (Sander, 2003). However, most research towards remittances has been done in Latin America and Asia. Also most remittances go to these continents, with China and India as the largest remittances receivers followed by Mexico, the Philippines and Morocco (Castles and Miller, 2009). Although Sub Saharan Africa receives less remittances than Latin America or Asia these flows are not less significant. Because of the lack in economic activity and prosperity remittances can make a huge impact within sub Saharan Africa (Mazzucato, 2008a; Sander, 2003). Because there is a lack of data about migration and remittances in northern Ghana empirical data was collected to gain more information about the size and use of these flows. Fieldwork in Tamale showed that 49% of the respondents have migrants in their household both interregional and intercontinental. In chapter 2, it was argued that according to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) migration within the region represents about 90% of total migration in West Africa and these intra-regional flows are at least seven times greater than migration flows to Europe (OECD, 2010). The empirical data obtained from respondents suggests that 73% of the migrants moved interregional and 27% between continents. This would make us conclude that migration flows from northern Ghana towards Europe might be bigger than flows from other areas in the region, or the flows to Europe overall might be bigger than estimated by the OECD.

Chapter 2 also argued that remittances can have uneven effects between migrant and non migrant families and that often remittances do not assist the poorest households leading to increased inequality (de Haas, 2005; Massey et al.,1998). Migrants are often not from the poorest backgrounds and are therefore less likely to receive remittances (Newland, 2007). The empirical data found during the fieldwork supports these theories (see figure 5.2). Out of those households who have migrants in their families 56% indicated they receive remittances. This means that only 27% of all respondents is receiving remittances. Almost all of the respondents in the category 'relatively rich' with migrants in the household are receiving remittances and for the 'extreme poor' with migrants only 3% is receiving remittances. From the 'poor with migrants' category 34% does receive remittances but a larger portion, i.e., 48% does not. Finally, 'the poor but doing better' score 28% and 20 %, respectively. Thus it can be concluded that remittances are not flowing back to the poorest households

directly. As a consequence this might lead to increased inequality in the area. There is thus a need for extra attention towards the poorest of the community when seeking opportunities for development because they are lacking chances others do have. Data shows that remittances are mostly spent on recurrent expenditure; 93% and only 7% on investments. Because the number of migrants that is receiving remittances is too small it is impossible to generalize findings about the spending of remittances. Also, because there is a lack of data about rich inhabitants which might receive remittances which are used for investments. What can be concluded after comparing this data with other literature is that the bulk of remittances certainly is used to meet daily needs. Asiedu (2003) found that 70% of remittances were used for recurrent expenditure and less than 30% was used for investments in the year 2000, this is consistent with findings from other authors like Black (2003). However, the poorest households might be able to benefit from multiplier effects remittances might

Figure 5.2: remittances received



Source: authors fieldwork, 2010

bring for the region. So even for the poorest remittances might bring extra opportunities.

5.3 Development needed in Tamale

In addition to empirical data collection about migration, the focus of the research was also on the perspectives present among the households interviewed on what issues should be addressed in general and on their views how migrants could contribute to resolve these issues.

5.3.1 Most important concerns

Based on the response obtained it can be concluded that migration within Tamale is not seen as a positive phenomenon through which opportunities arise for development. Nevertheless development is needed because northern Ghana is lacking behind economically and on social services (Sheperd, et al., 2005). In finding opportunities for development the local opinion is highly valued. If there is no awareness on the type of development the people involved actually would like to see there is a chance development projects may fail due to a lack of involvement of the local community which has happened in the past with many development projects (Castles and Miller, 2009). In table 5.1 it is shown which concerns were ranked as

Table 5.1: local concerns

Most important concern	Frequency	Percent
Education	28	25,0
Poverty	27	24,1
Health care	17	15,2
Conflict	11	9,8
Water	11	9,8
Unemployment	9	8,0
Sanitation	4	3,6
Traditional thinking	2	1,8
Bad governance	2	1,8
Infrastructure	1	,9
Total	112	100,0

Source: authors fieldwork, 2010

most important by the respondents. (see also figure 5.3) Concerns with education, poverty and health care were ranked highest and are thus issues which should be addressed within the region. Besides being ranked as most important these concerns are also the most mentioned overall. Education was mentioned by 63% of all respondents and poverty and health care were mentioned by 46% of the respondents (Fieldwork, 2010).

