UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

ASSESSING THE RE-INTEGRATION OF RETURNED 'KAYAYEI' MIGRANTS

IN THE SAVELUGU-NANTON MUNICIPALITY, GHANA

ISSIFU ALIDU LAA-BANDOW

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN AND GENERAL STUDIES, FACULTY OF INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF PHYLOSOPHY DEGREE IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

AUGUST, 2017

DECLARATION

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

Name: Issifu Alidu Laa-Bandow

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

Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this thesis was supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of theses laid down by the University for Development Studies:

Name: Dr. Abdulai Abubakari

Supervisor's Signature……………………………………………

Date…………………………...

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DEDICATION

To my family

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ABSTRACT

Northern Ghana has been impoverished relative to the buoyant urban economy in the South. This process of development has created a spatial dichotomy between Northern and Southern Ghana. This in turn triggered the migration of economically active young people popularly referred to as "kayayei" from the North to the South in search of menial work. This study assesses the reintegration of returned "kayayei" migrants. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches of data collection were adopted. A total of 202 people were interviewed. They included returned "kayayei" and traditional leaders (interviewed with a structured questionnaire). Other traditional leaders were also interviewed as key informants. The traditional leaders were selected using purposive sampling, whilst the returned "kayayei" as well as their relatives were selected using stratified sampling technique. Majority of the respondents (63.9%) did not have any formal education. The results showed that returned "kayayei" who stayed between 5-8 years and above in the "kayayei" migration had significantly greater odds of reintegrating into their indigenous societies. "Kayayo" has an influence on the indigenous cultures of communities in the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality. Young people who embark on "kayayei" return with different attitudes and behaviors that do not conform to the indigenous cultures of the communities. It is recommended that political leaders, policy makers and other stakeholders should devise ways to curtail the menace of "kayayei" since it has negative impact on the developmental agenda of northern Ghana.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMA	Accra Metropolitan Area
AOR	Average Odd Ratio
GER	Gross Primary Enrolment
GIGDEV	Girls Growth Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MED	Municipal Education Directorate
NELM	New Economics of Labor Migration
PPS	Probability Proportional to Size
SD	Standard Deviation
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Scientists

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1   BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Migration and development is an international concern and a subject for great debate in recent times. In 2013, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and International Labor Organization estimated that 214 million people representing three percent of the global population migrate internationally. Fifty percent of these numbers are women. Taking a global outlook of the issue, the economically active migrant workers number about 105 million (International Labor Organization, 2014). According to Alexandrescu (2002) among some European minorities, such as Rome, poverty and lack of education seem to be widespread, which may explain migration to urban areas.

In Brazil, migrants come from indigenous groups that are poverty- ridden (Mturi et al, 2008). According to the Institute de Brasileiro de Geografia Estatistica (2013), there are approximately 7.5 million children between the ages 10 and 17 who work in Brazil. All over the world, child migration is manifesting due to numerous factors such as poverty, wars, disasters and others (Parekh, 2008). In Africa, the number of studies on rural-urban migration among children and young people shows that men are the dominant migrants and the purpose of migration is mainly economic (Caldwell, 1969; Todaro, 1971; Nabila, 1974; Zachariah, 1980). Migration within West Africa and within the region and the rest of the continent goes back to the pre-colonial days. The trans-Saharan caravan routes were among the earliest evidence of major interaction between West and North Africa for trading and exchange of scholars (Boahen, 1966).

Caldwell (1969) and Ewusi (1978) as cited in Awunbila (2004) discussed internal migration in Ghana from a general perspective without much consideration for the socio-cultural, economic, psychological and environmental factors of the different localities or the different social groups. Several studies have been conducted on migration in Ghana. For example Nabila's (1974) pioneering work on Frafra migration and Cleveland's (1991) work on Kusasi migration. Sufian (1994) studied the migration of women from the north to Accra, while Synnove (1999) worked on female migrants in Accra. However little is known about the reintegration of returned migrants into their various cultures.

Historically, the Northern Ghana has, since the colonial period, been an area of heavy outmigration of men and women to the South for jobs on cocoa farms, the mines and constructional works (Caldwell, 1969; Nabila, 1974; Songsore and Denkabe, 1995). This was partly due to the British colonial administration which initiated forced migration from the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast to satisfy the need for cheap labor in the mining, timber, cocoa and oil palm plantation areas in the south (Songsore, 2003). There was a deliberate policy that designated the northern part of the country as a labor reservoir for the southern mining areas such as Obuasi, Konongo, Prestea and Tarkwa. Thus, Chiefs and other opinion leaders were mandated by the then District Commissioners to recruit able-bodied men as laborers for the mines, cocoa farms, the army and construction works in the forest and coastal areas (Tanle, 2014; 2010; Tanle, 2003; Songsore, 2003). This was followed by voluntary seasonal migration of mainly young people from the north to the south during the long dry season in the north (Anarfi, Kwankye, Ababio & Tiemoko, 2003; Tanle, 2010).

Furthermore, with seasonal farming as the main economic activity, many people in the North become unemployed during the long dry season. Consequently, the one option available to the people is to migrate to the South where job opportunities could be found. The purpose for migration varies from person to person. Some people migrate to seek better living and working conditions for themselves and their families. According to Arhin (2008), migration in any part of the world is in response to imbalances in development existing between origin and destination areas. It is also a strategy for survival. Consequently, this pattern of migration (north-south) has attracted a number of studies (Tanle 2010; Kwankye et al., 2007; Hashim, 2007; Kubon, 2004; Mensah-Bonsu, 2003; Sulemana, 2003; Synnove, 1999; Abur-sufian, 1994; Zeng, 1993; Nabila, 1975; Oppong, 1967) particularly on the patterns, determinants and implications of- north-south migration on both areas of origin and destination. Other studies on north-south migration focused on the migration of young females from the northern sector to the southern sector, particularly to Kumasi and Accra for the *kayayei* business (Anarfi et al., 2009; Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Tanle and Awusabo-Asare, 2007; Awumbila & Kwankye, 2008; Whithead & Hashim, 2005).

Migration has both negative and positive effects. According to Awumbila (2014) there is a relationship between migration and wellbeing because most households in northern Ghana believe that their welfare has improved as a result of migration of a member of the household to the southern part of Ghana. Migrant workers contribute to economic development; they help address skill shortage and a decline in the labor supply. The scale and type of migration also varies across countries and in different contexts. People can migrate for a short term, longer term or permanently. Migration is also seen as the flow of

people between countries, or within countries. Internal migration represents the movement of people from one region or city to another from the rural to urban areas or vice versa.

Migratory movements in Ghana have always been strongly determined by the distribution of economic opportunities. The pattern of internal migration in Ghana has particularly been influenced by the stark differences in the levels of poverty between north and south, as well as their respective capacities to respond to new economic opportunities. Anarfi et al. (2003) reported that the pattern of socio-economic development in Ghana has created three distinct geographic identities. These are the coastal zone dominated by Accra-Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi; a middle zone (the Ashanti Region) with Kumasi as its centre; and the northern savannah zone. The coastal zone is the most industrialized and urbanized area in the country and has been the focus of internal migration, since the beginning of the last century.

Internal migration in Ghana is traced to the colonial era. According to Hart (1973) almost 46,000 migrant workers moved from the north to the south of Ghana in 1945. This figure increased to 200,000 in 1954 and by 1960, intra-regional migration accounted for 24 percent of Ghana's labor force. One such group of internal migrants is those popularly referred to as "kayayei." They are usually female and male head porters who often migrate from the Northern Ghana to urban cities in the South in search of job opportunities or improved income activities with the hope of raising enough capital to invest in less labor intensive ventures. Most of these "kayayes" are said to be "saviors" of their immediate families back home as the survival of their relatives depends on the incomes they make through menial jobs. The word "Kaya" is a Hausa word which means

loads, goods or luggage, while "yei" is a Ga word which means woman (Bemah, 2010). The three northern regions of Ghana have the highest number of rural out-migrants in the country. Meanwhile, the percentage of the population of the three regions has been less than 20.0% since 1970 (Ghana Statistical Service-GSS, 2012). This phenomenon is due to north-south migration which has been widely attributed to low socio-economic development and unfavorable physical characteristics in the north. In Ghana, about eighty per cent of "kayayei" are from the Northern (specifically Northern Region, Upper East and Upper West Region) (Opare, 2003). They operate as informal workers who do menial, manual jobs mostly at the market centers through conveying goods as head porters or trolley pushers. The "kayayei" are unorganized, unprotected and unregistered. This makes them vulnerable and exposed to a lot of risk.

There are disparities between cultural systems of northern and southern Ghana and also between urban and rural Ghana. A study by Wessells and Monteiro (2000) in Angola found that returned migrants down play the traditions and cultural practices of their own societies because of the imposition of Western knowledge and practice and out of a desire to appear scientific and avoid embarrassment. Western and urban psychological theory and practice may disregard the traditional, communal and spiritual aspects of experience. This implies that retuned migrants may acquire different cultural values that are directly opposite their usual norms (Dzokoto & Wen Lo, 2005).

However, in many of these studies that have been carried out in the country with regards to "kayayei" movement to southern Ghana, issues concerning return migration and returnees' reintegration are generally not considered, despite the fact that most internal migratory movements in Ghana are largely transient which usually culminate in return

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migration. This has resulted in the dearth of literature on the theoretical and empirical bases for understanding internal return migration and the reintegration experiences of internal return migrants in the country. Nonetheless, International Organization for Migration, (2015) recognizes the fact that return migration is a complex process, and that more information is needed on the factors contributing to successful reintegration, sustainability as well as on indicators that can be used to measure the sustainability of return migration.

In the study Municipality (Savelugu-Nanton), same can be expressed about this regrettable phenomenon of young males and females' mass exodus to southern Ghana. Some of them leave school whiles others do not make any efforts to go to school at all. To most of them, their future security appears to be blurred whereas to some of them, education does not promise taking them anywhere. But unexpectedly, "kayayei-Business" is perceived to be a lucrative venture of which they embark upon and return again to their respective communities. This trend is alarming in a region with upsetting negative development indicators. It is therefore important to examine the reintegration of returned Kayayei into the local cultures of the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality.

1.2 Problem Statement

After over five decade of Ghana's independent from colonial rule, the development gap between northern Ghana and the rest of the country continues to widen. Historically, the wide development disparities between the north and the south can be traced back to the development strategy of both pre-independent and post-independent periods.

Nevertheless, the wake of colonialism left Northern Ghana not only at the periphery, but a trendsetter in setting national records when it comes to migration for kayayei migration and that is the reason why we still have this exodus of young men and women in this 21st Century. Information gathered by the Daily Express (2010) indicates that the numbers of young women migrating from the three Northern Regions to the capital, Accra in search of jobs have gone up. This came to light following attempts by officials of the then Population census to enumerate the porters on census night before they head out to their day's job the following day. Studies on migration in Ghana started in the 1960's, notable among these studies are those conducted by Caldwell (1969) and Ewusi (1977) and Nabilla (1979) on the causes of "kayayei" among young people from rural to urban areas of Ghana. The studies were focused on the movement of young people from the northern part of Ghana to southern Ghana in search of greener pastures.

The availability of natural resources like minerals, cocoa, coffee and timber products in the forest zone and the construction of railways, roads, ports and harbors along the coast to aid the transportation and export of these products meant that investments were channeled to these areas while the north was left behind (UNFPA, 2013). This process of development thus created a spatial dichotomy between the northern and southern parts of the country, which in turn triggered the migration of economically active persons from

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the one to the other in search of work in agriculture and mining areas. The consequence of this uneven development has been that "the north has been constituted a major source of labor supply for the industries and agriculture in the south, reflecting the impoverishment in the north and the relative buoyant urban economy in the south" (Awumbila, 2007).

According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2010) about 80 percent of the population in the three Northern Regions is poor, while almost 70 percent is extremely poor. Additionally, an analysis of the 2010 Population and Housing census of Ghana showed that the proportion of inter-regional migrants in Northern, Upper East and Upper West were the lowest in the country (6.0 percent, 5.4 percent and 5.8 percent respectively) while Greater Accra and Western regions had much higher proportions of inter-regional migrants (36.9 percent and 26.1 percent respectively). Migrants perceive that urban centers have relatively better opportunities for them to enhance their lives. These opportunities therefore serve as attractions or incentives for migrants from the North or rural settings to move to urban centers.

Geographically, Ghana is not homogeneous in culture or economic activities; differences can be found between regions and within them. From the cultural perspective, language, histories and legends, social organizations, physical environments, beliefs and customs differentiate the areas. As "kayayei" migrants move from the North to the South, they learn and acquire certain cultures and values that are different from that of the North. It therefore poses a challenge to societies and migrants themselves who return to the North in order to reintegrate themselves into the local cultures or into northern society. This consistent pattern of not incorporating the reintegration challenges of these returned

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"kayeyie" migrants into northern societies of Ghana is problematic and creates a knowledge gap. This again, presents only a partial and an incomplete picture of "kayayei" migration situation in Ghana, given the relevance of return migration in development. It was therefore important that this critical gap in knowledge was explored to bring a comprehensive understanding of reintegration of returned "kayayei" into the northern society of Ghana. The views of the returned "kayayei' migrants are important in the assessment of their reintegration process because they provide new and unique information to enriching this study. Access to this information has provided an additional dimension to assessing returned "kayayei" migration in Ghana based on firsthand experiences of returned "kayayei", which were previously unknown.

Similarly, the absence of a deep understanding of their lives style during the reintegration process into their northern homes presented a situation where some of their new acquired habits may not have been in consonance with the aspirations of the local cultures for development. It was critical to explore this gap in knowledge to provide enriched and comprehensive information that culminated to solving the challenges of returned "kayayei" migrants. Therefore, this research figured out this literature gap through the research questions raised below and wants to contribute in filling the gap since it has some serious implications for the government and policy makers within the North and Savelugu as Municipality.

The aim of this study therefore is to assess the re-integration of returned Kayayei into their communities, using Savelugu-Nanton Municipality as a study area.

1.3 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to assess the reintegration of returned migrants into the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality of Ghana

1.4 Research Questions

The study seeks to find answers to the following research questions;

1. What are the factors that influence their return into their indigenous homes?

2. What are their economic and social gains made by returned kayayes?

3. Is there a relationship between gender and length of stay in kayayei and reintegration processes into the local homes of the Municipality?

4. Are there acquired habits of returned kayayei that contravene the local cultures?

1.5 Specific Objectives of the Study.

The study specifically seeks;

1. To explore those factors that influence the return of these kayayei into their indigenous homes

2. To determine the economic and social gains made by returned kayayei

3. To assess the relationship between gender and length of stay in kayayei and reintegration process into their local homes of the Municipality

4. To examine some of the acquired habits of returned kayayei that contravene the local cultures

1.6 Significance of the Study

The findings of the study on the reintegration of returned "kayayei" into indigenous homes within the municipality will offer readers, policy-makers, and the government the opportunity to understand the psychological and emotional disturbances commonly found among returned migrants in their reintegration process into their communities and in that way will further inform policies and programmes aimed at addressing the plight of return migrants into Northern Ghana. Recommendations made in this study also are useful in improving the understanding of current country's development. Together with country's political and economic restructuring, most of the "kayayei" migrants are thinking to come back home and the findings from this study will give them proper understanding in considering to come back home.

The study also contributes to bridging the gap of knowledge on the issue of reintegration of returned "kayayei" migrants in the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality.

Several non-governmental organizations have programs that give "kayayei" some training and give them packages to return or go back to their communities and settle. The findings of this study will be useful to these NGOs in training these "kayayei" on how they could be reintegrated favorably into their communities in order to avoid future out-migrations. At large, it will direct International relevant stakeholders such as International Organization for Migration about measures to employ in curbing the internal north-south migration in search of non-existing white color jobs in the cities and its associated problems.

The study can also serve as a basis for further probe into all aspects of human personality which will be of immense benefit to social workers, health workers, educators,

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psychologists and other professionals working in such related fields in Ghana and elsewhere. The results of the study on the challenges of the integration process will be used to sensitize the people of Savelugu-Nanton Municipality about how those new acquired habits can be integrated into their home cultures for enhanced development.

1.7   Limitations of the Study

One grave intricacy the research encountered was in relation with getting the necessary responses from the returned "kayayei". They were hesitant to give the needed information since this research deals with their brittle experiences. The interview questions to some extent brought memories of emotional trauma. To overcome those challenges the researcher held discussions with the "kayayei" returnees, Traditional Leaders and their households and also assured them that the study was not aimed at investigation their success and failures from their "kayayei" business but that it was a purely academic work.

In a qualitative case study, the researcher becomes as the instrument of the study in that, he/she collects, analyzes, and interprets the data gathered from the field. The propensity for the researcher to taint the data with his/her personal biases is real (Creswell, 2009; Goulding, 2002). This was one of the limitations of this study, given that I had preconceived opinions about the phenomenon under study. I employed purposive sampling as the study's sampling strategy. With this sampling procedure decreases the generalisability of findings, because of the albescence of a sample frame. The results of this study have not been generalized to all areas of northern region.

1.8 Definition of Key Terms

"Kayayei": refers to the movement of young girls and boys mostly from rural areas of Northern Ghana to urban areas of the Southern part to engage themselves in menial jobs especially head porterage popularly known as "kayayoo"

Migration: the movement by people from one place to another with the intentions of settling temporarily or permanently in the new location

Return migrant: Someone who migrated and returned home.

Returnee: Any "kayayo" person returning to his/her place of origin, after having been an internal migrant (for a minimum of one year) in the southern Ghana. Return may be permanent or temporary. It may be independently decided by the migrant or forced by unexpected circumstances.

Reintegration: Re-inclusion or re-incorporation of a person into a group or a process, e.g. of a migrant into the society of his or her country of origin or habitual residence in other words the ability of returned kayayei to live within the cultural and societal values of the communities.

Cultural reintegration: For the intention of this study, is defined as the return to one's native family, community, or heritage

Antecedent: Something that existed before something else

1.9 Organization of the Study

The study has been divided or organized into six chapters. Chapter one consists of the introduction that is background of the study, problem statement, study objectives and

research questions, significance of the study, and the operational definition of some terms of the study.

Chapter two is made up of a review of relevant literature in relation to the study. Chapter three talks about methodology, which is made up of the study design, study type, study variables (independent and dependent variables), data collection tools, sampling procedure and sample size determination, study population, sources of data, data collection methods, determination of educational level, determination of household wealth index, determination of women empowerment, quality control measures and ethical considerations. Results of the study are presented in chapter four whilst the discussion of the results and findings of the study is done in chapter five. Chapter six comprises the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0   Introduction

This chapter reviews literature in relation to the study. The literature review was done in relation to the objectives of the study which includes; the factors that influence integration into the society by returned migrants, the economic and social gains made by migrants, and the   acquired habits of returned migrants that contravene the local cultures .

2.1   Overview of Migration

Conway (2008) reported that we live in a world shaped by human migration. Everyday, people make a decision to leave their hometown — or even their own country — and move elsewhere to work, study, retire, or reunite with their families. Migration has changed the demographic composition of towns, cities, and nations. Consider that in 1960 there were only 30 countries in the world that had at least a half million international migrants each. By 2005, the number of such countries doubled, bringing the total number of foreign-born residents globally to 191 million people. Majority of these migrants moved from less-developed countries to more developed countries (PRB, 2008). In the same vein, Millions of others, known as internal migrants, migrated from one place to another within a single country. Over the past five decades, the impact of migration on development in migrant sending communities and countries has been the subject of continuous and sometimes heated debate, opposing views of the "migration optimists" and "migration pessimists" (Taylor, 2009).

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People migrate for many reasons, one particular type of migration known as labor migration is the most common form of migration. Sometimes people migrate because of a lack of employment opportunities locally, a low quality of life or poor environmental conditions, or if they fear for their own personal security. Social and political convulsions, perhaps with cultural or religious overtones, are other factors that can cause people to move from one place to another place. There are Push and Pull Factors of migration. According to Yeoh et al, (2003), geographers summarize the motivations for migration by considering how the relationship between two points (origin and destination) are affected by push and pull factors**.** Push factors exist at the point of origin and act to trigger emigration; these include the lack of economic opportunities, religious or political persecution, hazardous environmental conditions, and so on. Pull factors exist at the destination and include the availability of jobs, religious or political freedom, and the perception of a relatively benign environment. Pushes and pulls are complementary — that is, migration can only occur if the reason to emigrate (the push) is remedied by the corresponding pull at an attainable destination. In the context of labor migration, push factors are often characterized by the lack of job opportunities in sending areas or countries, and pull factors are the economic opportunities presented in receiving areas or countries.

The attraction of more economically developed places, thus cities and towns, for migrants have always provided the incentives for some people to move. When people move to new places looking for a job or better economic conditions, they are considered to be labor migrants. Throughout history, labor migration has been an important type of flow, but it

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has acquired greater importance today because of the new dynamism of the global economy (Snel et al, 2006). Countries, transnational corporations, and international organizations have shaped a complex web of attractions that people follow. However, there are also regions and places from which people emigrate through multiple processes.

Increasing and intensified labor migration is an important component of the globalization process, as some people migrate from city to city or emigrate from their home country to work in another country. However, labor migration also plants a seed for increasing inequalities between places and countries. The old expression of spatial movement of people has been transformed into new forms of migration flows, which bring opportunities and advantages but also risks and disadvantages (Muniz et al, 2016).

It has been discovered that the predisposition of young people to migrate could be consistently higher than other age groups when the area of origin is rural. This type of migration, from rural settlements to urban locations, is almost always permanent. It is frequently preceded by several rural-to-rural movements as a process of progressive adaptation to more complex social environments. Both stage and stepwise migration characterize the rural flows among several small towns (Muniz, 2008). Flows from urban to rural areas also exist; one example of this kind is known as "back-to-the-land movement" (Jacob, 2007; Halfacree, 2007), where urbanites decide to leave their congested places to reside in rural areas where they can have better quality of life. Such migration flows are found generally in more developed countries, while rural-to-urban flows are much more typical in less developed countries.

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The question of how far migrants can travel has been the focus of the classical migration studies since Ravenstein's Law of Migration, which recognized the relevance of distance as a factor of migration (Ravenstein, 2008). One of the basic works on migration and distance investigates population movements from one city to another. Zipf (2006) tried to explain urban-to-urban migration by the principle of least effort. According to Zipf's theory, the number of migrants from one city to another is a function of the distance separating the cities, since the effort and cost required to cover greater distances would increase with the distance traveled. Traditionally, geographers recognize that the "friction of distance" acts on human movements, meaning that the frequency of these movements decreases with increasing distance. This relationship is known as distance-decay or inverse-distance relationships.

Beaverstock, (2005) stated that the number of migrants is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at a given place and inversely proportional to the number of intervening obstacles. (One may also think of intervening obstacles as intervening opportunities; that is, the presence of other places between an origin and destination point to which one could migrate.) Therefore, the volume of migration from one place to another is associated not only with the distance between places and number of people in the two places, but also with the number of opportunities or obstacles between each place. This is especially true in labor migration.

Classic studies on migration stated that most migration occurs over a short distance. The number of migrants arriving in a given location was thought to decrease as the distance required for travel to that location increased. However, most recent studies talk about long-distance movements to global cities and the "friction" of distance has been reduced

to a minimum in those cases. Long-distance migration does not diffuse uniformly throughout the whole urban hierarchical system when migration develops globally. There is a stage migration that still goes on in the lower urban hierarchy (Brettell et al, 2008)

According to Briggs (2003) migrants still tend to move from one small city to a larger one, being replaced by other migrants who follow those early migrants. However, there are increasing numbers of migrants who move from small cities to large global cities, avoiding a great variety of intermediate urban sites.

Migration is essentially selective. Despite some exceptions, for example forced migration or movements to colonization projects, the vast majority of migration contain an element of migrant selectivity (also known as differentiation*).* In general, selectivity occurs because there are distinct differences between the interests of the individuals who belong to various social groups. The most commonly examined personal differences are related to age, gender, level of education, socio-professional status, marital status, and housing situation (owner or renter of property). Consequently, such attitudinal differences are manifested in behavioral differences with respect to staying in or leaving the community (White and Woods, 2008). Younger people, for example, are more likely to migrate than older persons (Clark, 2005).

2.1.1 Early Theories on Migration

Neo-classical migration theory perceives migration as a form of optimal allocation of production factors to the benefit of both sending and receiving countries. In this perspective of 'balanced growth', the re-allocation of labor from rural, agricultural areas to urban, industrial sectors (within or across borders), is considered as a prerequisite for

economic growth and, hence, as a constituent component of the entire development process (Todaro, 2008). This overview provided illuminative support, which was borrowed to argue out a case for the returned "kayayei" migrants' who might in their return accompanied by feelings of shame, loss, failure, disorientation, anxiety, insecurity and stress, which will hinder the reintegration process. Consequently the need to do this overview, so as to offer better concepts explanation to the issue under investigation and to the general public.

2.1.2 Migrations in Ghana

Migration in Ghana, like migration anywhere else in the world, is in response to imbalances in development existing between origin and destination areas. It is also a strategy for survival. Migration within West Africa, and between the region and the rest of the continent goes back a long way (Arhin, 1978). The trans-Saharan trade routes are among the earliest evidence of major interaction between West and North Africa for trading and exchange of scholars (Boahen, 1966). Migratory movements in Ghana have always been strongly determined by the distribution of economic opportunities. Literature on internal migration in Ghana has focused mainly on male adults from the Northern Ghana who moved either alone or with their dependents to the middle and southern belts of the country to take advantage of opportunities in the mining and cocoa-growing areas. These movements were initially more seasonal in nature.

In contemporary times, however, these movements are all-year round, and have involved young children and particularly females who migrate independently from the northern

parts of the country to cities and large urban centers in the south, notably Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi, to engage in various economic activities, including as kayayei or porters, carrying heavy loads on their heads (see also Riisøen, Hatløy and Bjerkan, 2004). Indeed, there is a strong tradition in Ghana of children leaving on their own initiative to find work (ibid.)

As independent child migrants in unfamiliar socio-cultural and economic environments, some of these children are likely to be vulnerable and face some risks. For example, many of them are found at transport stations and market places, which double as their places of work and sleep. It is common to find several children sleeping under sheds in these markets at night, bringing to light the problem of accommodation, among others, which many of these children face. These problems notwithstanding, more child migrants continue to migrate from the north to cities in the south, a situation which presupposes that they have some coping strategies and social resources which make them survive in these otherwise unfriendly environments. This study seeks to ascertain the way of life independent child migrants adopt in their day-to-day lives in the city. Though there has been regular media coverage of the problems migrant children face in the cities, an investigation into the dimensions of the problems and the strategies they adopt to cope will better inform policy makers. This, in turn, might help the formulation of better policies that would reduce the risks and vulnerabilities faced by these migrant children.

The free movement of labor—in an unconstrained market environment—will eventually lead to the increasing scarcity of labor, coinciding with a higher marginal productivity of labor and increasing wage levels in migrant sending countries. Capital flows are expected to go in exactly the opposite direction, that is, from the labor-scarce to the capital-scarce

migrant sending countries. Eventually, this process of factor price equalization (the Heckscher-Ohlin model) predicts that migration ceases once wage levels at the origin and destination converge (Massey et al., 1998).

In a strictly neo-classical world, the developmental role of migration is entirely realized through factor price equalization. As Djajic (1986) pointed out, earlier neo-classical migration theory ruled out the possibility of a gain for no-migrants. Strictly speaking, neo-classical migration theory has therefore no place for money remittances flowing to origin countries (Taylor, 1999). Neo-classical migration theory tends to view migrants as atomistic, utility maximizing individuals, and tends to disregard other migration motives as well as migrants' belonging to social groups such as households, families and communities.

According to dominant views of the 1950s and 1960s in development theory, return migrants were seen as important agents of change and innovation. It was expected that migrants not only bring back money, but also new ideas, knowledge, and entrepreneurial attitudes. In this way, migrants were expected to play positive role in development and contribute to the accelerated spatial diffusion of modernization in developing countries. Also remittances have been attributed an important role in stimulating economic growth. Such optimistic views were rooted in earlier studies on rural-to-urban migration within Europe and the United States and based on the historical experience with emigration from Europe to North America. This also reflected 'developmentalist' views which dominated in development theory in the first two decades following the Second World War. Rooted in evolutionary views on development, freshly decolonialized countries were expected to quickly follow the same path of modernization, industrialization, and rapid economic

growth as many Western countries had gone through. Assuming that capital constraints formed the major problem these countries faced, the developmentalist model postulated that through large-scale capital transfer (e.g., through loans, aid and remittances) poor countries would be able to jump on the bandwagon of rapid economic development and industrialization. Internal and international labor migration was seen as integral parts of this process contributing to a more optimal spatial allocation of production factors and, hence, better aggregate outcomes. This approach therefore lends itself to the neo-classical notion of migrants returning with a sense of failure, as their human capital was not rewarded in monetary terms.

Number Theoretical review of return migration

Return migration is often viewed as a many-sided process, academically debated since the 1960s, but with more far-reaching theoretical underpinnings from the 1980s onwards (Kubat 1984; Farrell *et al.* 2012). Theoretical explorations of return migration have, over time, assisted in how the concept has been characterized and how return migrants are represented. Conceptualizations of return migration very often start with an exploration of the neoclassical approach based on the response of the individual to economic opportunities in other countries (Cassarino 2004 & 2008). While relevant in relation to financial needs as an incentive (Hunter 2010), the neoclassical approach is criticized as migrants often underestimate the financial burden of migrating against the higher incomes expected within the source country (Cassarino, 2004). With this framework, Thomas (2008) argues that migrants will only return home if they fail to derive the expected benefit of higher earnings abroad. The study stands to benefits from the

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argument that migrants will only return home if they fail to gain the anticipated benefit high income whilst in their host communities.

In contrast to the neoclassical theory, the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) theory, by contrast, evaluates return migration as returning to the home country after successfully completing a period in a foreign country or "as part of a defined plan conceived by migrants before their departure from their countries of origin" (ibid). Adherents of this theory argue that the original plan of migrants includes designing an eventual return to their destinations after accumulating sufficient resources abroad. Therefore, most returned kayayei migrants move away from their homes to the urban areas of Accra, Kumasi, and Tema with the aim of acquiring their needs, savings, and other resources that would be useful to them upon their return home. The time abroad is often considered a temporary enterprise, and most migrants are said to return home soon after they have achieved their goals (Ammassari 2004).

 However, the success is measured in financial gain with little attention for the social aspects of the migrant's decision to return. Cassarino (2004) criticizes both NELM theory and neoclassical theory for placing considerable emphasis on the financial aspects of the migrant's decision to return, often to the detriment of social and cultural decisions. Addressing this shortfall, Cassarino (*ibid*) presents the structural approach to return migration, suggesting that the subject needs to be examined as a social and contextual issue, as well as a personal or financial one. The structural approach can however be criticized for its failure to take both the host and home country into consideration simultaneously (Hunter 2010). This approach fails to consider the difficulties faced by

returnees, often related to the length of time spent abroad, in addition to the level of contact maintained with family and friends while away.

By contrast, transnationalism presents a better theoretical framework based on solid connections between the host and home country (Cassarino 2004) or for explaining return and reintegration better. The 'cycle of contact' investigated in transnationalism explores the return migrant's ability to maintain strong links with the home country, which in turn acts as preparation for the return process. Chacko (2007) argues that transnational linkages due to reverse brain drain have a strong impact on the reintegration and economic development of the receiving home countries.

The networking process evident in transnationalism bears some similarities to social network theory. Social network theory has contributed significantly to a better understanding of return migration, as it views return migrants as actors who draw on tangible and intangible resources to ensure a successful return to their home country (Cassarino 2004). In contrast to transnationalists, social network theorists believe that return migrants need not be dependent on Diasporas, but that the process of migration has equipped the returnee with various forms of capital which can be utilized for a successful return to the home country. According to Cassarino (*ibid*), the reintegration process is made simpler as the returnee has maintained the social structures required to ensure that sufficient information and resources are at hand once the return process commences. Additional to financial capital, social network theorists suggest that returnees return with human capital in the form of skills acquired in a foreign country, in addition to experiences, social networks and knowledge; all of which contribute to a positive reintegration process for the return migrant (*ibid*). In considering all five theoretical

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approaches, it is appropriate to draw on de Haas, Fokkema and Fassi Fihri (2014) as they suggest that there is no 'one-size-fits-all theory,' and that different aspects of relevant theories should be taken into account to ensure that the heterogeneity of migrants is considered. When analyzing data collected for the study, however, transnationalism and social network theory are most relevant. In considering return migrants in Northern Ghana, these theoretical approaches allow the significance of social networking, human capital, transnational mobility and identities to be investigated with interesting insights emerging. Drawing on transnationalism, for example, allows an examination of the manner in which return "kayayei" migrants create social groups across borders, which in turn helps them in their return to the home region.

Drawing on social network theory, this study aims to answer to the following questions: why do migrants return and what motivates and influences the return process, what are the challenges of re-integration and the factors that influence successful re-integration; and finally what is the response that the place of origin can put in place in order to facilitate re-integration of return migrants?

2.3   An overview of North-South Child Migration in Ghana

The pattern of internal migration in the country has particularly been influenced by the stark differences in the levels of poverty between north and south, as well as their respective capacities to respond to new economic opportunities. The pattern of socio-economic development in Ghana has created three distinct geographic identities (Anarfi et al. 2003). These are the coastal zone dominated by Accra-Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi; a middle zone (the Ashanti region) with Kumasi as its centre; and the northern savannah zone. The coastal zones, as the most industrialized and urbanized area in the country have

been the focus of internal migration since the beginning of the last century. In terms of administrative division of the country, the two cities that are the focus of this study, Accra and Kumasi, belong to the Greater Accra and the Ashanti Regions respectively.

The spatial population distribution thus shows a vast and sparsely populated northern savanna belt, a densely-populated middle belt with a high concentration of commercial and industrial capitals and towns, and a very densely populated south, particularly around urban centers like Accra. The natural resource disadvantages faced by the northern regions were compounded right through colonial times into the present as development priorities of governments were skewed towards further investments in the south rather than development in the north. The availability of natural resources like minerals, cocoa, coffee and timber products in the forest zone and the construction of railways, roads, ports and harbors along the coast to aid the transportation and export of these products meant that investments were channeled to these areas while the north was left behind.

This process of development thus created a spatial dichotomy between the northern and southern parts of the country, which in turn triggered the migration of economically active persons from the north to the south in search of work in agriculture and mining. The north (consisting of the Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions) thereby became a labor reserve for the south. Census information further corroborates this. Analysis of internal migration from Ghana's population censuses since 1960 reveals that the three northern regions have largely been net out-migration areas, with movements largely to the south. Net migration in the three regions of Northern, Upper East and

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Upper West was –157,055 in 1960 and –182,426 in 1970. In 1984, however, there was a net gain of 10,716 for the Northern Region, while the Upper East and Upper West suffered a net loss of 20,762 and 3,083 persons respectively. By 2000, all three regions experienced large volumes of net losses of population, which stood at 139,216 for the Northern Region, 201,532 for the Upper East Region and 191,653 for the Upper West Region. This suggests that with the exception of the Northern Region in 1984, the three Northern Regions have consistently suffered net losses of population to other regions in Ghana.

More recently, liberalization and structural adjustment programmes have seriously affected northern development with the agricultural sector being rendered largely moribund as fertilizer subsidies and subsidies on health care and other social services were withdrawn. The consequence of this uneven development has been that 'the north has constituted a major source of labor supply for the industries and agriculture in the south, reflecting the impoverishment in the north and the relative buoyant urban economy in the south' (Awumbila, 2007). Additionally, an analysis of the 2000 Population and Housing Census of Ghana showed that the proportion of inter-regional migrants in Northern, Upper East and Upper West were the lowest in the country (6.0 percent, 5.4 percent and 5.8 percent respectively) while Greater Accra and Western regions had much higher proportions of inter-regional migrants (36.9 percent and 26.1 percent respectively). Another point worth noting is migrants' perception that urban centers have relatively better opportunities for them to enhance their lives. These opportunities therefore serve as attractions or incentives for migrants from the north or rural settings to move to urban centers. Given perceptions of higher incomes to be earned in both formal

and informal sector employment in the south, or opportunities for furthering one's education, migrants go to great lengths to move from a small community in the hinterland in the north either straight to the cities of Accra, Kumasi or Takoradi, or embark on stepwise migration. Both have been contributing to the rapid growth of the urban population in Ghana. At the current growth rate of 2.6 percent per annum, the urban population is expected to double in 17 years (GSS, 2002). 'Accra Metropolitan Area (AMA) alone according to 2000 census represents 25% of all urban dwellers in Ghana, increasing at 4.2% per annum' (Otoo, Whyatt and Ite, 2006). Indeed, trends indicate that more than half of the population of Ghana would be resident in urban centers in the country by the next decade.

As already noted, more male adults moved to work in the cocoa growing areas, oil palm plantations and mining firms in the southern and middle belts in the past. This has however changed in contemporary times where the migration streams to the urban centers, particularly Accra and Kumasi, are becoming increasingly younger. In recent times, a dominant migration stream from north to south has been that of female adolescents, moving independent of family, largely towards the cities of Accra and Kumasi…' (Awumbila, 2007). The Ghana Child Labor Survey of 2001 showed that 55 percent of street children come from the three northern regions while more than 75 percent of the street children interviewed had congregated in Greater Accra and the Ashanti regions (GSS 2003), which also supports the choice of these two cities for our survey. Many of these children take up jobs as head porters (kayayei) in transport stations and market centers at these destinations, and constitute a very visible presence there. In all these they end up returning to reintegrate into their homes. The study employed

available literature on north-south migration as one of the theoretical lenses to explain the reintegration process of these returned "kayayei" migrants in the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality.

2.4 Head Porterage in Ghana

All over Ghana, people carry their wares on their heads. Head porterage for commercial purposes was first introduced in this country by male migrants from the Sahelian countries in West Africa, mainly from Mali. It was virtually a male domain. Those who practiced it were called 'kaya', a Hausa word for load. After the Aliens Compliance Order of 1969, the 'kaya' business almost died out as those who practiced it were affected by the expulsion order. The vacuum created was filled by Ghanaians but with a little alteration (Anarfi, 2003)

Although it was still men who carried the heavy loads, they chose to carry the loads on hand trucks instead of their heads. These hand trucks became part of the traffic in Ghanaian cities and most big towns. However, with time it became increasingly difficult to use these hand-pushed trucks in the central business districts of Ghana's expanding cities and towns. It was easier for human beings to carry loads on their heads and weave through heavy vehicular traffic (Awosabo-Asare, 2001). Head-porterage then re-assumed a place in the transportation of goods from one part of the city to another, providing a niche for young people migrating into the cities from the north of Ghana. Now for the first time, this service was being provided predominantly by females, hence the need to qualify the type of service provider by combining "kaya" with "yoo" ('female' in the Ga language of the Greater Accra Region of Ghana). The term "kayayoo" constitutes a migration legacy which vividly brings out the connection between internal and

international migration – it was international migration that gave rise to the term "kaya", and more recent internal migration that rendered it female or "yoo".