Interesting to note is that with concerns of education the demand for vocational schools was high. Primary schools are available for most people of the community both urban and rural, but concerns arise about secondary education. Although education on a higher level in Tamale is available at the Polytechnic College, the University for Development Studies and at several vocational schools, school fees remain high. Moreover, these schools are all located within Tamale city. Due to the lack of mobility of the rural poor they keep deprived from higher education or vocational training. These issues are directly connected to the issue of poverty because the poorest are still deprived from secondary education due to the high school fees and lack of mobility. For the poorest it is less likely to attend higher education and benefit from the opportunities a professional education might bring. Even with a good education it is difficult for many youngsters to earn a living due to the lack of job opportunities. Migration is now an escape in trying to break this vicious circle of poverty whereas young people migrate to areas where there are more opportunities to find a job.

The lack of reaching health care centres and problems with hygiene like no access to clean water and bad sanitation facilities are according to the respondents also connected to each other. When there is more access to clean water and facilities less access to health care centres would be needed. Several respondents made the comment: "water means health". In rural areas water issues are causing concerns just because there is not a lot of access towards water resources. The poorest are extra deprived in dealing with this issue because they either have to invest money in buying the water from their neighbours who have access to piped water or they have to invest time in getting water instead of earning money during this time. Furthermore, there are hospitals located in Tamale city and some health care centres are located within rural areas but these are still difficult to attend for rural inhabitants whereas most of them are not in possession of a vehicle to reach the health care facilities. Here again the issue of access arises. There are health care centres

available within Tamale but the access to reach these facilities is difficult for the poorest of the community. Most common diseases within northern Ghana are; malaria, diarrhea, pregnancy related complications and intestinal worms. Epidemics that sometimes occur are cerebrospinal meningitis, guinea worm, buruli ulcer, yellow fever and cholera. For those who are not able to reach a health care facility fast, some of these disease can be fatal (World Health Organization, 2002).

5.3.2 Other concerns

Even though conflict was not mentioned as most important it still has a big impact on the macroeconomic situation of northern Ghana which again has an influence on opportunities at the micro level. Conflict was mentioned as linked to other concerns. Concerns of unemployment and bad governance seem to be connected to the issue of conflict. Sheperd et al. (2005) also mention conflict as a negative factor for economic growth because it will push possible investors away which results in a lack of possible employment opportunities. Unfortunately, conflict and bad governance are still present under the surface of daily life in Tamale. As mentioned in chapter 4 there has been a serious and violent conflict in 2002 and throughout the fieldwork it became visible that this still has an influence on many northern Ghanaians. One respondent mentioned: “people are unwilling to forgive which keeps the conflict going on”, and as the causes of conflict date back to colonial times this man might be right. The involvement of politics in the conflict made the whole situation more complex and even though there is no proof of John Kuffour`s NPP being involved in the conflict, accusations were made which influence the perception of the inhabitants of northern Ghana. Distrust towards the government has been growing as the conflict occurred and the economic situation in northern Ghana did not improve. In 2008 the new government ruled by the NDC dismissed 400 new policemen because their contracts were expired. According to several respondents the actual reason was that these policemen were installed and trained by the former government ruled by a different party and now supporters from the NDC were installed to replace these policemen (fieldwork, 2010). It seems that the government is only interested in helping their own followers which is not beneficial for the area in the long run because government support is of great importance to create an environment for economic growth. Government support is needed to persuade venture capital companies to take northern Ghana seriously and create opportunities for economic growth (Sheperd et

al, 2005). There is thus a need for peace and government support in the first place to be able to create opportunities for development within northern Ghana.

Although traditional thinking was only mentioned by two respondents it does not mean that these issues are not important. This issue might even gain more insight in what structures exist which should be changed in order to gain opportunities for development. One of the respondents mentioned traditional thinking in rural settings as a negative factor. According to this respondent a lot of farmers are still farming the traditional way which might not be bad but modern farming techniques could be more efficient and gain more income. Traditional farming can in a lot of cases be beneficial to farmers, reducing the risk of crop failure and it does not bring the costs of expensive farm equipment. In northern Ghana, nevertheless, there is a huge amount of land which is adequate for agriculture but is not cultivated yet. As chapter 4 shows there are opportunities for economic growth through the production of certain commodities which have an comparative and competitive advantage.

The other respondent mentioned traditional thinking in a different setting and referred to the fact that the oldest is always right according to Ghanaian tradition. This way of thinking can lead to inefficient decision making whereas the eldest person simply is not always right and should be able to listen and learn from youngsters. The traditional way of farming can be used as an example of this statement. The eldest of the family decides that the traditional farming is the way they farm not listening to the younger members of the household who might have learned about more efficient farming techniques. In this case the traditional way of thinking is slowing down development whereas the youngsters have to resign to the elders. On the other hand not all the elders want to farm traditional. The sub-chief interviewed was very interested in learning new and more efficient farming techniques and was eager to learn also from youngsters and foreigners. Also, not all western farm techniques are better than traditional farming techniques. Most important is that a big opportunity for economic growth for northern Ghana is through agricultural growth and therefore it might be useful for them to be educated in other and more efficient agricultural practises.

5.3.3 Concerns among the poorest

Poverty seems to overlap all issues mentioned by the respondents because the poorest are deprived of access towards different facilities which makes it difficult to

Table 5.2: education level by wealth

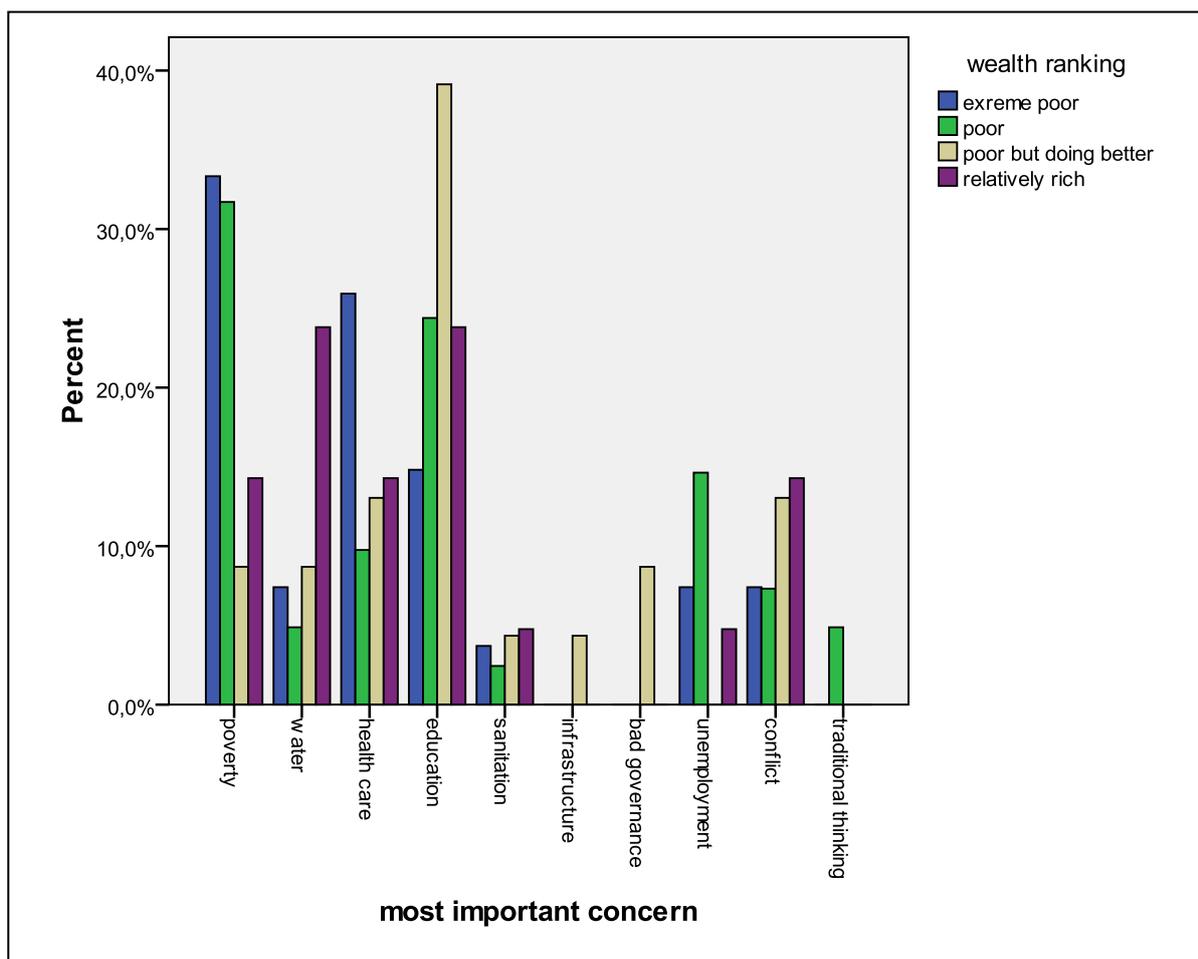
		wealth ranking				Total
		extreme poor	poor	poor but doing better	relatively rich	
education level	None	21	14	5	4	44
	primary school	2	2	1	0	5
	junior high school	2	7	3	3	15
	senior high school	1	16	5	4	26
	College	0	1	8	5	14
	University	1	1	1	5	8
Total		27	41	23	21	112