The types of wares carried by these "kayayei" include everything from farm produce like vegetables, maize and yam and meat to provisions like Milo, milk and sugar either in boxes or plastic bags. The main users of this service are shoppers, shop owners and anyone who needs help in carting an item from the point of purchase to the point where transportation will be available. This business is informal in nature and all the people engaged in it are self-employed. It is dominated by people from Northern Ghana, especially the Northern Region. What one needs is a head pan either bought from one's own resources or hired on a daily basis especially for the new entrants into the business. Arrival at the city and locating one's ethnic group or some familiar faces in the business is enough of a permit to get into the "kayayei' business. Some of the "kayayei" have regular customers (Bemah, 2013) production factors and, hence, better aggregate outcomes.

2.5   Conceptual Review

2.5.1   Return Migration Overview

After working in foreign countries for some years, some migrant workers return home with the capital and experiences, skills and languages which they attained in the country of destination. They normally use their human capital for investment and production in order to have better life style and condition than before leaving the country. International Organization for Migration defined return migration as the movement of a person

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returning to his/her country of origin or habitual residence usually after spending at least one year in another country (IOM, 2011). This return may or may not be voluntary. Return migration includes voluntary repatriation.

The structural approach for return migrations is relating to the reference to the individual experience of the migrants, but also with reference to social and institutional factors in countries of origin (Cassarino, 2004a). The article on Italian returnees from the United States provides the examples the complex relationship between the returnee's expectations and the social and economic context and can be classified into different types of returnee based on their expectations and aspirations. Return to failure, which is referred to the people who could not be integrated in social and economic sectors of host countries and finally decided to come back home. Return of conservatism which also includes the migrants who have planned to come back home and set up business after receiving of what they need and what they need to learn. Return of retirement which means migrants who planned to go back to their home country to spend the rest of their lives. Return of innovation are those who have already fulfilled their goals in other countries and decided to go back in their origin countries for "carriers of change" and looking for better experiences, opportunities and new skills. Return of family reunion is about those people who leave their parents or children at home and work outside for many years by collecting some money. Return to set up family which includes the people to get married and to have their own family after leaving countries for many years to work in order to collect money. Return for political reason which includes the people who leave countries for several reasons such as freedom of movements and came back to the country of origin after the transform of political sector (Cassarino, 2004b).

Return migration is a new phenomenon in which migrants return from the overseas countries to their home country or from their cities or towns to their native towns (Rajan, 2012). According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2013), the rate of return migration has increased at a large level during the period of economic recession during 2008. Now the new labor policies by the countries such as Saudi Arabia and some European countries made a sudden return of a huge amount of migrants from Saudi Arabia and the European countries to their home countries. This implies that majority of the migrants returned to their home countries due to change in labor policies. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) further reported that statistics related to return migration and the demographical status of the return migrants are very poor at the international level and country level. Governments and other related departments only give much focus to people leaving their countries because of the documentations involved in the acquisition of visas and travel documents. However, Kumar and Surabhi (2014) reported some countries like the Philippines, Taiwan and India are very advanced in data base for returnees. But with regard to India at national level the data related to return migrants are quite scarce.

Available literature from the works of the IOM shows that in the most recent years, the number of emigrants and return migrants increased a large level at global level. Within the past five years, the number of migrant workers world-wide, both internal and international has multiplied the figure to triple, from 84 million in 1976 to 305 million in 2013 (Nurulslam, 2013). Boere (2010) examined that in the Gulf, where millions of migrants from South Asia have come to work, often on temporary labor contracts, and

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now feel the consequences of the economic downturn the most. With regard to India registered the highest number of return emigrants due to the crisis (140,000), followed by Pakistan (64,000), Bangladesh (25,000), Sri Lanka (27,000) and Nepal (7,000). For instance, India had a stock of 1.7 million migrants settled in the United Arab Emirates (UAE); and in the projected number of return emigrants from the UAE, there were 47,000 Indians (Rajan and Narayana, 2010).

The causes and the factors led to the sudden and heavy return of migrants from overseas countries in global level is a concerned issue today among the policy makers and related departments. The causes and factors for return migration have been examined and analyzed in different level in articles and books by different authors.

The basic theories of internal migration are push and pull factors that are the reasons for which people migrate. Push and Pull factors are the drivers for people to move to a new location or to force them to leave old residences. The basic motivation for push factors from the country of origin can be political, economic, cultural, and environmental reasons. In this conceptual framework, it is explained both the push and pull factors from the country of destinations and the country of origin. The pull factors from the country of destinations included job opportunities, wages and living standard which are the negative signs in the country of origin; in another words, motivation for people to leave their countries due to the limited job opportunities, low wages and under living standard.

Normally in migration study, the push factors are from the country of origin which makes them leave their countries and then move to the destination/host countries for different reasons. In the return migration flows, it is different. The push factor, from the country of

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destination is the conditions that can make them to leave. The return can be voluntary and involuntary.

Different scholars and authors expressed a large series of problems that led to the return migration. According to Zachariah, Mathew and Rajan (2010) one of the important factors was the oil boom in the gulf countries in the last few years. It carried a big role in the sudden return migration of migrants to their home countries. This implies that people migrate for job opportunities in the cities or countries where they have migrated to. When their job opportunities emerge in their native countries or home towns they therefore return.

Auke-Boere (2010) reported that the majority of the migrants from Asia were concentrated in the gulf countries because of the oil boom in such countries. A lot of the migrants were laborers in the oil field. Since the oil-boom in the Gulf, India has seen thousands of migrant workers crossing the Arabian Sea annually, on a chase for monetary fortune. When the levels of oil exploration dwindled, most of the migrants returned to their home countries. The above finding by Auke-Boere (2010) shows that migrants may return to their native countries or hometowns due to low wages of a total absence of job opportunities. In the case of "kayayei" in Ghana, they migrate from rural communities mostly from the Northern Ghana to the south in search of job opportunities they therefore return to their home towns or communities when there are no job opportunities or when their wages are low.

Zachariah (2006) has conducted a study among return migrants focused mainly on male migration, the study found out that, the major reasons for return of migrants was expiry of contract. Sometimes, migrants return because of the difficult working and living

conditions at the destination. However, the reasons of return migration of females may be different from that of males. Females may return due to familial reasons like providing care for family members, educating the children and sometimes arranging marriage of the family members. The same study said that the return migrants reported multiple reasons for their return, which can be classified into factors related to the working place and factors related to the place of origin. The major reasons for the return of the migrants were health related reasons, expiry of contracts and lower level of job satisfaction.

Zachariah and Rajan (2011), conducted a study in Kerala in India and the Gulf where a lot of people have migrated to due to the oil boom. They found that the wage differentials among the unskilled laborers from Kerala and the Gulf's Indian have narrowed down considerably and there was no significant difference. At the same time, the cost of emigration from Kerala has increased considerably. This therefore made a lot of the migrants to return to Kerala. In the case of "kayayei" in Ghana, when the opportunities that are sought for the big cities emerge in the rural areas, it may lead to the return of these "kayayei" because of the opportunities in the cities and the rural areas are the same.

Another study by Zachariah, Nair and Rajan, (2001) among the return migrants identified that the major reasons for the return of the migrants were health related reasons, expiry of contracts and lower level of job satisfaction. Other reasons for return migrants include verbal, physical and sexual abuse. Non-payment of salary also contributed to the return of more than one tenth of the women. "kayayei" in Ghana are also exposed to sexual and verbal abuse because they sleep outside on the streets of cities such as Accra and Kumasi. This exposes them to high risk, sexual violence and physical assaults. Migrants who cannot withstand these sexual abuses may return to their hometowns (Agyei, Y. et al (2015).

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A study conducted by Centre for Development Studies in 2011 titles on ' From Kerala to Kerala via the Gulf emigration experiences of return emigrants' says among the total of 1884 return emigrants the majority accounted the reason for the return migration was expiry of contract. Only few people expressed that bad climate in the receiving countries was the reason for the return migration to the home country. In the case of Ghana, there are weather differentials between the northern and southern part, and this may not have any significant influence on return migration among "kayayei". It is clear that the reasons for return migration vary from country to country. The economic recession in the overseas countries carried a big role in the sudden return of the employees from those countries. The major reasons examined are the oil boom and economic recession affected in gulf countries in the last few years, the expiry of the contract, ill health, poor working condition, family issues and decreased demand of workers in the employment sector. A huge amount of people returned due to the expiry of contract (Muhammed J. M. M.2014). Other factors are related to migrants' stage in the lifecycle, as age brings changing needs and preferences (Ammassari & Black, 2001; cited in Yendaw, 2013). They may return to get married, to care for elderly parents, or to take on particular family related responsibilities (ibid). A series of in-depth interviews carried out with physicians further shed light on the phenomenon (Ganguly, 2003). The reasons the physicians gave for their return were quite mixed. According to (ibid), family-related reasons predominated, especially going home to care for aged parents followed by issues of discrimination at the destination.

2.6   Policies on Return Migration

Return migration continues to be one of the least considered aspects in migration policy, despite its crucial socio-economic significance not only for countries of origin, but also for all the other countries involved in the process. Besides that International Organization of Migration (2004) has observed that with the negative impact of the financial crisis on labor markets in traditional destination countries; policy-makers are now paying growing attention on ways to facilitate the return of migrants. However, massive flows of return migrants might exacerbate global disparities if policies do not adequately address the phenomenon. Return migration is an issue that must be addressed in any global approach of migration flows management.

The policies for return migration received a special attention only recently in global level. Some countries have gone forward in better manner with adequate return policies from early years. The Philippines, Taiwan and U.K, are examples of such countries which made more efforts in return policies. At national level policies countries like Bangladesh and Germany are good examples with more comprehensive policies and ideas (Willough, 2014). With regard to India, at national level the policies and programmes for returnee are very scarce. It is observed that, Indian migration policies give much priority to emigrants than return migrants. Though there have one special ministry for the issues related to migrants it gave little focus to these return migrants (Nair and Rajan, 2013). Ghana has no policy on returned migration therefore there is little or no data is available on available returnees except those who were involved in compulsory repatriation from Libya in recent times. This makes it difficult for returned migrants to integrate into the

society. This can lead to the upsurge of criminal activities since some returnees are not readily able to establish their own businesses or get employment.

According to Ugwuoke, (2010), the success of every return migration policies depends upon various factors related to the political, social and economic scenario of the home countries. The home country should have to frame adequate return policies which mostly depend upon the socio economic and political status of them. Therefore more general policies, such as education and economic policies can constitute an important factor in predicting the scale and outcome of return migration. Orakwe (2011) opined that an effective return policy requires a multi-disciplinary approach to ensure the sustainability and effectiveness of a wider migration policy. This requires coherent cross-government, department, and agency cooperation. This should not be seen as an optional extra, but an essential part of a returns program.

The International dialogue on migration (2008) has suggested that a comprehensive return policy will include several key factors to promote success such as; promotion of voluntary return as the first option, measures for enforced return in safety and dignity, promoting sustainability of return, which means alleviating pressures leading to renewed attempts of undocumented migration, facilitating economic, social, and cultural reintegration of the returnee and partnerships and cooperation in implementing a return programme.

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success of every return migration policies depends upon various factors related to the political, social and economic scenario of the home countries. The home country should have to frame adequate return policies which mostly depend upon the socio economic and political status of them. As an effective return policy requires a multi-disciplinary approach to ensure the sustainability and effectiveness of a wider migration policy, this requires coherent cross-government, department, and agency co-operation. The nature and implementation of every policy contributes a major percentage of its success and reaching goals. One policy is unlikely to work for all returning workers. The types of assistance provided to migrants who attempt to reintegrate need to be tailored to the specific requirements of the individual worker. The challenge facing policymakers is to develop programs that meet the needs of returning workers while being cost effective. It is unrealistic to expect that individual counseling can be provided to every returning worker. On the other hand, it might be possible to construct sociological profiles that are associated with different types of returnees and then apply programs relevant for larger groupings of migrants.

According to Jareg, (2005) a good policy for the return migrants should have an individualistic nature in the planning and implementation. The problem mostly faced by the returnees is not general in nature and most of the times it varies from individual to individual. One policy framed may not be applicable for all returnees. Majority of returnees face some adjustment or integration problems with family and home society, diseases and debt, during the first stage of return and it may extend up to years. These adjustment/integration problems are not unique in nature and one approach or policy framed will not be adequate to the current problem of the particular person. Therefore,

the planning and implementation of policies and programs for returnees should be based on the individuals and the same programmes to each returnee may lead to their failures.

A report by Kanagaratnam, Raundalen, and Asbjornsen, (2005) stated that, with regard to the nature of the policies framed for the reintegration of returnees they can be divided into three categories, such as information-based policies, economic incentive-based policies, and institution-based policies. Information-based policies focus on providing returning workers with information that can allow them to reintegrate more successfully into their communities. Economic incentive-based policies provide workers with additional material benefits to encourage workers to return to their home country. Institution-based policies refer to changing laws and practices that directly promote the reintegration of workers. The policies and programmes practised and succeeded earlier in other countries and states help the policy makers to make a better model of plan and programs for return migrants. At the international level, there are some countries which have succeeded in the effective planning and implementation of reintegration policies for return migrants.

Wiesbrock (2001) has observed that when considering the overall impact of return policies, Taiwan is an example of a country where return policies have worked particularly well. In the 1980s and 1990s, the return rates of skilled migrants started to rise, amounting to 50,000 migrants between 1985 and 1990 and reaching 33 per cent of all emigrants in recent years.

Most governments in European countries place a high premium on sustainability of return; and now invest in some form of reintegration support. The UK has anchored

provisions for reintegration assistance to returnees in its new Immigration Act of 2002 and provides for small loans for some returnees (International Organization for Migration; 2000). Other initiatives taken are the Kosovo programs supported by Switzerland, Germany and others as the longer term investments in sustainable reintegration projects to leverage job-generation, employment and security at least for one year. Germany has derived some good models from its vocational training programmes in countries of origin, particularly when they involve the local population as well. Italy also has had favorable experiences with information/counseling strategies to prepare migrants in reception centers for voluntary return (International Organization for Migration, 2004).

Nurulsalam (2010) examined countries such as Bangladesh that adopted better policies to reintegrate their return migrants. The country practised an ICT application to the establishment of an Internet based network of illustration of successful return, an informal network of skilled returnees who have set up business, could offer a forum for idea sharing, support, advice and the provision of mentors for new returnees.

Evidence from studies by IOM (2005) and IOM (2007) shows that the policies at the national level in India specifically designed for return migrants are scarce. The migrants were one of the important groups that got little attention by the government supports and policies or official recognition of their importance. Although there are multiple institutions which try to address the needs of Indian labor migrants before they emigrate, by providing pre-departure trainings, or during emigration, for returned migrants not many support policies exist. Wiesbrock (2001) has examined that India and China have

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seen return migration movements in recent years and have encouraged the return of skilled migrants.

In Singapore, Stilwell, et al, (2011) reported that considering the policies, program and the nature of activities planned for the returnees it is clear that those are not sufficient in terms of the number of returnees in the country.. Policies for return migrants hardly exist; Singapore does have extensive programs for migrants and provides its returnees with welfare and pension schemes (Rajan, 2011). Ghana could be classified in this same situation because policies on returned migrants do not exist.

2.7   Migration as a household livelihood strategy

New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) has striking – though as yet unobserved – conceptual parallels with livelihood approaches. These have evolved as of the late 1970s among geographers, anthropologists, and sociologists conducting micro-research in developing countries, who observed that the diverse and contradictory findings from their empirical work did not fit into rather rigid neo-Marxist schemes. This made them argue that the poor cannot only be reduced to passive victims of global capitalist forces but try to actively improve their livelihoods within the constraining conditions they live in. This, points to the fundamental role of human agency, (Lieten and Nieuwenhuys, 1989).

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources), and activities required for a means of living (Carney, 1998). A livelihood encompasses not only the households' income generating activities, but also the social institutions, intra household relations, and mechanisms of access to resources through the

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life cycle (Ellis, 1998). A livelihood *strategy* can then be defined as a strategic or deliberate choice of a combination of activities by households and their individual members to maintain, secure, and improve their livelihoods. This particular choice is based on (selective) access to assets, perceptions of opportunities, as well as aspirations of actors. Since these differ from household to household and from individual to individual, livelihood strategies tend to be so heterogeneous.

The emergence of the livelihood concept has meant a departure from rather rigid and theoretically deductive historical-structuralist views towards more empirical approaches. This went along with the insight that people generally, but all the more in the prevailing circumstances of economic, political and environmental uncertainty and hardship— organize their livelihoods not individually but within wider social contexts, such as households, village communities, and ethnic groups. For many social settings, the household was recognized as the most appropriate unit of analysis (McDowell and de Haan, 1997).

In this context, migration has been increasingly recognized as one of the main elements of the strategies households employ to diversify, secure, and, potentially, durably improve, their livelihoods. This is often combined with other strategies, such as agricultural intensification and local non-farm activities (McDowell and de Haan, 1997, Ellis, 2000, Bebbington, 1999).

It has increasingly been recognized that migration is often more than a short-term survival strategy by rural populations, who were uprooted by global capitalist forces and more or less forced to join the ranks of a new international proletariat. Rather, empirical

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work suggested that migration is often a deliberated decision to improve livelihoods, enable investments (Bebbington, 1999), and help to reduce fluctuations in the family income that often used to be largely dependent on climatic vagaries (De Haan et al., 2000, McDowell and de Haan, 1997). Migration can then be seen as a means to acquire a wider range of assets which insure against future shocks and stresses (De Haan et al., 2000). Although this has been mainly applied for rural-urban internal migration in poor countries, there is no a priori reason why this diversification-through-migration argument cannot also be extended to international migration and urban households.

This comes strikingly close to the premises of New Economic of Labour Migration. Both approaches can be easily integrated if we see internal as well as international migration as part of a broader household livelihood strategy to diversify income and overcome development constraints in the place of origin. There is a striking similarity in how over the 1970s and 1980s structuralist and functionalist views of migration converged towards more pluralist views recognizing the relevance of both agency and structural constraints. While livelihood approaches meant for many sociologists and anthropologists a departure from rather rigid structuralism towards an increasing recognition of the role of agency, economists and other scholars reasoning from neo-classical approaches moved in the opposite direction. In particular, the emergence of New Economic of Labour Migration marked a departure from neo-classical and actor-oriented approaches towards a household-level based perspective which explains migration from the structural constraints and imperfect markets within which migration decisions are made.