Source: authors fieldwork, 2010

break out of poverty. The poorest have no access to water, higher education and have difficulty in reaching health care centres, therefore it is important to see what main concerns are mentioned by the poorest of the community. Figure 5.3 shows the main concerns of the local community by wealth ranking. Again poverty, health care and education are ranked as the three most important concerns by the extreme poor of society. The poor are mentioning poverty, education and unemployment as the three most important concerns.

As education is seen as biggest opportunity to break out of poverty and because the extreme poor are more likely to be deprived from higher education investments should be made to give them the same opportunities as the wealthier groups of the community (see table 5.2). In addition, migration is seen as a negative outcome from a lack of opportunities for poor people in northern Ghana, access to higher education increases the opportunities for these people. It is thus important to provide better education for the inhabitants of northern Ghana. The focus is not only on higher education, whereas a lot of graduates are now struggling to find jobs that fit their education. Unemployment is therefore also mentioned as important concern among the poorest. Access to vocational training is therefore very important, because jobs in the lower segments are more available (for example being a hairdresser, mechanic, cook etc.). Still, a lack in funding to start up a business is a huge challenge. Health care is also a concern that affects the extreme poor, as mentioned earlier. Access to health care facilities is difficult for this group due to large distances and the immobility of this group. Interestingly the 'relatively rich' and 'poor but doing oké' rank water as one of the most important concerns. This can be connected to the

Figure 5.3: concerns according to wealth category



Source: authors fieldwork, 2010

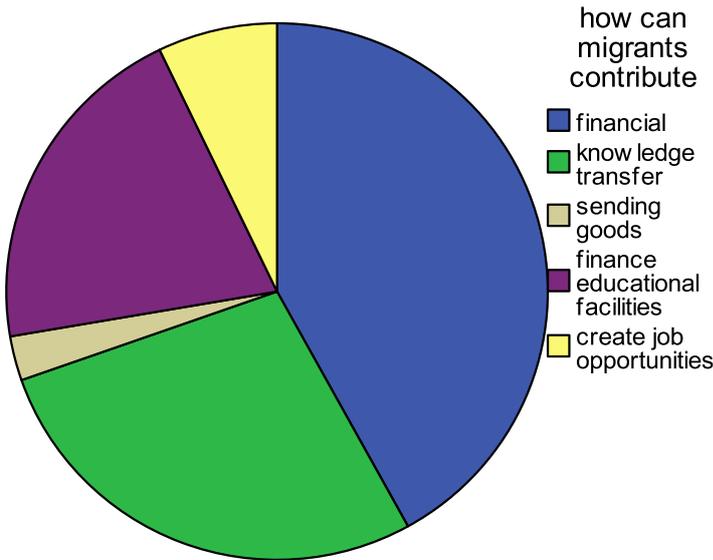
concern with health care whereas the wealthier groups identify that access to clean water is important for healthy living conditions and for productive purposes for farmers. Concerns with sanitation can also be linked to concerns with health care, because clean sanitation in northern Ghana is scarce, most inhabitants need to make use of public toilets which are sources of bacteria influencing the health condition of many.