NELM adopted a household-oriented approach that was already common in other fields of social science, a fact that was explicitly acknowledged by Lucas and Stark (1985), who

stated that economists have begun to address questions of household composition more traditionally posed by anthropologists and sociologists. They therefore proposed to extend the recent intergenerational view of the household to a spatial dimension . . . and dualistic theories of development must be revised: Instead of an urban sector and a rural sector, each with its own populace benefiting from the sectoral-specific speeds of development, the family straddles the two. Classes cease to be only peasants and workers, and a hybrid peasants-worker group emerges. This perception is not new to anthropologists but has not previously been integrated with the economics of the household (Lucas and Stark, 1985)

So, within a household perspective it is not either migration *or* activities at the origin, but often both. This also indicates that the impact of a migration strategy cannot be properly evaluated outside its relationship with other multi-sectoral and multi-local livelihood strategies, that is, the entire portfolio of household activities (Stark, 1991). Research attempting to isolate migration and migrants from their wider social and economic context is not able to assess the relation between migration and broader transformation processes embodied in the term development.

Internal and international migrants tend to maintain close links with their communities of origin over much longer periods than has previously been assumed (McDowell and de Haan, 1997).This also exemplifies that the development contribution of migration is not necessarily linked to the return of migrants. Migration and economic activities at the origin are not mutually exclusive, but are in fact often combined. Without a household approach, such multiple strategies cannot be captured. This view, which is shared by both NELM and livelihoods approaches seems to better reflect the realities of daily life for

millions of migrants in developing countries than neo-classical or structuralist approaches.

The choice of the household as the primary unit of analysis can be seen as a kind of optimum strategy or a compromise between agency and structure approaches, acknowledging that the forms of households vary across time, space, and social groups. In perceiving migration as a household livelihood strategy, we acknowledge that structural forces leave at least some room for agency, although had highly varying degrees. Household approaches seem particularly applicable in developing countries where for many people it is not possible to secure the family income through private insurance markets or government programs (Bauer and Zimmermann, 1998), increasing the importance of implicit contracts within families and communities. The study once again employed this household livelihood strategy model as lenses through which I discovered returned "kayayei" migrants' reintegration process.

2.8   Return and Reintegration

Even though there are planned policies and programs on the reintegration of retuned "kayayei", there are a lot of challenges in reintegration process of returnees. The nature of problems and challenges may be personal or situational. According to Tetteh and Ofei (2007) reintegration of returned migrants has been influenced by both structural and individual factors of the returnees. They opined that though the personal problems like lack of adjustment with family or home society is not a big problem, the challenges regarding to the excessive labor migration and lack of alternative systems become a big challenge to the Government and other related departments. Cerase (1974) has also investigated the reintegration experiences of Italian migrants from the US in the 1960s

and 1970s and found that the longer the time spent away, the more difficult the reintegration in Italy and those who spent less than ten years in the US face, less difficulties. Cerase (1974) also found that those who retired back to Italy tended to become an isolated group because they were neither able nor willing to integrate themselves into the Italian society.

Reintegration according to IOM (2015), Anarfi and Jagare (2005) is, thus, a process that enables the returnee to participate again in the social, cultural, economic and political life of his or her country or community of origin. Taft (1979) also defines returnees' reintegration as the original learning of migrants to adapt to the situations upon return to their original communities of childhood. For him, the term reintegration often refers to emotional stability and freedom from internal conflicts and tensions-that is, freedom from psychoneuroses..

In the same vein, investigation by Marmora and Gurrieri (1994) of Rio Della Plat indicate that individual attributes are among the major factors related to post-return resettlement challenges for most returnees. For example, in Namibia, Preston (1994) found that the inability of the majority of returnees to speak fluent English was the major deterrent to obtaining education and jobs. Many studies have also highlighted the sense of disappointment, isolation and feelings of alienation and not-belonging experienced by return migrants on their return as major challenges returnees encounter (Constable 1999; Long & Oxfeld, 2004; Christou 2006).

More importantly, there is less critical attention on any evidence supporting the challenges faced by "kayayei" returnees despite their cross-regional activities during their stay in the south. Within the context of this scholarly work, reintegration is defined as the

process of give-and-take in the home country as return migrants learn to live with their families and communities back home (Kyei 2013). Preston (1993) argues that upon return from a chosen destination, the migrant needs to be reintegrated into the original society as it will be unrealistic to assume that the social and economic milieu to which migrants returned, had not changed since they left their communities. There is also the need to appreciate the different social settings of the two destinations in question. Several factors determine the extent to which migrants would be estranged upon their return home. These, according to N'Laoire (2007) include the age of the migrant prior to leaving home, the length of time spent abroad, the nature of contact with family members and friends back home, and the level of engagement in transnational activities. hence, the purpose of this study.

2.8.1   Indebtedness and unfavorable financial status after return

The indebtedness and unfavorable financial status of return migrants are one of the main challenges in the reintegration process of the returnees. The financial situation after return and debt problems and access to money are obviously of crucial importance for setting up or revamping a life back in India. Money also increases the chances on the labor market, e.g. by investing in one's own business, which consequently helps for both economic and social integration (Thomas-Hope, 1999).

When comparing the financial situation before the first emigration with the situation after the last emigration, it becomes clear that the migration project for most migrants is not a financial success. So what many migrants see as the key to better-off existence often turns out to be a disappointment or even a nightmare (Skeldon, 2005).

According to Zachariah and Rajan (2011) when the migrants returned, as much as 44 per cent of the return emigrants had to use part of their savings to pay back the debts they had incurred to meet the cost of their emigration. The major reintegration issues returnees had to deal with were debt problems. These debts often find their origin in the investments made for the migration project, for tickets, visas, passports and fees for the recruitment agents and become direr due to interest rates. Debt problems correlated with other economic problems like unemployment, underemployment and low salaries. Often within one year employment is found again, but frequently in a low-paid job or with insufficient working hours.

The accessibility of money and sufficient economic condition is one of the important elements for the better social and personal achievement of every person. The absence of adequate financial background and indebtedness after the return is a major challenge for the reintegration to home society. Majority of the return migrants borrowed money during their emigration and their sudden return led to heavy debts of huge amounts on them (Boere , 2010)

2.8.2 The unemployment scenario in the state

A study by Zachariah (2012) in India found that the magnitude of return migrants is increasing as well as the number of emigrants to Gulf and other countries. Out of approximately 2.33 million of emigrants the number of returned migrants is 1.17 million in Kerala. Among these return migrants 61000 returnees migrated only in the period of economic recession in the Gulf countries.

With regard to the causes of return migration the review of literature find out that the major reasons for return migration are the oil boom and economic recession affected in

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Gulf countries in the last few years, the expiry of the contract, ill health and poor working condition, family issues and decreased demand of Kerala workers in the employment sector (Rajan, 2012).

It was also found out that the major challenges facing the reintegration process were the large amount of Indebtedness and unfavorable financial status after return, the unemployment scenario in the state, lack of alternative system and unhealthy perception, readjustment /integration problems to family and society, and lack of information, knowledge and non-utilization of return programme and policies initiated by the state. In a study by Chirum (2011) and Gmelch (1980), it was discovered that the need to establish new friends, a slow pace of life, lack of social services, and lack of employment opportunities were the major deterrents to full integration for the majority of returnees to Western Ireland.

2.8.3   Cultural Reintegration

Hermans (1998 & 2001) conceives self and culture as a multiplicity of positions among which dialogical relationships can be established. The idea of travel is employed as a metaphor for capturing the relationship between cultures; travel decentralizes the notion of culture because cultural action and the construction of identity occur not in the core of a dwelling but in the contact zones between nations, peoples and locales. This idea of the contact zone has been related to post-colonial contexts in an analysis of the dialogical immigrant self of Edward Said (Bhatia and Ram, 1997), which explored the mechanisms by which the dominant discourse of colonial rulers, may be internalized creating an oppressive voice within the polyphonic dialogical self. Frantz Fanon, (1986) formulates the colonial encounter as a central and defining moment in the construction of identity.

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He states that the violence of the colonial encounter was unprecedented; and conceives of colonialism a method not only of appropriating of a land and territory but as taking possession of culture and history themselves and thus taking possession of the means and resources of identity.

The colonization of a land, its people, its culture, is also, in a sense a 'colonizing of the mind' to use Ngugi wa Thiongo's phrase (wa Thiongo, 1986.) Post-colonial criticism bears witness to these 'unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world' (Babha, 1994). In contemporary psychological practice there is a 'continuation of colonial patterns of injustice' (Wessels, 1992), in that the indigenous systems of knowledge and practice are marginalized and belittled. In Sub-Saharan African contexts Western psychological theory and practice may disregard the traditional, communal and spiritual aspects of experience. The fundamental differences between cultures in world-view, cultural norms and ways of being may not be recognized as western methods are blindly transferred to African settings. It is therefore important to examine the appropriateness of direct importation of Western psychological interventions into non-western countries (Dzokoto & Wen Lo, 2005). Wessells & Monteiro (2000) discusses the dangers of this process with regard to psychological programmes involving children affected by armed conflict in Angola whereby inappropriate interventions and medical problems that are essentially communal and spiritual. In particular a medical discourse of trauma may be harmful in nonwestern settings as it can serve to disenfranchise local systems of knowledge and practice. The impact of war on mental health is a matter of some contention within the literature. The almost hegemonic position of the diagnosis of post-traumatic stress

disorder (PTSD) as a response to children in armed conflict has widely been criticized in the psychological literature (Wessells, 1992; Bracken, 1998; Summerfield; 1999; Young, 1995; Harlacher et al., 2006). Local knowledge is marginalized due to the imposition of Western knowledge and practice but also through internal silencing whereby local people downplay their own traditions of knowledge and practice out of a desire to appear scientific and avoid embarrassment (Wessells & Monteiro, 2000).

Wessells and Monteiro (2000), further advocate the integration of traditional spiritual beliefs and practices into psychosocial programming; 'In order to succeed in the Sub-Saharan context work on healing must step beyond Western boundaries and include culturally defined practices' (ibid). Through Christian Children's Fund in Angola they have been instrumental in research and practice in this area through the development of programming initiatives to foster traditional healing rituals in post-conflict healing and reconciliation and the reintegration of child soldiers. (Honwana, 1998) research on social pollution in Angola and Mozambique has been central to this work. It is proposed that the idea of the complex, contested identities of child soldiers be expanded to include the spiritual or metaphysical voices that are incorporated within the self in Acholi concepts of identity. This speaks to the communal and social-relational aspects of experience wherein culture may act as a protective factor in the lives of girls. Theorists of ritual from Emile Durkheim through to Arnold Van Gennep (1960) and in more recent times Victor Turner (1967/92; 1969;1982) treat ritual as social action aimed at particular transformations often conceived in cosmic terms. Rituals have complex roles in violence and peace-making; for example the initiation of children into the rebel group in Uganda

was marked by spiritual rituals within the Lord's Resistance Army-LRA (Veale and Stavrou, 2006). For Turner (1982:13)

"Every type of cultural performance including ritual, ceremony, carnival, theatre, and poetry is an explanation of life itself, what is normally sealed up, inaccessible to everyday observation and reasoning, in the depths of sociocultural life, is drawn forth – Dilthey uses the term 'Ausdruck' – an expression, from ausdrucken, literally to press or squeeze out." "Meaning has been squeezed out of an event which... cries out for penetrative or imaginative understanding"

Central to the processes of social ritual is Van Gennep (1960) concept of the threshold whereby identities may be suspended or transformed within the ritual space. This is particularly salient in rituals of reintegration and reconciliation whereby the identities – singular and communal – of those partaking in the ritual may be renegotiated or contested contributing to an evolving form of social and relational meanings. This is essentially a communal process involving not just formerly abducted children but interpersonal processes at clan level as people reclaim social relationships and cultural identity. High levels of ideological commitment may be a protective influence on the mental states of former combatants (Kanagaratnam et al 2005; Punamaki, 1996), indicating the centrality of 'social memory' (Summerfield, 1998) in understanding individual and communal experiences during war. Summerfield argues that the experiences of armed conflict are construed depending on the social context and on what these events mean to the people involved. This would indicate that communal re-construal of social memory may be an integral resource for healing following experiences of atrocities during war, and a means of reclaiming culture and identity through activity, re-enactment, and performance.

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Felsen (2008) reported that there are negative effects of adoption into different cultures because they learn different things which are conflicting with their cultures of origin. Due to this cleansing rituals are organized to cleanse returnees into their cultures of origin. This act has possible spiritual ramifications for the returnees. It is believed that, when Indians leave their culture of origin into different cultures, they learn and do things that are against the traditions of India and cannot be immediately accepted into their communities unless they are cleansed (Denov, 2007; Stavrou, 2003).

Iverson (2007) in their study reported that there is a decrease in the feelings of isolation and depression among people who are returning into their communities after being acculturated by foreign cultures. The study further reported that there is a decrease or discontinued alcohol and drug use, and an increase in spiritual activities among returnees. It is regarded as a healing process. "The weight of hurting, loneliness, anger, and sorrow I carried all those years was dropped, and my soul could soar when I was returning to my community after migrating." (Locust, 2000).

Duran and Duran (1995) conducted a study to show the process of returning home to one's own culture and community. They found that healing that was otherwise not possible can and does take place when one is returning home from migration. This is true whether one seeks help through culturally specific therapy or solely through the spiritual process of reclaiming one's own identity through cultural and spiritual reintegration.

According to Kelechi (2015) the society as a corporate body, has taken over the function of working to control the antisocial behaviour of her members, it has been observed that individuals and families seek redress to offences committed against them by trying to

reintegrate everyone who goes wayward back into the society. Igbo and Ugwoke (2003) said that in Nigeria, lip-service is paid to the existence of after-care services; provision for community based corrections is apparently not in existence. Most cultures in the south east part of Nigeria would require that returned migrants undergo a process of cleansing or purification rituals necessary for a required period of time, after which the returnee is unconditionally reintegrated into the society. The combined effects of western religion, urbanization and globalization have broken the social bond that made this possible and neutralized this social control mechanism which over the years had proved rather effective. This study explored how Indians leave their culture of origin into different cultures; learn and do things against their own traditions from their perspectives to evaluate the reintegration process of returned "kayayei" in the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality.

2.9 Conceptual Framework

2.9.1 Risk

Informal migrant workers, specifically those at the bottom end of the value chain face higher risks given the conditions under which they live and work. They have low income levels and are less likely to save for contingencies. Informal workers barely have access to formal means of managing risk and the majority does not enjoy job security benefits. Ideally, it is important to prevent the occurrence of the risk or to reduce their possibility of occurring (Lund and Nicholson 2004: 16). This helps to enact appropriate policy responses (Dercon et al. 2008: 47-49). In this context we will examine factors driving the "kayayei" to engage in their work, the hazards they become exposed in their livelihood

and in their work to know the appropriate policy responses best suited in addressing their vulnerability.

2.9.2 Vulnerability

Vulnerability is a dynamic concept. It differs from poverty because not all vulnerable people are poor, though all poor people might be vulnerable. Vulnerability means a reduction in well-being (World Bank Report 2000: 139). For this research the vulnerability of the "kayayei" will be assessed based on their livelihood and conditions they are exposed to in the labour market. Livelihood vulnerability will focus on accommodation, health, gender segregation, and age at work. Labor market vulnerability will be based on condition of work, language barriers, and space at work. It is important to point out that merely working as a "kayayoo" does not make a person vulnerable. It is the process that they go through and the risk they become exposed to which limits their chances compared to other informal workers which in turn makes them vulnerable. A welfare analysis to vulnerability indicates that it is the possibility of individuals or households to experience a reduction in wellbeing. It is associated with exposure to risk that might lead to the realization of adverse outcome (Mealli et al. 2006). So that when a "kayayei" goes through these processes, s/he becomes exposed to diverse effects. Research (Opare, 2003; Appiah 2006) indicates that there are more women working as "kayayei" than males. The argument which address the gendered aspect of vulnerability is that it exists at all levels in society but the effect is worse particularly for women (Kabeer 2003). Age vulnerability is analyzed by examining if there are minors engaged to work as "kayayei".

There is also space vulnerability which examines how much space is available to occupy during time of work and how suitable is it to work under such conditions. A good working space ensures comfort and has the potential of enhancing productivity at work. The spatial variance in terms of how much space is available for the "kayayei" when at work becomes a subject of concern for discussion. Thus to what extent are these informal migrant groups able to occupy, access and traverse space. Robson (Robson, 2004), explains that the ability to occupy public space is a reflection of power mostly dominated by male than by females. Meanwhile other factors which pull or push them into the kind of work they are engaged in become useful as background information.

2.9.3   Collective Models for Organizing

Networking creates opportunities for individuals who form part of specific groups to access their needs. When individuals are able to organize collectively, they stand a better chance in satisfying their basic needs. Such needs could be housing, financial resources, health insurance, skill development or training. Collective models works effectively when there is a dialogue and members are willing to negotiate and build a consensus to achieve their goals. Members of these groups have alternatives in either forming their own trade unions, or joining existing trade unions. Forming collective models will ensure respect and recognition, and this is particularly helpful in the long term particularly for informal migrant workers. Network relations help to organize. Organizing becomes a great tool for success in addressing basic needs when initiated through local self-help. When individuals are able to organize collectively, they stand a better chance in satisfying their basic need (Kabeer 2008).

Though vulnerable and perhaps exposed to different forms of risk, the "kayayei" should be willing to organize in order to stand a better chance in advancing their needs.

The three concepts are interrelated because an awareness of the risks helps to determine their level of vulnerability. Knowing how vulnerable the Kayayei are helps to identify interventions best suited in addressing their vulnerability. Collective models for organizing become necessary since it highlights activities they are expected to engage in to achieve protection. We will now move to discuss the academic debate on social protection.

2.10   Theoretical Framework

Scholars have tried to provide an understanding of the relationship between some social and cultural factors and the reintegration challenges of returned migrants into their societies. Two of such theoretical orientations are Rehabilitation and Ecological theories.

2.10.1 Rehabilitation Theory

Hampton as cited in Brooks (2012) tries to justify essence of Rehabilitation theory by emphasizing the acceptance of returned migrants into the society. Acceptance in this context means any and all efforts aimed at the remission of criminal behavior and the social reintegration of the returnee within the community. This theory argues that people are self-determinate beings whose ability to freely choose is frequently obstructed by various social conditions which might lead to crime. Therefore, the theory emphasizes reintegration programmes that have the goals of making returnees' law-abiding self-dependent and contributing members of the society.

The concept of rehabilitation has always been both remarkably elastic and hotly contested. Bottoms (1980) has pointed out that whereas rehabilitation, at least on a Foucauldian reading, has sometimes been represented as being a project of 'coercive soul-transformation' (or better as being too readily corralled into such a project), a different meaning of the term had been identified in the work of the 18th century Classicists (Beccaria , 1963 as cited in Thompson , 2006) who argued for the use of punishment as a way of "prequalifying individuals as… juridical subjects" (Foucault 1975 and 1977).

The term "rehabilitation" itself simply means the process of helping a person to readapt to society or to restore someone to a former position or rank. However, this concept has taken on many different meanings over the years and waxed and waned in popularity as a principle of sentencing or justification for punishment. In this study, the term is used to mean how returned migrants are able to reintegrate into their societal cultures. The means used to achieve reform in prisons have also varied over time, beginning with silence, isolation, labor, and punishment, then moving onto medically based interventions including drugs and psychosurgery. More recently, educational, vocational, and psychologically based programs, as well as specialized services for specific problems, have typically been put forward as means to reform prisoners during their sentence.