The University of Development Studies in Tamale is conducting research towards how the extreme poor, especially in distant rural areas could be assisted. Concrete projects which could improve living standards and create opportunities for development are accomplished. Unfortunately there is no funding to actually implement the projects in the villages and the rural poor remain deprived from a lot of services. When NGOs or organizations like DAYA would cooperate with the university explicit projects could be implemented and the rural poor might profit (fieldwork, 2010).

5.4 Possible solutions from a local perspective

During the interviews the focussing on their concerns, many respondents gave their opinion about what should be done and mentioned foremost vocational training and higher education. When the respondents were asked about how migrants might be able to contribute to development 42% of the respondents answered that migrants could help financially, 27% stated that migrants could help with direct knowledge transfer, 20% answered that migrants could help with financing educational facilities, 8% thought that migrants could help with creating job opportunities and 3% answered that the sending of goods might contribute (see figure 5.4). According to the respondents who mentioned knowledge transfer and the financing of educational facilities this would be of bigger influence in contributing to development than financial aid. Several of these respondents claimed that with knowledge about how to set up a project and how to maintain certain projects, such as a school, more growth can be reached than with financial aid which can just be spend only once. During the interviews it became clear that there was a demand for help in maintaining projects. These projects differ from building schools, setting up health care facilities and help with improving the agricultural sector which can be of great economic value as mentioned in chapter 4. Several NGOs are setting up a lot of projects in northern Ghana, but unfortunately many of these tend to fail when the investors leave. Training of locals is needed so they can maintain the projects even after the NGOs

Figure 5.4: migrants possible contribution to development



Source: authors fieldwork, 2010

leave. One respondent mentioned that: “a pile of bricks with a roof is not a school”. Important to note is that there are a lot of NGOs which are setting up projects which are successful, the point here is that the local community feels that they are not educated enough to be able to maintain certain projects themselves. This again stresses the importance of better education where the inhabitants can learn about; how to start up a project, gain funding, money management, construction and maintenance, so they will be able to set up and maintain projects themselves. Unfortunately, the lack of overall funding and other resources maintain a problem even if better education was provided.

It seems that the northern Ghanaian population lacks confidence not only in their own abilities but also in the government. A lot of respondents reacted at the question who should or could provide development with the answer: “the government should provide development but they will not, so NGOs might be able to do it”. One interesting answer was: “the cake of the government is not big enough for Ghana, there is never a piece left for the north”. This represents the feeling of neglect from the government in comparison with the south which was mentioned by most of the respondents. Although I have no figures to support these critiques, the confidence in the governments seems to remain low. To be able to come to structural development in the north there is a need for more cooperation and confidence between the government, organizations and civilians. Once these relations are improved there are several opportunities to create economic growth and opportunities for those who are in need to break out of poverty. The opportunities which now seem to be most likely to improve the living standards of poor households are, vocational training, higher education and farming commodities which have a comparative and competitive advantage.

5.5 Conclusion

Ghana is catching on to the global world market and the country has been improving a lot, education is there for most of the children, water is scarce but available, there is enough food. What Ghana needs now is to make the final step to be able to develop on their own and create economic prosperity themselves, provide education for everyone on all levels and give the local community the tools they need to build up a life and climb out of poverty. There will always be winners and losers within development. It is important to bring development to the extreme poor who need it

the most. Awareness about the fact that most remittances and other development aid do not reach the poorest of society is important. Make sure that these people are included instead of excluded, so they can have the same opportunities as others within the community to break out of poverty. Improvement and access to education might make a huge impact on the inhabitants of northern Ghana, unfortunately there are also problems occurring at a macro level which need to be dealt with in order to create more opportunities. A lack of investment interest from companies in the area is still causing a lack of job opportunities which keeps migration towards the south growing. Although this thesis tried to seek opportunities for development through migration it has to be concluded that northern Ghana has to deal with a lot of negative outcomes of migration. Northern Ghana is in need for economic growth to create opportunities and to prevent youngsters from migrating.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

Migration is a complex process which is changing contemporary society in both sending and receiving areas. Migration is not a decision made by individuals acting upon maximizing their well being, it is a result of interacting micro and macro structures creating cross border social networks. It is a complex phenomenon driven by economic, political, social and cultural factors and therefore an interdisciplinary approach is needed to be able to understand causes and outcomes of the migratory process.