Though correctional psychologists might take issue with Foucault (ibid) reading of the ways in which they have exercised their professional power, the very term 'correctional' speaks to an essentially utilitarian conception of rehabilitation. This is a form of rehabilitation in which the ultimate aim is to change the offender so as to reduce harm (at least) and contribute to the public good, including the offender's best interests (at best).

Beccaria clearly has in mind a different aim: the full restoration of the formerly errant citizen so that s/he can once again enjoy all of his/her rights and fulfill all of his/her responsibilities. The central distinction here is that Beccaria's notion of 'requalification' is not based principally on maximizing social utility or welfare but on restoring duties and rights – hence, it is a more *deontological* conception of rehabilitation.

2.10.2 The Ecological Theory

Otherwise known as the Human Ecology Theory, the Ecological Systems theory states that human development is influenced by the different types of environmental systems. Formulated by famous psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner, this theory helps us understand why we may behave differently when we compare our behavior in the presence of our family and our behavior when we are in school or at work. This theory, was published in 1979 and has influenced many psychologists in terms of the manner of analyzing the person and the effects of different environmental systems that he encounters. The ecological systems theory has since become an important theory that became a foundation of other theorists' work. The Ecological Theory supports the idea that changes in social environment have a notable influence on individuals and it argues that, it is important to construct environments that support individuals post migration, so that society can prevent multiple migration and reduce deviance among returnees (Santrock, 2005). Ecological Theory supports the idea that resource availability such as stable employment, education, societal attitudinal change and other support services would create a positive environmental support structure for returned migrants and would be very effective in reducing recidivism rates.

The ecological theory has divided the environmental influence on the individual behaviours into three levels. These are microsystem level, mesosystem level, exosystem level, macrosystem level and chronosystem level.

The mesosytem involves the relationships between the microsystems in one's life. This means that your family experience may be related to your school experience. For example, if a child is neglected by his parents, he may have a low chance of developing positive attitude towards his teachers. Also, this child may feel awkward in the presence of peers and may resort to withdrawal from a group of classmates.

The exosystem is the setting in which there is a link between the context where in the person does not have any active role, and the context where in is actively participating. Suppose a child is more attached to his father than his mother. If the father goes abroad to work for several months, there may be a conflict between the mother and the child's social relationship, or on the other hand, this event may result to a tighter bond between the mother and the child.

The macrosystem setting is the actual culture of an individual. The cultural contexts involve the socioeconomic status of the person and/or his family, his ethnicity or race and living in a still developing or a third world country. For example, being born to a poor family makes a person work harder every day.

The chronosystem includes the transitions and shifts in one's lifespan. This may also involve the socio-historical contexts that may influence a person. One classic example of this is how divorce, as a major life transition, may affect not only the couple's relationship but also their children's behavior. According to a majority of research,

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children are negatively affected on the first year after the divorce. The next years after it would reveal that the interaction within the family becomes more stable and agreeable

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0   Introduction

The methodology of the study is presented in this section. Some of the issues discussed include; a description of the study area, sample size determination, sampling procedure, data collection instruments and procedures, data analyses and ethical considerations.

3.1 Description of the Study Area

The study was conducted in the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality which has a total population of 139,283with the male population being 67,531 whilst female population is 71,752. This is broken down into 49% male and 51% female with a growth rate of 3% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). The Municipality has a total land area of 1790.7 sq. km., the population density is about 61 persons per sq. km.

Savelugu/Nanton Municipality was carved out of the then Western Dagomba District Council in 1988 under the PNDC Law 207 which comprised Tamale, Tolon and Savelugu. The Municipality has its administrative capital at Savelugu**.** The Municipal Assembly shares boundaries with Kumbungu District to the west, Tamale Metropolis and Sagnarigu to the south. The Municipality also shares boundaries with Karaga District to the East and West Mamprusi and Mamprugo/ Moaduri District to the North

The households of the Municipality are predominantly male-headed. The proportion of female-headed households was 3.1% as of the year 2000. In 2004, it rose to about 3.6% and subsequently to about 5.5% in 2010 as revealed by the Population and Housing Census. The findings from the Population and Housing Census conducted in 2010 showed that the average household size in the Municipality is 8.7 with the smallest household comprising one member and the largest household having 47 members (Ghana statistical Service, 2012)

According to the Savelugu Municipal Assembly (2014), there are 149 communities in the District. The communities are administratively demarcated into one urban/town Council (Savelugu, the district capital) and five Area Councils, namely, Nanton, Diare, Pong-

Tamale, Moglaa and Tampion. The 143 other communities could be described as rural. Nearly 80% of the populace resides in these rural communities and 20% in the few urban towns. It is this Municipality that returned "kayayei" migrants can be found as most of them who embarked on this "kayayei" migration returned after a period of time. Below is
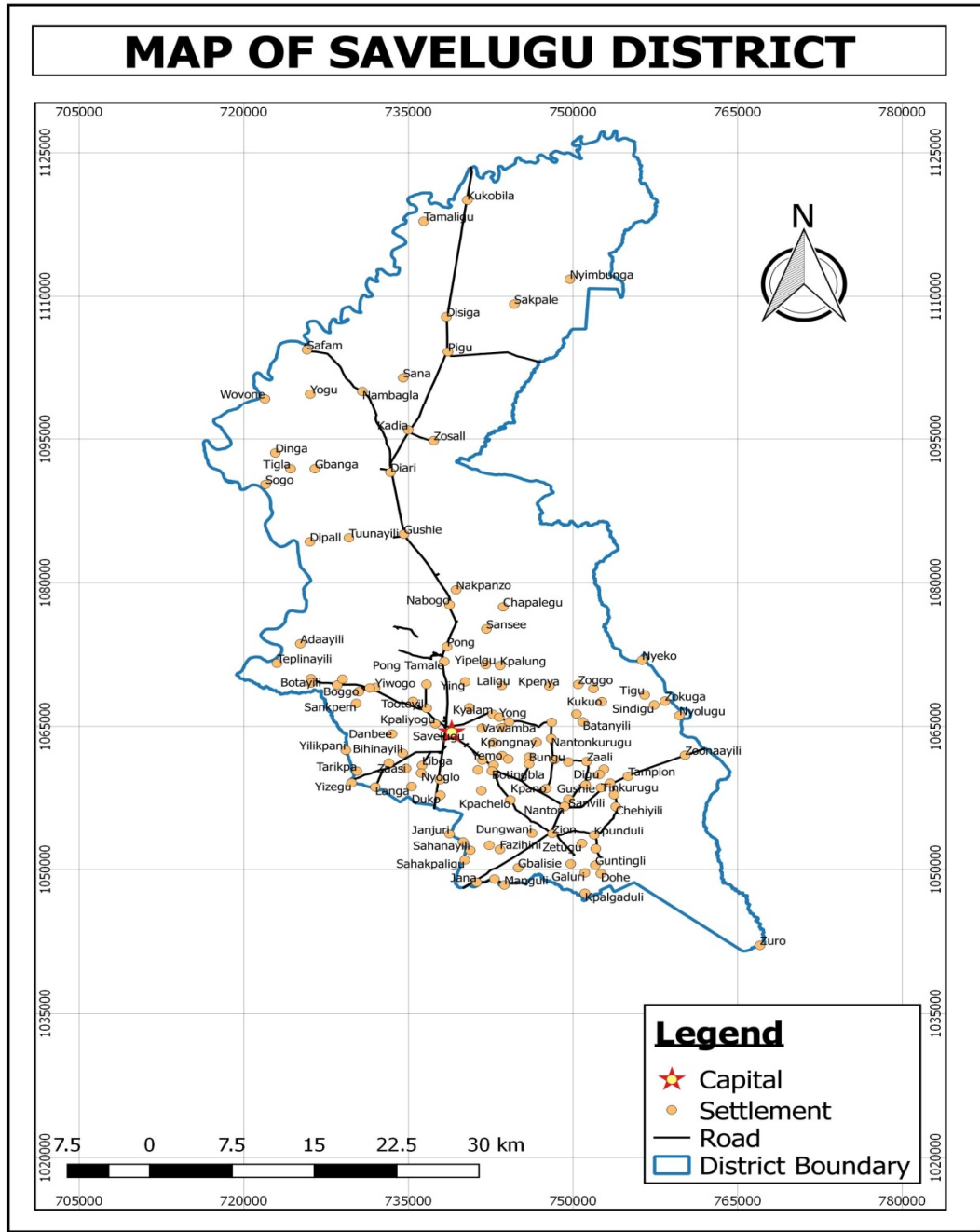
Figer 3.1: Map of Savelugu-Nanton Municipality

Source: Town and country planning, Tamale

3.1.1 Vegetation

The vegetative cover is sparsely covered with mostly short threes that suffer from annual harsh harmattan weather condition and long spell of dry seasons, characterized by bush-fires. The greatest threat however is the rate at which the tree vegetation is being cut down for fuel wood (Savelugu-Naton Municipal Assembly, 2010). Farming along river courses has also caused vast silting of the few drainage systems which therefore dry up quickly in the dry season and flood easily in the wet season. The poor environmental conditions of the area has been aggravated by gravel winning on good farmlands alongside the major trunk road and sand winning for which a greater percentage is used for construction work in Tamale without efforts at reclamation is an issue of concern. Public places of convenience are inadequate and scarce in the area leading to indiscriminate defecation and waste disposal. The problems of poor disposal of solid and liquid wastes, slum conditions and sewage degradation of the physical environments are becoming a nuisance (Savelugu-Nanton Municipal Assembly, 2014). the return "kayayei" influenced others in the area to worsen the sanitation problem of the Municipality.

3.1.2 Education

The Municipality Assembly has a good educational structure and personnel. The municipality Assembly is zoned into eight educational circuits for administrative purposes namely Savelugu East, Savelugu West, Pong-Tamale, Diare, Nanton, Tampion, Zoggu and Moglaa. There are 51 pre-schools, 81 primary schools and 18 Junior High Schools within the Savelugu/Nanton Assembly Area. The Junior High Schools service the two Senior High Schools located at Savelugu and Pong-Tamale within the

Savelugu/Nanton Assembly Area. There is also a School for the Deaf which is located in Savelugu and a Veterinary College located in Pong-Tamale respectively. According to the Municipal Education Directorate (MED) (2014), Gross Primary Enrolment (GER) increased from 68.4% in 2012/2013 academic year to 79.9% for 2014/2015 academic year. The increase in enrolment was however reported to have gender disparities. Though enrolment of the girl child similarly increased, the rate of increase for the boy child was more than the girl child. The possible reason is the young girls in the area are not encouraged to aspire for high education.

It was further reported by the MED, (2014) that there exists a gender parity gap. The situation emanates from poor retention of the girl child in school especially at the Junior High School level. The possible reason for this situation could be that at the Junior High School level, the girl child begins performing the multiple domestic roles such as fetching water, cooking, washing sweeping and cleaning just to mention a few in the family and thus has little time for academic work. It is for this reason that with support from UNICEF, the Assembly is providing means of transport for the girl child by providing them with bicycles which could be used to fetch water and quickly get to school and get back home early to perform domestic roles. Numerous challenges are reported to be facing the education sector in the Municipality of which early marriage and Kayayo are some of the challenges mentioned (Savelugu-Naton Education Directorate, 2014). It is for this reason that has attracted the researcher's attention to investigate the returned migrants' situation in the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality.

Due to the challenges facing the education sector, various skills and entrepreneurial development programmes for the youth are being pursued for the vulnerable and the

excluded in the Municipality. The vulnerable comprise women in general, the youth especially young girls', children, and the physically challenged. The land holding situation in the area manifests in large girl child unemployment and more girls drop out of school. The effect of the two is out-migration of the youth especially the girl child to places such as Kumasi and Accra for 'kayayo' activities. Most of them embark on seasonal migration or temporal migration. It is for this reason that study took keen interest in their reintegration process. The efforts that are being put in place are skill training programmes. Two Vocational training centers for dress making for females are operational at Zoggu, Pong-Tamale and Moglaa. Girls Growth Development (GIGDEV) is similarly offering vocational training to girls in Savelugu. Also there is an on-going Micro credit scheme for women and yet some of the returned "kayayei" migrants still find difficult to reintegrate in their own societies.

3.1.3   Economic Activity Status

According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2012), 77.6 percent of the population of Savelugu-Nanton Municipality who are 15 years and older are economically active while 22.4 percent are not economically active. Out of the economically active population, 98.0 percent are employed while 2.0 percent are unemployed. For those who are economically not active, 39.1 percent are students, 28.0 percent perform household duties and 4.4 percent are disabled or too sick to work.

The 2010 Population and Housing Census results also revealed that, 74.1 percent of the employed population of the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality are engaged as skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, 5.7 percent in service and sales, 6.4 percent in

craft and related trade, and 2.4 percent are engaged as managers, professionals, and technicians.

Again, it was reported by 2010 Population and Housing Census that 54.6 percent of the population 15 years and older are self-employed without employees, 27.7 percent are contributing family workers, 6.6 percent are casual workers and 1.3 percent are domestic employees (house helps). It was also reported by the same 2010 Population and Housing Census that the proportion of females engaged as contributing family workers, apprentices and domestic employee, on the other hand, is high than male. The private informal sector is the largest employer in the district, employing 96.4 percent of the population followed by the public sector with 1.9 percent (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012).

As high as 89.3 percent of households in the district, are engaged in agriculture. In the rural localities, eight out of ten households (93.3%) are agricultural households while in the urban localities, 83.3 percent of households are into agriculture. Most households in the district (97.0%) are involved in crop farming. Poultry (chicken) is the dominant animal reared in the district (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012)

3.1.4   Tenancy arrangement and ownership of dwelling units

The Ghana Statistical Service (2012) reported that nearly three-quarters (74.4%) of all dwelling units in the district are compound houses; 7.1 percent are separate houses and 1.4 percent are semi-detached houses. More than half (89.3%) of the dwelling units in the district are owned by members of the household; 2.9 percent are owned by private individuals; 4.6 percent are owned by a relative who is not a member of the household

and only 1.5 percent are owned by public or government. Less than one percent (0.7%) of the dwelling units is owned through mortgage schemes.

The housing stock of Savelugu-Nanton District is 12,483 representing 4.9 percent of the total number of houses in the Northern Region. The average household size in the district is 9.4.

3.1.5   Migration

In addition, the variations in the migration process in terms of age, sex, education and other socio-demographic characteristics can have significant impact on the overall social and economic development of a place. The results of the Population and Housing Census (2012) showed that 28,583 people representing 20.5 percent of the total population in the District are migrants. Majority of the migrants thus 23,602 representing 82.6% of the total migrant population are from other parts of the Northern Region whiles the rest (17.4%) come from outside the region. It was also revealed that 1,360 of the migrants in the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality are from Upper East Region and 1,551 are from outside Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012).

In terms of duration of stay, 22.6 % of the migrants have stayed in the Municipality for twenty years or more whiles 28.2 percent have stayed for less than one year. Almost equal proportion of migrants from Volta (27.9%) and Brong-Ahafo regions have stayed in the Municipality for twenty years or more. Again the census   indicated that more than 10 percent of all migrants from the various communities have stayed in the Municipality for 10-19 years (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). It is out of this reason that study investigated into the reintegration process of returned "kayayei" migrants since many

people have written on migration of both young men and women from the area to urban

centers of Accra, Kumasi and Tema.

3.2   Research Design

Bless and Higson-Smith (1995) acknowledges that every research work requires a

research design that is carefully tailored to meet the exact needs of the researcher as well

as the problem. In this case, a descriptive cross-sectional study was employed in order to

accomplish the purpose of the study and this was conducted in 30 communities of the

Municipality. The number of 30 communities that were selected constituted about 45% of

the total communities in the Municipality which is enough to make conclusive and valid

conclusions. Also, the World Health Organization (2000) reported that a community

based study or intervention should not have less than 30 communities or clusters. With

cross sectional study, designs are conducted on a single point in time snapshot approach;

data is gathered on a particular phenomenon once at a particular point in time. Neuman

(2003) describes it as snap shot of an event at a particular moment in time. It is usually

the simplest and least cost as compared with others and thus was adopted for the study. It

can be exploratory, descriptive or explanatory research but this work has decided to adopt

the descriptive aspect of this. According to Bourque (2004), groups identified for the

study are purposely selected based upon existing differences in the sample rather seeking

random sampling.

Furthermore, the study was descriptive because it gathered data on the views and

perceptions of returned "kayayei" and the traditional leaders on reintegration into

indigenous northern homes. The study did not establish cause and effect relationship as in

analytical studies. The study was also cross sectional study because the data was

collected at one point in time without being replicated in subsequent time or for follow-ups.

3.3   Study Population and Sampling

Gorard (2001) opines that population is a group usually of individuals from which sample can be selected to generate results of a study. The research study was limited and conducted in the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality of the Northern Region. The researcher aimed at assessing the reintegration of returned "kayayei" migrants in the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality in the Northern Region as descriptive cross sectional study. The population for this study was the "kayayei" returnees aged 18 years and above who have ever travelled to the southern part of Ghana, stayed there for at least five years and returned to the Savelugu-Nanton Municipality within the last five years prior to the investigation. Some family members and traditional leaders who are custodians of customs and traditions of those selected communities were also considered as part of the population for the study. Both males and females returned "kayayei" were interviewed. The returned "kayayei" also considered as those who stayed in "kayayei" for at least 5 years and above.

3.4   Sample size Determination

The sample size was calculated using the Snedecor and Cochran (1998) formula for a point estimate sample;

The sample size was therefore calculated as;

n= z^2pq/d^2

Where

n= sample size

z= Z- score of a 95% confidence level of the study equivalent to 1.96

p= estimated proportion of the population that migrated which was taken to be 24% as reported by the Ghana Statistical Service.

q= proportion of the population that has never migrated (1-p)

d= margin of error of the study thus 100%- 95%= 5% in this study

Therefore the sample size =

n= $(1.96)^2*0.26(1-0.26)/ 0.05^2$

n=184

 A 10% allowance was made for non-response, withdrawal from the study and damaged questionnaires culminating into a final sample size of 202.

Therefore a total of 202 retuned migrants were interviewed. The justification of a sample size of 202 for this study was premised on the belief that the sample size is big enough to make room for the accommodation of diverse views and experiences of participants. At the same time it was not too large to hinder the researcher's ability to offer an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon being investigated. Experts in qualitative research address that in order for qualitative case study researcher to be able to provide comprehensive accounts of the phenomenon being studied, an information-rich small sample size should be utilized, as opposed to large ones (Creswell, 2013; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008; Goulding, 2002).

3.5   Sampling technique

In research the rationale is to make generalization or draw references based on samples about parameters of population from which the samples are taken (Yin, 1993). Hence, Miller (1991) is of the same mind that the researcher needs to select only few items from the universe for his study purposes. He further argued that a study based on representative sample is often better than one based on a larger sample or on the whole population for there is no need interviewing large number of people saying the same thing.

In furtherance of this argument, it must be noted that sampling in qualitative research is based on random selection of individuals to be interviewed in the study. This method as noted by Yin (1993), allows the researcher to make generalization to the whole population. However, since generalization, in a statistical sense is not good for qualitative research, probability is not necessary or even justifiable in qualitative research (Sandelowski; 1995, Merriam 2000). To this study, a non-probability sampling was the most appropriate method of choice. Samples were small and were studied intensively to generate large amount of information. In the light of this, different sampling techniques were used at every stage of the study due to the inclusion of different study population. These are explained below.

3.5.1   Selection of Traditional Leaders

The traditional leaders who were involved in this study were selected using purposive sampling technique as one of the commonest form of non-probability sampling. In this sampling procedure, the researcher, purposively choose the particular units of the universe to constitute the sample on the basis that the small mass that they so select out of

a huge one will be typical or representative of the whole (Yin, 1993). Purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned (Merriam,2000). Patton (1990: 169) argues that "the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting *information-rich cases* for the study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term purposeful sampling." According to Doorewaard and Verchuren (1999), the importance of adopting this, by researchers is the relative advantage of time and money inherent in the sampling.

Given this background, information needed by the study with respect to the reintegration of returned "kayayei" migrants, purposive sampling technique was used as a form of non-probability sampling in which choice concerning the individuals to be included in the sample was taken by the researcher, based upon a variety of criteria which included specialist knowledge of the research issue, or capacity and willingness to participate in the research. Since traditional leaders in communities are the custodians of the values and cultures of the communities, it was appropriate for them to be selected to give their expert opinions and views on the study. In each of the study communities 2, traditional leaders were interviewed.

3.5.2   Selection of the Households of Respondents

Return migrants can be viewed as a hard to reach population. 'Hard to reach populations' can be described as populations that are difficult to locate and have an unusual or stigmatized condition (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). Although not necessarily stigmatized, return migrants do represent a specific segment of the population that can be difficult to

locate as they may be spread out in different clusters within the overall population. Furthermore, in Northern Region or Savelugu-Nanton Municipality, there is no list of return migrants or one central organization assisting returnees. For these reasons, the only viable method for sampling was snowball sampling.

In this sampling, one person was identified as returnee in their households and he or she was interviewed. He or she was then used and asked to recommend others who they knew and met the criteria. As Patton (1990), indicates, this strategy involves identifying participants or "cases of interest from people who know people who know what cases are information-rich, that is, good examples for study, good interview subjects." Berg (2006) posits that the first respondent refers to an acquaintance; the friend also refers to a friend and so on.

Snowball sampling was used as a recruitment method in order to meet the sampling criteria such as duration of the migration experience and time since return. The houses in the communities served as the sampling units. This sampling technique was used in selecting the respondents because it was not every household that had a returned kayayei. Both male and female respondents were selected for interview in order to enhance easy comparison.

One of the key benefits of the snowball sampling approach is being able to obtain participants where "some degree of trust is required to initiate contact" (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). This was the case in the research that many participants were only willing to participate due to the individual that referred them, especially with the professionals.

An important drawback to the snowball sampling approach is that the "researcher relinquishes a considerable amount of control over the sampling phase to the informants" (Noy, 2008). I worked to be very clear with the participants regarding who did and who did not qualify for participation. This did lead to some confusion and in one instance I was referred to a second-generation returnee that did not fit the sampling criteria. In addition, at times it was difficult to encourage the participants to refer more participants.

3.5.3   Selection of the Communities/Clusters

The study was conducted in 30 communities of the Savelugu Municipality. The communities were selected using Probability Proportional to Size (PPS). By this method, the lists of all the communities in the study area were compiled with their corresponding populations. The cumulative population of the communities was also calculated. The sampling interval was calculated by dividing the cumulative population by the number of clusters or communities (Sampling interval = Cumulative population/ number of clusters). Survey statisticians have found probability proportional to size (PPS) sampling scheme useful for selecting units from the population as well as estimating parameters of interest especially when it is clear that the survey is large in size and involves multiple characteristics. Studies on inferences in finite population sampling including the works of Godambe (1955), Basu (1971), and Chaudhuri (2010) have postulated the non-existence of an unbiased estimator of population characteristics with the uniformly least value of its variance.

3.6   Data Collection approach

There are two major approaches used in social research in gathering data (Miller, 1991). Namely, primary and secondary sources and both information was generated for the

study. The primary data was collected from the field, while the secondary information was gathered from the Municipal Assembly records, Municipal Education Directorate records (MED), Town and Country Planning Department, Tamale, Population and Housing Census; District Analytical Report, Savelugu-Nanton Municipal Assembly and Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) reports which treat different aspects of the study. The researcher also relied on a lot of documents produced during this period. There were documents in the form of publications, online sources, and official documents from government and non-governmental institutions, the news media, and also the researcher relied on review of documents as one of the data collection mechanisms.

3.6.1   Structured questionnaires

Structured questionnaires were administered to the returned "kayayei." The structured questionnaires collected data on the factors that influence reintegration of returned "kayayei", the social and economic gains made by the returned "kayayei" and the relationship between gender, age and length of stay outside the community and the reintegration process. These formed the three objectives of the study.

Questionnaires were used since it is able to standardize the responses of the respondents because they have the same set of questions to answer. According to Maine (2000), a questionnaire provides uniform responses and makes data collection and analyses easier.

The questionnaire for the returned "kayayei" was divided into five sections. These include socio demographic data, factors influencing migration, the level of economic gains made through their migration, challenges faced by returned migrants in

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reintegrating into their communities and behavioral changes acquired from the urban centers.

The questionnaire for the family members was divided into three sections which are factors that influence migration, challenges of reintegration by returned "kayayei" and behavioral changes observed in these returned "kayayei".

Key Informant Interview

The traditional leaders were used as key informants who gave an account of the processes leading to reintegration of those returned migrants to the cultural integrity of the communities. According to Bowling (1978), key informant interviews are qualitative in-depth interviews with people who know what is going on in the community. The purpose of key informant interviews was to collect information from a wide range of people— including community leaders, professionals, or residents—who have firsthand knowledge about the community. These community experts, with their particular knowledge and understanding provided insight on the nature of these returned "kayayei", their reintegration into the northern society and also gave their recommendations as solutions to the issue being investigated.

3.6.2 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions were organized in 10 communities among returned migrants, some of their family members and opinion leaders. A report by Millar (2003) indicated that a focus group is a small-group (8-12 persons) discussion guided by a trained leader. It is used to discuss complex ideas in-depth. The group format stimulated discussion, generated new ideas, and promoted exploration of unknown areas. The discussions

elicited information on some of the challenges they face in reintegrating themselves into the cultures of the communities after a change of environment and their new experiences acquired whiles living in the urban centers of southern Ghana.

3.7   Dependent and Independent Variables

The main outcome measure or variable for the study is the reintegration of returned migrants into the local cultures of the northern communities in which they live.

3.7.1   Independent Variables

➢ Socio-demographic characteristics of the returned migrants

➢ Economic and social gains made by returned Kayaye

➢ Challenges of reintegration of returned migrants into the local cultures of the north

3.8   Data Processing and Analysis

The analysis followed what Weiss (1995) calls an 'issue-focused analysis', meaning that the aim of the analysis was to learn from all respondents about specific issues, events, or processes. The issues of interest in this study include returned migration (kayayei), reintegration, and socio-economic challenges. Following from the theoretical framework in Chapter 2, each chapter following this chapter addresses a particular aspect of the framework for the case analysis.

In the light of the above, data from the structured questionnaires were analyzed using SPSS versions 20.0 for Windows. Univariate, bivariate and multivariate analyses were performed on the quantitative data to be collected using the structured questionnaire.

Descriptive and inductive/inferential statistics was also used to present and interpret the data. Test statistics that were used for test of statistical significance include P-values, confidence intervals, Chi square values and Odd ratios. P values less than 0.05 were considered statistically significant.

Multiple logistic regression analysis was done to establish the factors that influence migration and also the challenges faced by returned migrants in reintegrating into the local cultures. Logistic regression analyses were done in two models.

Multiple logistic regression analysis was used because the main outcome variable is binary and it also allowed for testing for confounding and independent contribution of potential factors that lead to migration and also the challenges of reintegration into the local cultures. This type of regression also gave the P-values together with the confidence intervals of the individual factors that were identified. This was helpful in determining factors that are statistically significant.

3.9   Ethical Consideration

Migration research leads to several ethical considerations, particularly research with "kayayei" returnees. "Kayayei" returned migrants "who carry goods on their heads for a negotiated fee. Girls as young as 8 years old work as "kaya". Away… from their home communities and families, most end up living and working under very poor conditions and are vulnerable"(Awumbila, 2007) as research subjects due to their human rights and sexual abuses they may have been exposed to, and their current situations, particularly in their readjustment process. This vulnerability is one of the reasons that research on them is so ethically burdened, as those who have not found life easy are either forced or volunteered to migrate have often suffered serious physical, psychological and emotional

trauma. Despite the fact that they are now in their respective places of origin, and are no longer vulnerable in the ways described above; however the interview questions could bring about memories of physical, psychological and emotional trauma from their "kayayei business" in the urban centers of Accra, Kumasi and Tema and the migrations experience. For these reasons, the following ethical principles of research were adopted for this research study.

➢ An informed consent of the respondents was sought and in the consent form, the objectives and significance of the study were clearly stated and explained to the prospective respondents. Respondents were given the free will to decide whether to partake in the study or not.

➢ Anonymity and confidentiality of the actual source(s) of information obtained from the study participants were ensured by not indicating the names of respondents who took part in the study. Names were not being provided on the data collection tools and therefore no clues were provided for someone to trace the source of information.

➢ The research also ensured that the respondents were not harmed physically or psychologically during and after the research. This was attained by staying away from use of offensive, discriminatory and unacceptable language during interviews/ Focus Group Discussions.

➢ The researcher ensured that others whose works were used were also acknowledged adequately.

3.10   Quality Control Measures

3.10.1 Training

There was a training session held for the research assistants who assisted in the data collection to ensure that valid and reliable data are collected. The training gave the data collectors much insight into the questionnaires and what it sought to achieve.

3.10.2 Pre-testing of questionnaires

There was a pilot survey to pre-test the questionnaires in order to refine and restructure the questions where necessary. The pre-testing was done in three communities in the Savelugu-Nanton Municipal Assembly Area which is one of the districts in the Northern Region chosen as the study area. The pre-testing helped to compare the responses with the objectives of the study.

3.10.3 Double entries of data

 Double entry of data was done after which the two data sets were compared at the analysis stage. This helped in identifying some omissions during the data entry.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0   Introduction

This chapter presents analyses of the results and findings of the study. The results of the quantitative data are presented in tables and charts whilst those of the qualitative data are presented in themes with some quotations supporting the themes. The results have also been discussed by relating them with similar studies conducted by other researchers in Ghana and elsewhere.

4.1   Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The study interviewed 202 retuned "kayayei" with the structured questionnaire discussed earlier on. The minimum age was 12 years and the maximum age was 43. The mean age of respondents is 22.4 ± 4.1 (Mean ± SD).

Sex Distribution

Table 4.1: Sex distribution of Respondents

Sex	Frequency (n= 202)	Percentage
Male	43	21.3
Female	159	78.7
Total	**202**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2016
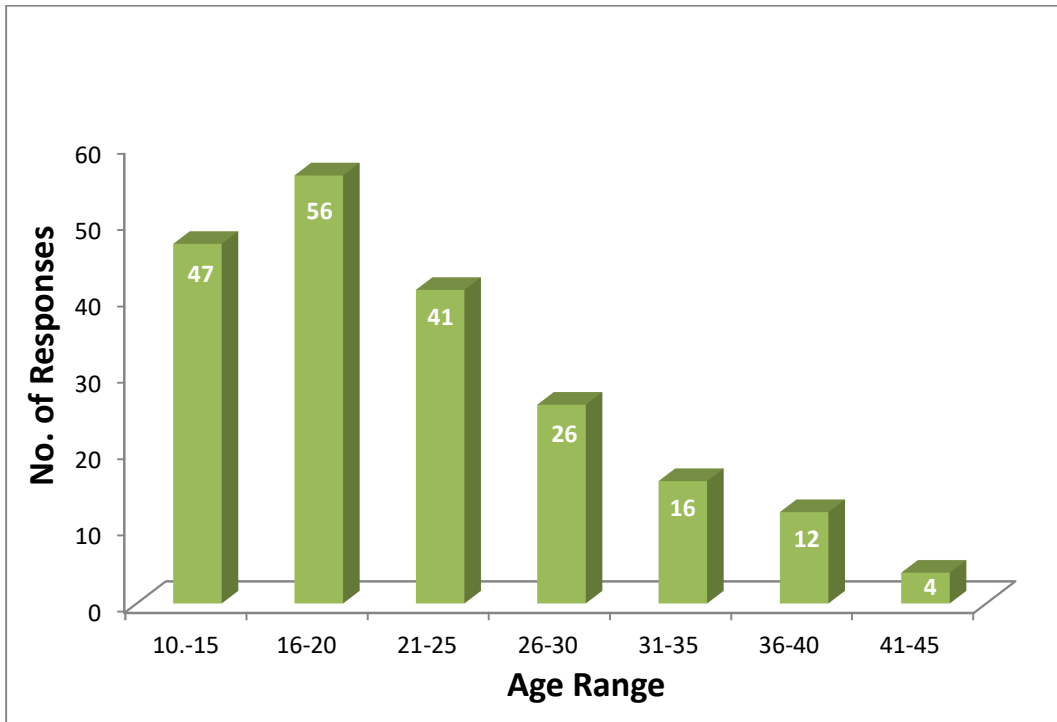
Figure 4. 1: Age at first Migration of Returnees

Source: Field Survey, 2016

4.1.1 Sex of Respondents

The study found that more females were involved in "kayayei" than males. The results show that 78.7% (159) of the females had returned from "kayayei" whilst 21.3% (43) of males had also returned from "kayayei" as seen in Table 4.1. Most of the respondents who represented 27.7% (56) were within the age group of 16-20 years whilst 23.3% (47) were below 15 years. Only 2% (4) of the respondents were above 30 years as shown in Figure 4.2 above.

The above findings of the study are consistent with that of Bemah (2010), Anarfi et al, (2003) and Appiah (2006) who found that more females from the three northern regions of Ghana engaged themselves into "kayayei" migration than their male counterparts. This

is due to the fact that, the services of females or girls are highly demanded by people who require their services than their male counterparts. In this study it was found out that 73% of the returned "kayayei" were females.

4.1.2 Age of Respondents

With respect to the ages of respondents, the study found that most of the respondents were below 20 years. This implies that they embarked on "kayayei" very early in life before returning to their communities. This assertion is consistent with the findings of Anarfi et al, (2003) and Bema (2010) that young girls and boys from the three northern regions migrate to the southern part of Ghana to embark on "kayayei". This could lead to the adoption of bad behaviors in life because they are not well developed to decipher good behavior from bad.

In other studies, it was discovered that the predisposition of young people to migrate could be consistently higher than other age groups when the area of origin is rural. This type of migration from rural settlements to urban locations is almost always permanent. It is frequently preceded by several rural-to-rural movements as a process of progressive adaptation to more complex social environments. Both **stage** and **stepwise** migration characterize the rural flows among several small towns (Muniz, 2006). Flows from urban to rural areas also exist; one example of this kind is known as "back-to-the-land movement" (Jacob 2007; Halfacree, 2007).

4.1.3 Ethnic Composition of Respondents

From figure 4.3, ethnically, majority of the respondents representing 71.8% (145) were Dagombas whilst 18.3% (37) were Gonjas. The dominance of Dagombas in the study

sample is consistent with the results of the 2010 Population and Housing Census by the Ghana Statistical Service which found that Dagombas form about 78% of the population of the Savelugu Municipality whilst Gonjas form about 15% of the population.
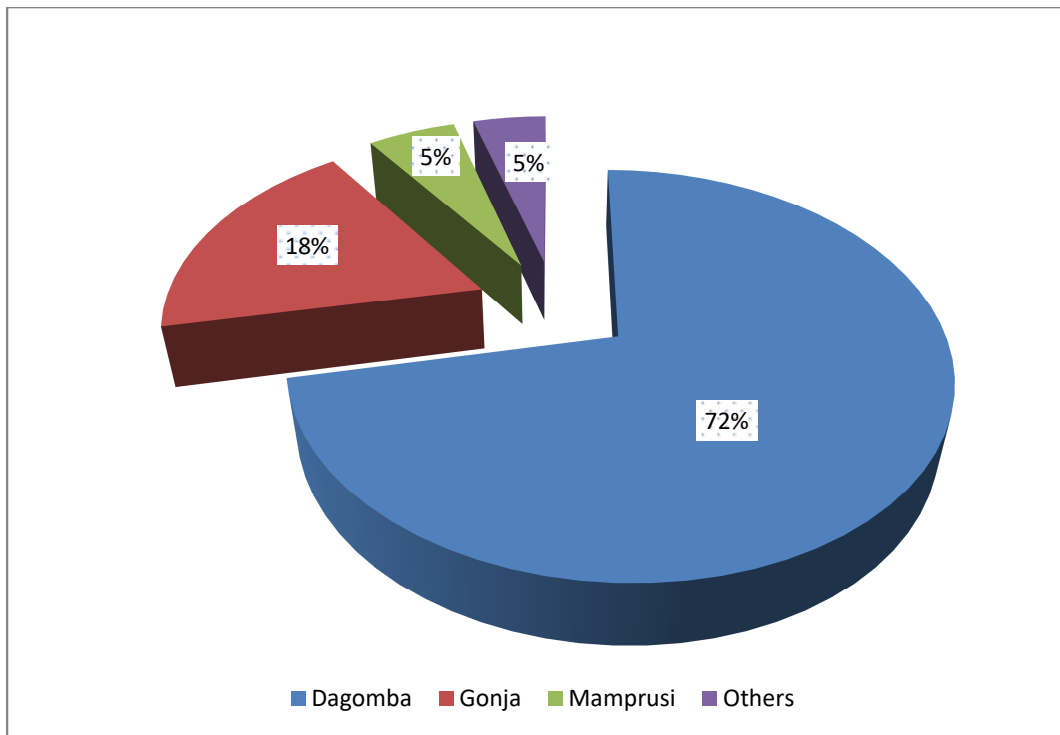
Figure 4.2: Ethnic Distribution of Respondents

Source: Field Survey, 2016

4.1.4 Religious composition of Respondents

In terms of religion, Islam was discovered to be the dominant religion in the study sample as 77.7% (157) of the respondents were Muslims whilst 15.8% (32) were Christians. The GSS (2010) found that Muslims represent about 82% of the population of the Savelugu Municipality. This is slightly higher than the 77% established by this study as shown in Table 4.3. This could be due to the smaller sample size used in this study as compared to the Population and Housing Census.

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Table 4.2: Religious Distribution of Respondents

Religion	Frequency (n= 202)	Percentage
Islam	157	77.7
Christianity	32	15.8
Traditionalist	13	6.5
Total	**202**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2016

4.1.5 Marital Status of Respondents

An assessment of the marital status of the respondents showed that 42.8 % (86) were not formally married. They were in consensual relationship. The proportion of respondents who were married formed 22.7% (46) whilst 13.8% (28) were divorced. This differential in the marital status could also be attributed to the fact that this study was conducted among a special population which is "kayayei" returnees. Again, majority of the people who were interviewed were young people and therefore, most of them were not married.

Table 4.3: Marital Status of Respondents at first Migration

Marital Status at first Migration	Frequency (n=202)	Percentage (%)
Married	46	22.7
Single	39	19.4
Consensual relationship	86	42.8
Divorced	28	13.8
Widowed	3	1.3
Total	**202**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2016

4.2   Educational Levels before and after Migration

An assessment of the educational level of the respondents before embarking on "kayayei" was done. The results of the study showed that majority of the respondents who represented 66.3% (134) did not have any formal education whilst 13.4% (27) ended their formal education at the basic school level. The study found that none of the respondents was educated to the tertiary level prior to their migration whilst 2% (4) of them were secondary school leavers as shown in figure 4.3.