The case of Tamale shows how interacting micro and macrostructures can lead to migration. The macroeconomic environment in Ghana has been evolving unequally since colonial times and northern Ghana is economically lacking behind. There is a lack in job opportunities and there is a pattern of north south migration which has been in existence for over a century. Most migrants move interregional and only a small number migrates towards the developed world. Migration is seen by many as the only solution to break out of poverty. Even though the macroeconomic environment seems to be the main cause of migration it is important to look at why the economic opportunities of northern Ghana are lacking behind. Other problems on a macro level are making northern Ghana unattractive for investors, like the conflict between the two families which is now involved within politics. These macro problems need to be resolved in order to create actual economic opportunities within northern Ghana. As the causes for this economic inequality date back to colonial times it will take time to change the current situation of northern Ghana. Lack of social and economic opportunities in addition with the underlying conflict and political distrust makes northern Ghana a complex place which is in need for development.

The second conclusion drawn in this thesis was that migration in northern Ghana is perceived as a negative phenomenon. This is certainly true for the internal migration where northern Ghanaians have to survive under bad living conditions, struggling to earn some money. Still, migration seems to be ingrained in the Ghanaians psyche as a route out of poverty and it has become a rite of passage for a lot of young Ghanaians to gain money to set up a business by return. Although migration can create a lot of opportunities it does have a negative outcome because it can increase inequality between migrant and non migrant families. Remittances are seen as possible money flows which can create opportunities for development, in Tamale the money inflow of remittances is not big and is not reaching to the extreme

poor. Most remittances are used for daily expenses and are seen as an addition to the regular income from which the poorest are deprived. Remittances are not the only thing the extreme poor are deprived of; health care facilities and education are also hard to reach.

Macro structures have been influential on the lack of possibilities to be able to gain access towards different social facilities. The Structural Adjustment Programs implemented since the 1980s worsened the situation for the poor in northern Ghana because access to education and health care became harder for the extreme poor as a result of budget cuts by the government. Fieldwork shows that the difficulty in reaching these social facilities are among the most important concerns mentioned by the respondents. The top three of most important concerns were poverty, access to education and health care facilities. Because of the lack of access to social facilities and economic opportunities migration might actually be the only way out of poverty. Returning migrants do have more job opportunities and do have the possibility to use money earned while away to set up a business. Still, the majority of the respondents argued that there was a need for access to higher education and vocational schools, college and the university to prevent youngsters from migrating.

Although Ghana is one of the better doing countries in west Africa much more investments will be needed to make sure northern Ghana is able to catch on to the global world market and gain economic growth just as southern Ghana. The government should show a larger interest in the area and should cooperate more with the local NGOs available. There are concrete projects developed to gain growth within distant rural areas but these are not used. NGOs and the university should cooperate more so that concrete problems can be solved. Focus of development should be on education and the development of the agricultural opportunities through the production of comparative and competitive advantage. Even though migration is perceived negatively, organizations like DAYA might contribute to development by funding the projects which are produced by the University of Development Studies. They can also contribute by making funding available for the extreme poor in order to get a better education. This would create a positive outcome of the use of remittances and reach out to the poorest. For an organization like DAYA it is important to be aware of the fact that the poorest inhabitants are deprived from social facilities and thus do not have the same opportunities as others to be able to break

out of poverty. Organizations like DAYA could give the extreme poor a chance to get the same education and therefore opportunities as others.

This thesis described the complexity of the migratory process and the importance of taking into account the local context to understand the reasons and motives for migration. It concluded that migration has negative and positive outcomes and that migration has become a strategy to break out of poverty. Peace and political stability are needed in northern Ghana to be able to reach economic growth in the region. Macroeconomic growth needs to be established in order to help the extreme poor on the micro level therefore research towards how to conduct this change is needed. There are opportunities for development in northern Ghana and with cooperation between the government NGOs and organizations like DAYA concerns of the local community can be addressed if the extreme poor get the extra help needed.