Appiah (2006), Anarfi et al (2003) and Bemah (2010), in their studies, established that majority of the respondents of "kayayei" are not formally educated. Their results showed that the level of education of few of them is at the basic level (either primary or JHS level). This is one of the contributory factors for embarking on "kayayei" because they have no skills and profession. The results of this study also go to support that of Anarfi etal (2003) and Appiah (2006) because the returned "kayayei" who were interviewed in this study did not have any formal education.

However, an assessment of the educational level of the respondents after returning from "kayayie" showed that 0.5% (1) of the respondents were educated to the tertiary level whilst the proportion of respondents who were educated to the secondary school level increased to 7.9% (16) as shown in figure 4.4. This implies that some young people embark on "kayayei" in order to finance their education. This has been confirmed by (van den Berg, (2007) and Ahlvin, (2012), "It is sometimes true that after pursuing their dreams vigorously in the urban centers, some "kayayei" do succeed in mobilising some money to support their families back home, pay their own school fees or acquire other household and personal effects required for marriage as young girls". This is in line with

Barrientos and Barrientos (2003) who reported that some migrants who engage in menial jobs are able to use their wages to improve their lives status through the apprenticeship and pursuing higher education.
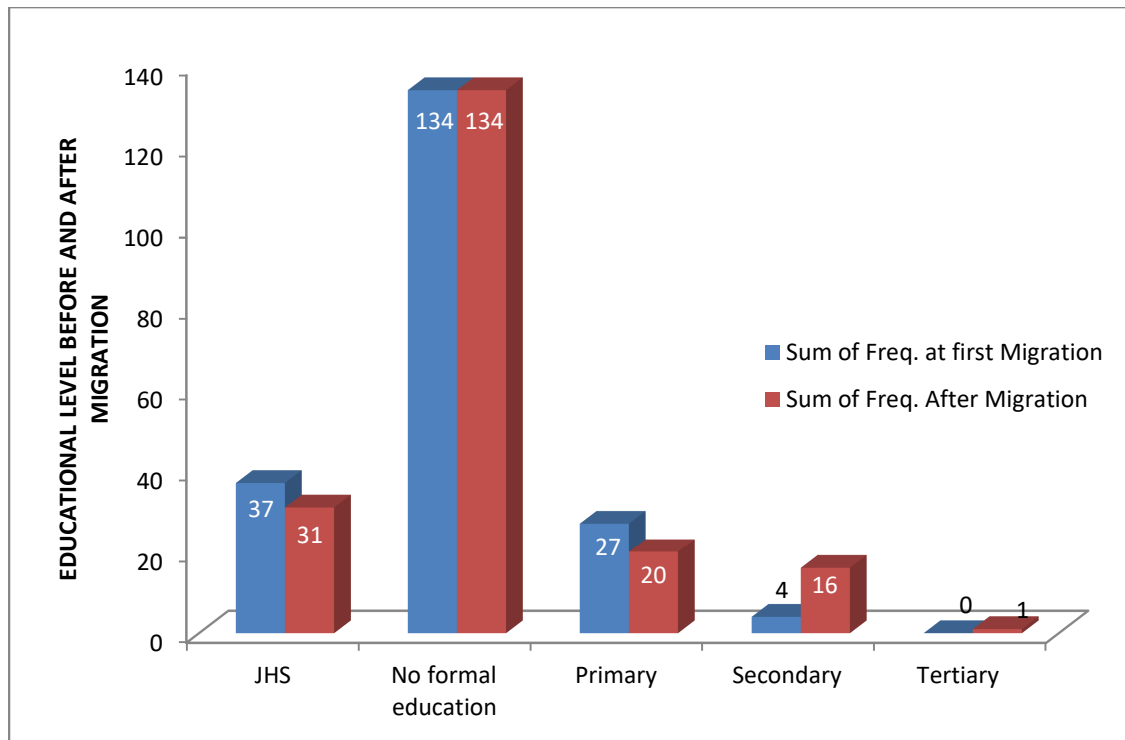
Figure 4. 3: Educational Level before and after Migration
Source: Field Survey, 2016

4.3   Economic Activities of Returnees

The results as seen in Table 4.4 showed that 48% (97) of the respondents were engaged in farming. This goes to support the report of the Savelugu-Nanton Municipal Assembly (2014) which reported that majority of the residents of the Municipality are farmers. On the other hand, 26.2% (53) of the returnees were unemployed. Only 2% (4) of the respondents were salaried workers with 5.9% (12) being petty traders. The study again found that 9.4% (19) of the respondents were students.

Table 4.4: Occupational Distribution of Returnees

Occupation	Frequency (n=202)	Percentage (%)
Unemployed	53	26.2
Petty trading	12	5.9
Farmer	97	48.0
Student	19	9.4
Artisan	6	3
Salaried worker	4	2
Others	11	5.5
Total	**202**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2016

The study results show that 80.2% (162) of the respondents had not given birth at the time of the survey whilst 15.8% (32) of them had either given birth to 1 or 2 two children. Only 1% (2) had more than 5 children as shown in table 4.5 below

Table 4.5: Number of Children at first Migration

Number of children at first migration	Frequency (n=202	Percentage
None	162	80.2
1-2 children	32	15.8
3-4 children	6	3
5+	2	1
Total	**202**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2016

4.3 Household Conditions of Respondents before and after Migration

The conditions of the households of the respondents were assessed by this study. The results showed that the parents of majority of the people who went for "kayayei" were alive at the time they migrated. The results showed that 85.1% (172) of the respondents said that both parents were alive at the time they left for "kayayei" whilst 2.5% (5) of the respondents said that only their fathers were alive. The proportion of the respondents who reported that only their mothers were alive was 10.9% (22) whilst 1.5% (3) said that none of their parents was alive at the time they embarked on "kayayei".

Table 4.6: Status of Respondents' Parents Before Migration

Variable	Frequency (n= 202)	Percentage
Both parents were alive	172	85.1
Only father was alive	5	2.5
Only mother was alive	22	10.9
None was alive	3	1.5
Total	**202**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2016

The study also found that respondents did not embark on kayayei alone as shown by table 4.7. The results showed that 87.1% (176) of the respondents said that they did not migrate alone. They accompanied or were led by relatives or friends. Only 12.9% (26) of the respondents said they travelled alone. The results also showed that majority (58.9%) of the respondents migrated with their friends whilst 21.3% (43) said they followed their sisters or brothers to embark on kayayei. It also revealed that 2% (4) said they followed their mothers to embark on kayayei. This is shown in figure 4.5.

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Table 4.7: Percentage of respondents who migrated alone

Did respondent migrate alone?	Frequency (n=200)	Percentage
Yes	26	12.9
No	176	87.1
Total	**202**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2016
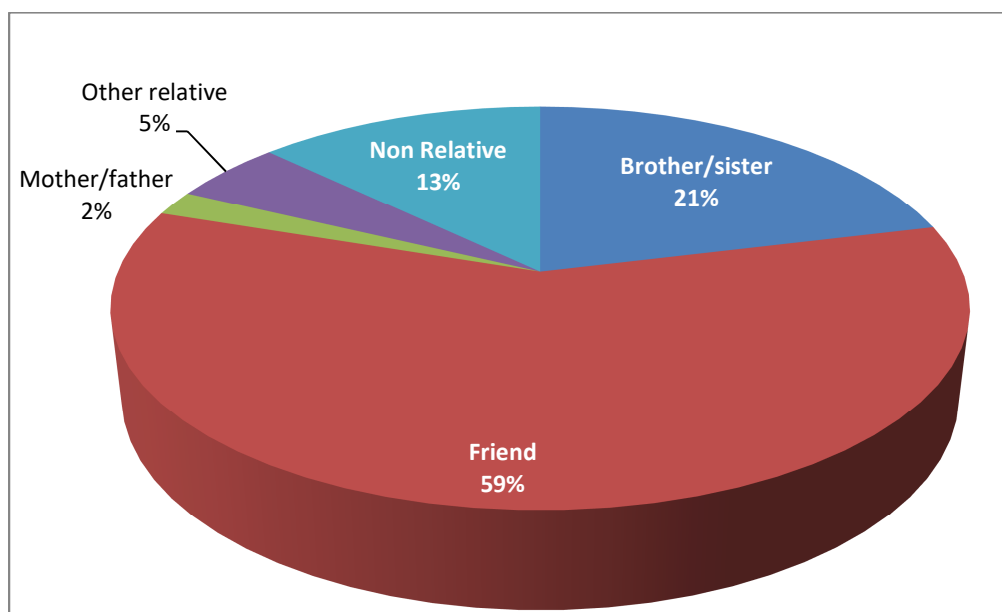
Figure 4.4: Percentage of Respondents who migrated with family, friends and others

Source: Field Survey, 2016

The study further found that 68.3% (138) of the respondents said they were living with

both parents whilst 24.3% (49) of the respondents said they were living with only one of

their parents as shown in Table 4.8 below. In the table, 7% (15) of the respondents said

they were living with other relatives before they embarked on "kayayei". Additionally,

the results of the study found 88.6% (179) of the respondents had the support of their

parents or relatives they were living with.

Table 4.8: Persons respondents were living with before migration

Who were you living with before migration?	Frequency (n=202)	Percentage
Both parents	138	68.3
One parent	49	24.3
Other relative	15	7.4
Total	**202**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Table 4.9: Consent of Parents/Caretakers before Migration

Parents/caretakers consented to migration	Frequency (n=202	Percentage
Yes	179	88.6
No	23	11.4
Total	**202**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2016

4.4   Original Motivation for "kayayei"

Several factors influence young people to embark on "kayayei". An assessment of the factors that influence people to embark on "kayayei' showed that, from Table 4.10, most of the respondents representing 34.1% (69) said they went on "kayayei" to get jobs in the cities whilst 16.3% (33) said they went on "kayayei" to buy school uniforms and raise school fees. Surprisingly, about 13% (26) of the respondents said they embarked on "kayayei" to buy clothes for festive occasions whilst 11.4% (23) said they went on 'kayayei" because their parents could not provide their basic needs. 8% (16) said that they embarked on "kayayei" to buy wedding clothes and items for their weddings whilst 5.5% (11) said they embarked on "kayayei" because of peer influence. Majority of the

respondents representing 37.6% (76) migrated to Kumasi whilst 36.1% (73) migrated to Accra. The proportion of respondents who migrated to galamsey site was 10.5% (21) of the study sample as shown in figure 4.5 below.

A study by Barrrientos and Hulme (2008) established that, people migrate for many reasons. One particular type of migration known as labor migration is the most common form of migration. Sometimes people migrate because of a lack of employment opportunities locally, a low quality of life or poor environmental conditions, or if they fear for their own personal security. Social and political convulsions, perhaps with cultural or religious overtones, are other factors that can cause people to move from one place to another. The results of this study are consistent with that of Barrrientos and Hulme (2008) because most of the "kayayei" migrated to the cities because of job opportunities. This is precipitated by the fact that there are less job opportunities in rural areas of Ghana especially, in northern Ghana than the southern part.

There are Push and Pull Factors of migration. According to Yeoh et al, (2003), geographers summarize the motivations for migration by considering how the relationship between two points (origin and destination) are affected by push and pull factors. Push factors exist at the point of origin and act to trigger emigration; these include the lack of economic opportunities, religious or political persecution, hazardous environmental conditions, and so on.

The results of this study however showed that, the main push factor for "kayayei" among young people from northern Ghana is the economic factor which is as a result of high level of poverty in the northern communities. Pull factors exist at the destination and

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include the availability of jobs, religious or political freedom, and the perception of a relatively being environment. Push and pull are complementary — that is, migration can only occur if the reason to emigrate (the push) is remedied by the corresponding pull at an attainable destination. In the context of labor migration, push factors are often characterized by the lack of job opportunities in sending areas or countries, and pull factors are the economic opportunities presented in receiving areas or countries. The attraction of more economically developed places thus cities and towns for migrants have always provided the incentives for some people to move. When people move to new places looking for a job or better economic conditions, they are considered to be labor migrants.

Throughout history, labor migration has been an important type of flow, but it has acquired greater importance today because of the new dynamism of the global economy (Snel *et al.,* 2006). The results of this study confirm that "kayayei" is a form of labor migration in Ghana.
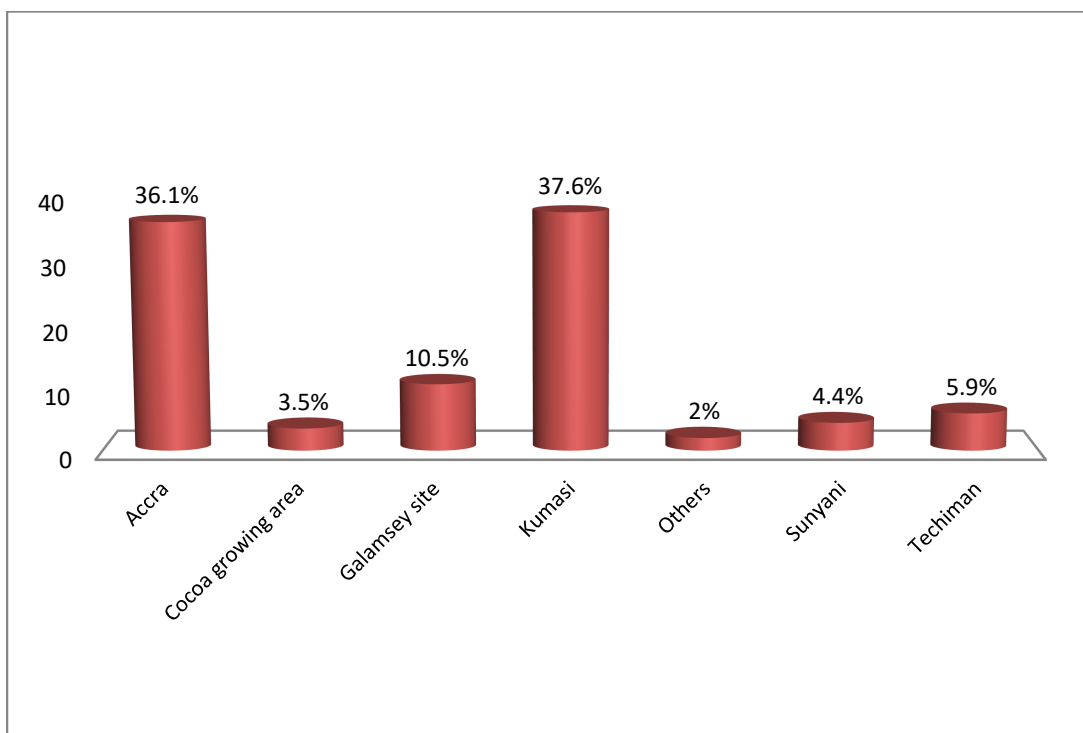
Figure 4.5: Destination of Respondents

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Table 4.10: Reasons for embarking on kayayei

Reason for migration	Frequency (n= 202)	Percentage (100%)
To buy school uniforms and raise fees	33	16.3
To get a job in the city	69	34.1
To buy wedding items and clothes	16	7.9
To raise money for my family	24	11.9
My parents were not able to provide my needs	23	11.4
Peer influence	11	5.5
To buy clothes for festive occasion	26	12.9
Total	**202**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2016

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4.5   Skills of Respondents before and after Migration

The results of the study showed that majority of the respondents representing 94.5% (191) did not acquire any skills of work or learn any trade during their period of "kayayei". Only 5.4% (11) learned some skills or trade during the period they were into "kayayei". Most (3.5%) of those who acquired some skills said that they were apprentices in tailoring/seamstressing, hairdressing and building construction. Only one person did a certificate course whilst involved in "kayayei" as shown in Table 4.11. 1.5% (3) said they had some business training from a Non-Governmental Organization, Society for Women and Aids in Africa (SWAA) during the period of "kayayei".

The study also found that 50.5% (102) of the respondents said their financial status improved during their "kayayei" period whilst 47.5% (96) said there was no change in their financial status during the "kayayei" period because they were spending all the money they got on food. The results showed that 81.4% (164) of the respondents admitted "kayayei" has improved their lives whilst 18.8% (38) said that it has not improved their lives.

An assessment of the number of years spent by respondents in "kayayei" showed that about 6.4% (13) spent more than 6 years in "kayayei" whilst 14.8% (30) spent less than one year. The results again showed that most of the respondents who formed 38.6% (78) spent 1-2 years as shown in Table 4.11.

The attraction of more economically developed places thus cities and towns for migrants have always provided the incentives for some people to move. In Ghana, the results of this study show that "kayayei" is embarked upon because, people from the northern

Ghana are economically active and ready to work but have no or limited skills to work. Those who have skills also do not have job opportunities. According to Blaaw and Precious (2006) when people move to cities looking for a job or better economic conditions, they are considered to be labour migrants and this has persisted throughout history. Labor migration has been an important type of flow, but it has acquired greater importance today because of the new dynamism of the global economy. Labor migration also plants a seed for increasing inequalities between places and countries. The old expression of spatial movement of people has been transformed into new forms of migration flows, which bring opportunities and advantages but also risks and disadvantages.

Table 4.11: Status of respondents during Kayayei

Skills/trade acquired during kayayei period	Frequency(n=202)	Percentage
Yes	11	5.4
No	191	94.5
Type of skills acquired		
Apprenticeship	5	2.5
Certificate course	1	0.5
Business training	3	1.5
Others	2	1.0
Financial status during kayayei period		
Improved financial status	102	50.5
Worsened financial status	4	2.0
Indifferent/no change in financial status	96	47.5
Has kayayo improved your life?		
Yes	164	81.2
No	38	18.8
Number of years spent in kayayei		
less than 1 year	30	14.8
1-2yrs	78	38.6
3-4 years	49	24.3
5-6 years	32	15.9
Above 6 years	13	6.4

Source: Field Survey, 2016

4.6   Reasons for Return Migration

An assessment of the reasons for the return of "kayayei" showed that most of the respondents representing 33.7% (68) said that they returned from "kayayei" to get married whilst 22.8% (46) said that they returned as a result of diminishing job opportunities in the cities. About 17.8% (36) said that they returned from "kayayei" due to the poor wages they were getting in the cities. Only 4.4% (9) said that they returned from "kayayei" because they had achieved their objectives as shown in figure 4.7. Majority of the respondents who formed 52% (105) said that they have not regretted for returning from "kayayei" as seen in Table 4.12   Return migration is a new phenomenon in which migrants return from the overseas countries to their home country or from their cities or towns to their native towns (Rajan, 2012). According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2013), the rate of return migration has increased at a large level during the period of economic recession during 2008. Zachariah (2006) work has supported the major reasons for return of migrants as being "expiry of contract" and also "difficult working: and "living conditions" at the destination or host places.