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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:

19 Do you think diaspora organisations can contribute to development in your community, in what way? Financial – knowledge transfer – sending of goods

20 What are main concerns/problems in the tamale region according to you and which problems need most attention?

- Water – education – transport – healthcare – migration – other:

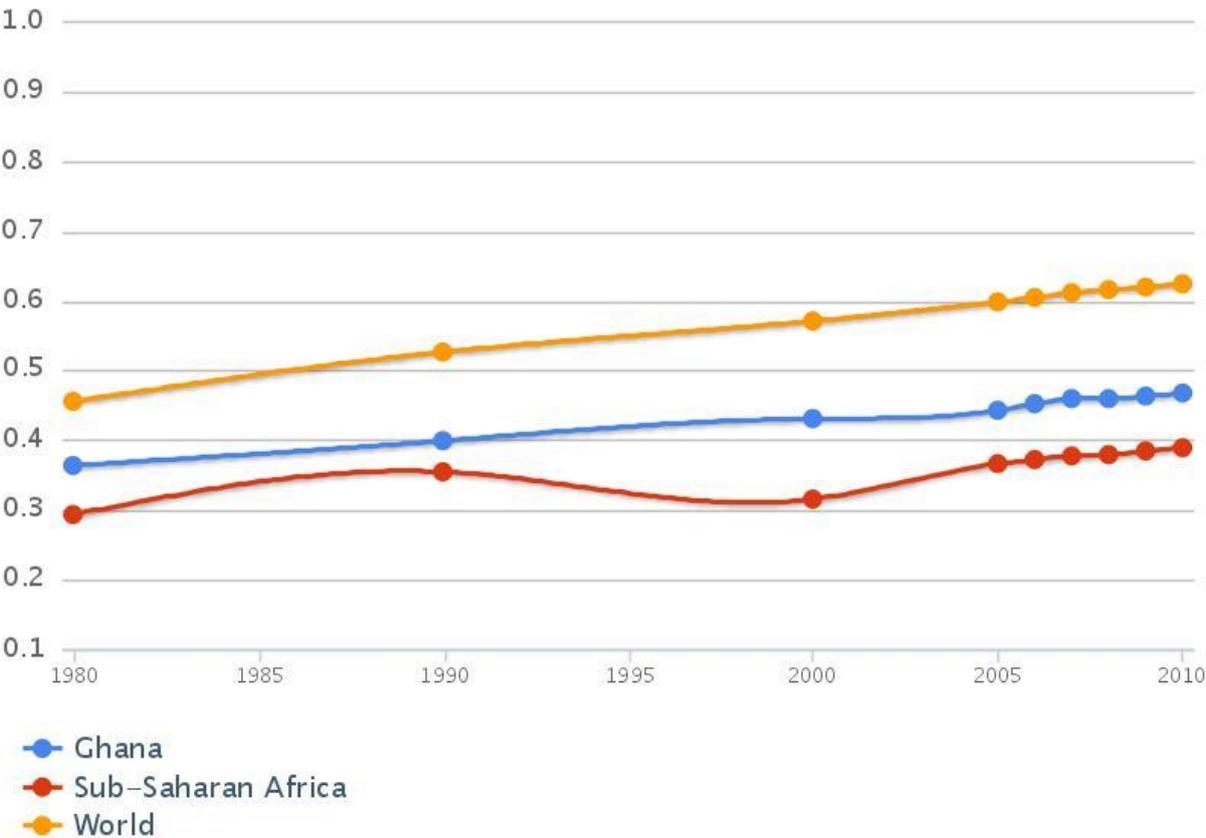
Please explain:

21 What would you like to see developed to address problems in the Tamale region?

Please explain:

22 Additional/remarkable information from respondent:

Appendix 2: Human Development Index



Source: UNDP (2010) *Ghana, Country Profile of Human Development Indices*, <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/GHA.html>; found on: 15-02-2011

Appendix 3: GLSS5 per capita income

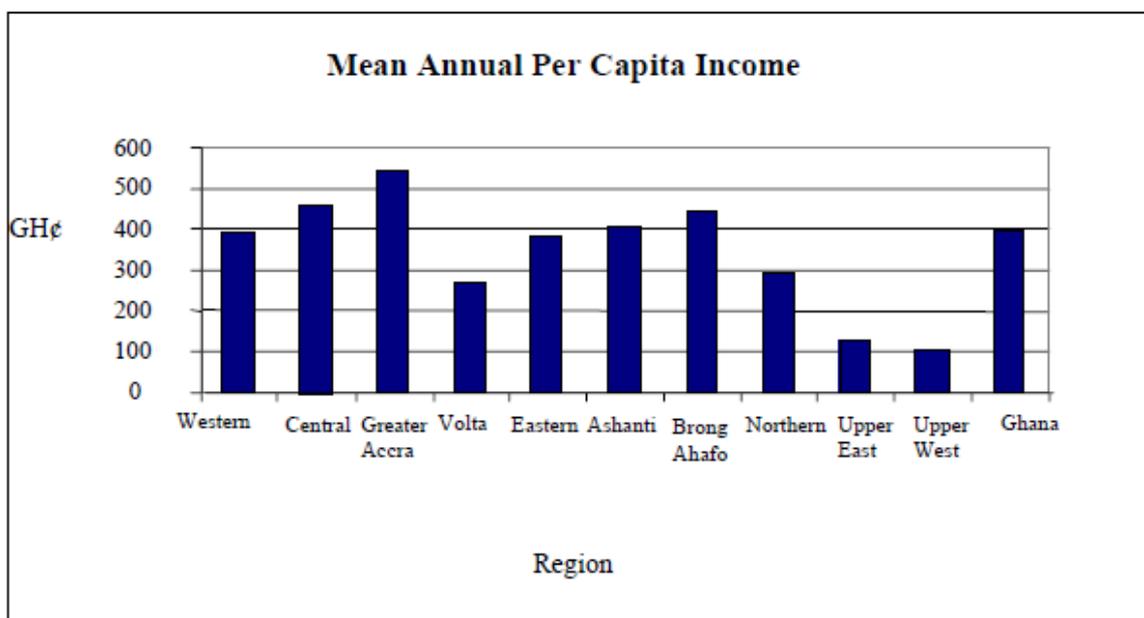


Table 9.19: Households by quintile, Mean annual household and per capita income by region

Region	Quintile					All	Mean annual household income (GH Cedis)	Mean annual per capita income (GH Cedis)
	1	2	3	4	5			
Western	5.8	16.7	18.5	23.1	35.9	100.0	1,222	393
Central	7.0	13.7	21.0	23.8	34.5	100.0	1,310	464
Greater Accra	4.6	9.1	15.5	24.7	46.1	100.0	1,529	544
Volta	12.7	23.2	21.4	20.3	22.4	100.0	913	272
Eastern	4.9	14.3	23.1	25.7	31.9	100.0	1,145	379
Ashanti	7.9	14.6	16.3	22.3	38.9	100.0	1,149	410
Brong Ahafo	11.0	19.8	21.1	21.5	26.5	100.0	1,202	443
Northern	32.9	20.7	15.4	15.3	15.6	100.0	1,452	296
Upper East	54.8	19.1	13.0	7.2	5.9	100.0	616	124
Upper West	76.7	12.5	5.3	2.4	3.1	100.0	606	106
Ghana	12.6	15.5	18.2	21.6	32.0	100.0	1,217	397

At the regional level, Greater Accra has the highest average annual income of GH¢1,529 that is higher than the average national income of GH¢1,217 (Table 9.19). This is followed by Northern and then the Central. Upper West, Upper East and Volta regions have the lowest mean annual income of less than GH¢1,000. In terms of per capita income, four regions have an annual per capita income above the national annual average (GH¢397) with Greater Accra recording the highest GH¢544. Upper West and Upper East regions have average annual per capita incomes of less than GH¢130 while Northern and Volta have per capita incomes less than GH¢300 (Fig 9.2).

The table further reveals that Greater Accra Region is better off than the other regions, with almost 50 per cent of its households falling within the highest quintile, and a much lower proportion of households (about 5%) within the lowest quintile. Ashanti follows with almost 40 percent and nearly 8 percent of its households within the highest and lowest quintile respectively.

On the other hand, Northern, Upper East and Upper West have much lower proportions of households ranging from 15.6 percent in Northern to 3.1 percent in Upper West in the highest quintile and high proportions of households ranging from 32.9 percent in Northern to 76.7 in Upper West in the lowest quintile. This indicates very high incidence of poverty in the northern parts of the country.

Source: GLSS (2008) *Ghana Living Standards Survey, Report of the Fifth Round*, Ghana Statistical Service