Table 4.12: Respondents feelings about their return

Respondent regrets for return		
Yes	97	48
No	105	52

Source: Field Survey, 2016
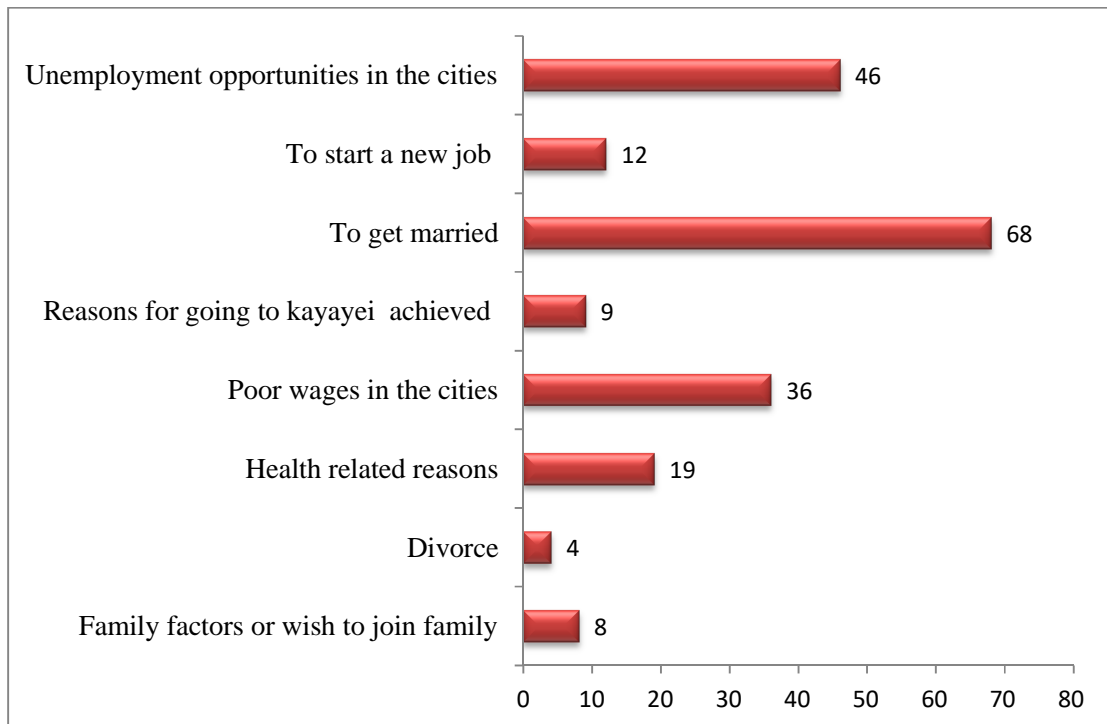
Figure 4. 6: Factors that influence the return of migrants

Source: Field Survey, 2016

An interview conducted with a "kayayei" returnee in Diare revealed the following;

> *"That had been my plan the whole time. Like my plan was to go to Accra, work for a period of time in order to enable me acquire certain marital accessories such as cooking utensils and come back home to get married. It is just what I did, and everything went according to plan."*

Another one also revealed that;

> *"I think it is the best for me and my baby to stay surrounding with family members around. Taking care of baby is difficult task for me in life. I want to grow up my baby in Zoggo's culture to maintain northern tradition. So I decided*

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to return home. I have no idea to go back to the south as I need my family's assistance to raise my kid up and besides, I have no experience in caring baby"

"Kayayei" returnee, 2, April, 2016

Another male returnee also explained during Focus Group Discussion

"Sometimes the load you are carrying falls. When it falls you have to pay for it. So you have a double loss: you have to pay for the load, and you don't get the money for carrying it. Above all the money we received for carrying the load is not even enough to cater for your needs not talk of sending some to your people. So I was forced to come home, I have not regretted for my return. In any case I will not advice friends or my younger ones to travel there because Accra life is not as easy as we think." Focus group Discussion, Tampion Community, 15 March 2016

Due to diminishing employment opportunities in the urban cities of Accra, Tema and Kumasi, many "kayayei" were not meeting their needs. A participant in an interview described this feeling as follows:

"I did not get anything good now in fact it is worse because I do not work I came here and still am dependent on my family. I had no any other option, than to return to the village."

One of the "kayayei" returnees in a Focus Group Discussion in Nambagla explains.

"I was selling food with my senior sister before coming home. I like the north better, although I was making money there. I went to buy a sewing machine, and I got it as such my return to the north." Returned "kayayo", 21 March, 2016

Return migration has been described as a new phenomenon by Bonner (2012), The causes and the factors leads to the sudden and heavy return of migrants from cities or

overseas countries is in global level is a concerned issue today among the policy makers and related departments. The causes and factors for return migration have been examined and analyzed in different levels in by articles and books by different authors. Different scholars and authors expressed a large series of problems that led to the return migration. In this study, the results showed that "kayayei" migrate to the cities due to job opportunities in the cities. They returned because they could not get sustainable jobs in the cities. This trend is consistent with the findings of Zachariah, Mathew, Rajan (2010) who stated that one of the important factors for return migration is the lack of sustainable job opportunities in the cities. This implies that people migrate for job opportunities in the cities or countries where they have migrated to. When the job opportunities are found to not to be profitable or sustainable then they return to their native places.

In this current study, it was found that "kayayei" returned to their communities because of poor wages in the cities. When expectations of the "kayayei" were not met in the cities they decided to go back to areas of their origin because the wages being received in the cities were very poor. This assertion is consistent with that of Auke-Boere (2010) who showed Indian migrants in the Arabian Sea, returned to Indian when they saw that their wages were very low. In the case of "kayayei" in Ghana, they migrate from rural communities mostly from Northern Ghana to the southern part in search of job opportunities they therefore return to their home towns or communities when there are no job opportunities or when their wages are low. Their wages are not regulated and people give them any wages they like. Zachariah (2006) has conducted study among return migrants focused mainly on male migration, found out that the major reasons for return

of migrants was expiry of contract. Sometimes, migrants return because of the difficult working and living conditions at the destination. However, the reasons of return migration of females may be different from that of males. Females may return due to familial reasons like providing care for family members, educating the children and sometimes arranging marriage of the family members. The same study said that the return migrants reported multiple reasons for their return, which can be classified into factors related to the working place and factors related to the place of origin. The major reasons for the return of the migrants were health related reasons, expiry of contracts and lower level of job satisfaction. In this study, some kayayei returned because they wanted to meet their families whilst some also returned because of ill-health.

Zachariah and Rajan (2011) conducted a study in Kerala in India and the Gulf where a lot of people have migrated to due to the oil boom. They found that that the wage differentials among the unskilled laborers Kerala and the Gulf have narrowed down considerably and there was no significant difference.

Another study by Zachariah, Nair and Rajan, (2001) among the return migration identified that the major reasons for the return of the migrants were health related reasons, expiry of contracts and lower level of job satisfaction. Other reasons for return migrants include verbal, physical and sexual abuse. Non-payment of salary was also contributed to the return of more than one tenth of the women. "Kayayei" in Ghana are also exposed to sexual and verbal abuse because they sleep outside on the streets of cities such as Accra and Kumasi. This exposes them to high risk of sexual violence and physical assaults. Migrants who cannot withstand these sexual abuses may return to their hometowns.

4.7 Post-Return migration of "kayayei" returnees

The literature on return migration discovered that migrants' reasons for return migration could have either positive or negative implications on their reintegration (Gmelch, 1980). The conditions of respondents after they returned from "kayayei" were assessed by this study. The results showed that most of the respondents who formed 35.6% (72) said that their financial status has worsened considerably after they returned from "kayayei" whilst 16.8% (34) said that their financial status had either improved significantly or slightly after they returned. However, 20.8% (42) said that there is no change in their financial status after returning from "kayayei" business.

It was also established that 81.1% (164) said that they could not live their lives as the way they want to live with their immediate families after returning from "kayayei' and this buttresses Kuschminder, (2013) point that return migrants that have themselves undergone a process of cultural change and adaptation to the country of migration may return with new values, cognitive frameworks and knowledge. It was again established that 85.7% (173) said that their relationship with local institutions had changed because of their experiences in the cities.

The study again, found that about 81% of the returned "kayayei" said that their lives were worse off since they returned from "kayayei". This implies that job opportunities in rural areas are still lacking and "kayayei" cannot solve the financial problems of young people. They could not establish themselves very well in life through "kayayei". The finding is consistent with that of Carnes (2004) and Chen, (2006) who said that the indebtedness and unfavorable financial status of return migrants are some of the main challenges in the reintegration process of the returnees. According to Thomas-Hope, (1999) the financial

situation after return and debt problems and access to money are obviously of crucial importance for setting up or revamping life back in the society. Money also increases and helps for both economic and social integration. According to Zachariah and Rajan (2011) when the migrants returned, as much as 44 per cent of the return emigrants had to use part of their savings to pay back the debts they had incurred to meet the cost of their emigration. The major reintegration issues returnees had to deal with were debt problems. These debts often find their origin in the investments made for the migration project; for tickets, visas, passports and fees for the recruitment agents and become direr due to interest rates. Debt problems correlated with other economic problems like unemployment, underemployment and low salaries. Often within one year employment is found again, but frequently in a low-paid job or with insufficient working hours.

The implication of poor living conditions after returning from "kayayei" is that it becomes very difficult for proper reintegration into the culture of the society. Conway and Norton (2002) stated that the accessibility of money and sufficient economic condition is one of the important elements for the better social and personal achievement of every person. The absence of adequate financial background and indebtedness after the return is a major challenge for the reintegration to home society. Majority of the return migrants borrowed money during their emigration and their sudden return led to heavy debts of huge amounts on them (Boere , 2010).

Table 4.13: Conditions of post-migration

Variable	Frequency (n=202)	Percentage
Financial status after return migration		
Good	34	16.8
Poor	72	35.6
Worse	54	26.8
No change	42	20.8
Able to live the way you want		
Yes	38	18.9
No	164	81.1
Has your relationship with local institutions changed?		
Yes	173	85.7
No	29	14.3

Source: Field Survey, 2016
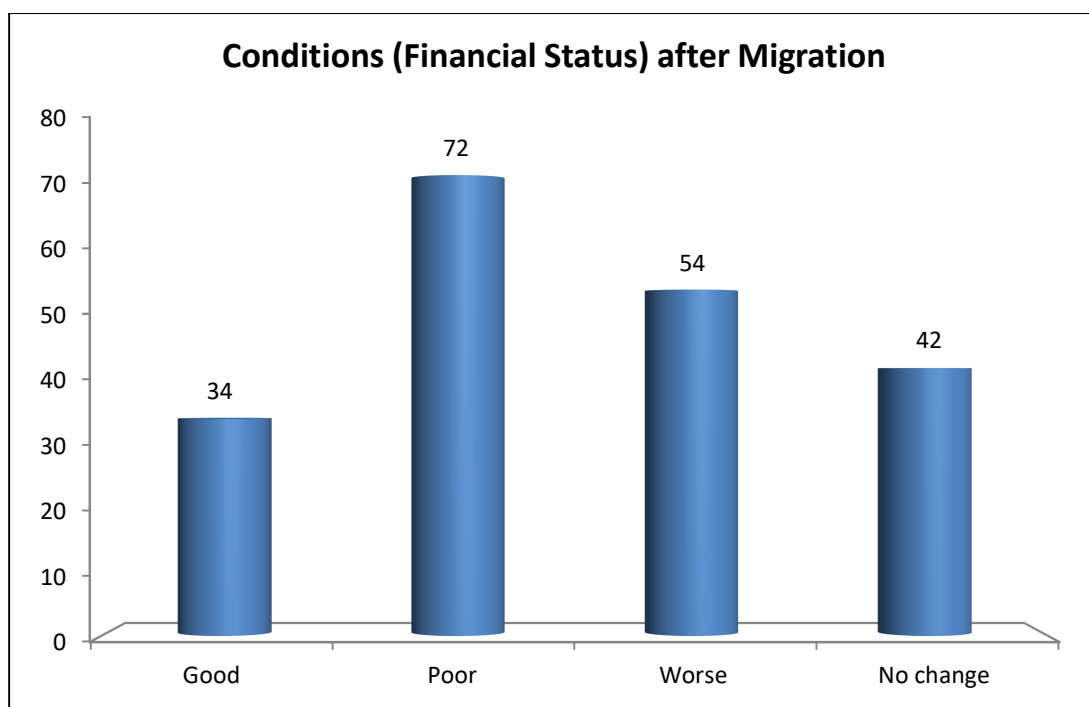
Figure 4. 7: Conditions (Financial Status) after Migration

Source: Field Survey, 2016

4.8:   Relationship between gender and length of stay in "kayayei" and Cultural Reintegration

In bivariate analyses, the study assessed the relationship between the gender of respondents and their length of stay and reintegrating into their indigenous cultures.

The results in Table 4.9 show that there is significant relationship between length of stay in "kayayei" and reintegration into their indigenous cultures. Respondents who stayed in "kayayei" between 5-8 years were likely to be able to reintegrate into their indigenous culture than those who stayed for more than 8 years (86% versus 20.7%). F= 0.001. These findings are in tandem with Cerase (1974) that has investigated the reintegration experiences of Italian migrants from the US in the 1960s and 1970s and found that the longer the time spent away, the more difficult the reintegration in Italy and those who spent less than ten years, the less the difficulties. Again, females were able to reintegrate into their indigenous cultures than the males. The results showed that majority of females who went for "kayayei" are able to reintegrate more effectively into their indigenous cultures upon return as compared to their male colleagues (76.7% versus 34.9%).

Table 4.14: **Relationship between gender and length of stay in "kayayei" and cultural reintegration**

Variable	N	Able to reintegrate into culture		Test statistics
		Yes	No	Fisher Exact
Length of stay in kayaye (years)				*Gvb*
5-8 years	86	74 (86.0)	12 (14.0)	0.001
>8 years	116	24 (20.7)	92 (79.3)	
Total	**202**	**98**	**104**	
Gender				
Female	159	122 (76.7)	37(23.3)	0.002
Male	43	15 (34.9)	28 (65.1)	
Total	**202**	**137**	**65**	

*F is significant at <0.05

Source: Field Survey, 2016

4.9: Reintegration process of Returned "kayayei"

Analyses were made to assess main challenges of the reintegration process of returned "kayayei" into their indigenous homes. This aspect of the study seeks to establish linkages between the outside lives exposure to the socio-cultural environment of the returnees' own domicile in the reintegration process.

Results of logistic regression analysis in Table 4.10 show that educational level of the returned "kayayei" has a significant relationship (P = 0.003) to the reintegration process

of "kayayei" returnees into their indigenous cultures. The results showed that returned "kayayei" with secondary or tertiary education (AOR = 3.7, CI: 1.4-3.5) were less likely to reintegrate into their indigenous societies as compared to those with low level of education (basic or no formal education).

These findings are in line with Duran and Duran (1995) work which shows the process of returning home to one's own culture and community. In this study it was found that returned "kayayei" with high level of formal education are less likely to be reintegrated into their indigenous northern homes. This could be attributed to the fact that they tend to be previously acculturated in schools as such without difficulty to buying into other people's cultures (people from different backgrounds). Nonetheless, returned "kayayei" who stayed in between 5-8 years in migration, and those who stayed above 8 years in migration as shown in Tab. 4.8 had significantly greater odds of reintegrating into their indigenous background (AOR = 3.7, CI: 1.4-9.5).

These results also show that reintegration of returned "kayayei" in the study sample is significantly related to many other factors including difficulties related to interpersonal interactions (including those with their relatives and non-relatives) due to low frustration tolerance (AOR= 0.5, CI: 0.3-0.7), feeling like one no longer fits into the family or community (AOR = 2.3, CI: 1.5-3.4) and negative perceptions about the culture of the society (AOR= 2.4, CI: 1.9-2.9), all these challenges have an effect on their smooth reintegration into northern societies. These findings have been confirmed by many studies which have also highlighted the sense of disappointment, isolation and feelings of alienation and not-belonging experienced by return migrants on their return as major challenges they encounter (Constable 1999; Long & Oxfeld, 2004; Christou 2006).

According to Kelechi (2015) the society as a corporate body, has taken over the function of working to control the antisocial behavior of her members, it has been observed that individuals and families seek to reintegrate everyone who goes wayward back into the society through interpersonal interactions. The results of this study showed that returned "kayayei" who are able to interact with their family members and other people in the community are more likely to reintegrate into the society than those who are not able to interact with their relatives and non-relatives.

Igbo and Ugwoke (2003) said that in Nigeria, lip-service is paid to the existence of after-care services, for returned migrants in the provision for community based corrections. Most cultures in the south east part of Nigeria would require that returned migrants undergo a process of cleansing or purification rituals necessary for a required period of time, after which the returnee is unconditionally reintegrated into the society. The combined effects of western religion, urbanization and globalization have broken the social bond that made this possible and neutralized this social control mechanism which over the years had proved rather effective. This implies that returned "kayayei" need to be taken through processes of interaction and interpersonal communication to assist them to reintegrate.

Table 4.15: Determinants of cultural reintegration (Model 1)

Factor	B	Wald	P-value	Exp(B)	95.0% C.I. for EXP(B)	
					Lower	Upper
Difficulties in interpersonal interactions	-0.608	10.085	0.001	0.54	0.37	0.79
Feeling of exclusion	0.835	16.376	0.000	2.31	1.54	3.46
Negative perceptions about culture	0881	82.530	0.000	2.41	1.99	2.92
Education level		10.621	0.005			
Low level	0.142	0.083	0.001	1.15	0.438	3.03
High level (above SHS)	1.305	7.397	0.003	3.69	1.44	3.45
Constant	-8.680	70.513	0.000	.000		

*p is significant at < 0.05

Source: Field Survey, 2016

The educational level of the returned "kayayei" or respondent remains an important determinant of cultural reintegration but the effect of education becomes irrelevant or the effect is reduced with the inclusion of the variable that takes care of a feeling of separation for returning from the culture of the city to a different culture in the village. Iverson (2007) in their study reported that there is a decrease in the feelings of isolation

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and depression among people who are returning into their communities after being acculturated by foreign cultures. The study further reported that there is a decreased or discontinued alcohol and drug use, and an increase in spiritual activities among returnees. It is regarded as a healing process.

The feeling of disconnection, loneliness or loss of family privileges of returned kayayei from their relatives becomes reintegration challenge into the indigenous cultures. Felsen (2008) reported that there are negative effects of adoption into different cultures because they learn different things which are conflicting with their cultures of origin. Due to this cleansing rituals are organized to cleanse returnees into their cultures of origin. This act has possible spiritual ramifications for the returnees. It is believed that, when Indians leave their culture of origin into different cultures, they learn and do things that are against the traditions of India and cannot be immediately accepted into their communities unless they are cleansed (Denov, 2007; Stavrou, 2003).

The negative perceptions of returned kayayei about the cultures of the communities make irrelevant (Tab.4.10) the contribution of social exclusion or withdrawal (Table 4.11). Respondent's education up to the JSS level also had no significant explanatory power on the reintegration process into the indigenous cultures when the emotional and physical support from the respondents' family is taken into consideration in the multivariable logistic regression model (Tab. 4.10). This then suggests that the provision of emotional and physical support to returned kayayei by their families is mediated through education whereby kayayei educated up to SHS level have greater opportunities to adopt new cultures and deviate from their indigenous cultures as compared to their illiterate colleagues.

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Table 4.16: Determinants of cultural reintegration (Model 2)

Factor	B	Wald	P-value	Exp(B)	95.0% C.I.for EXP(B)	
					Lower	Upper
Difficulties in interpersonal interactions	-0.754	12.035	0.001	0.47	0.31	0.72
Social exclusion or withdrawal	0.995	16.552	0.000	2.70	1.7	4.4
Maternal autonomy	0.346	6.887	0.009	1.41	1.09	1.83
Emotional support from family	4.703	28.454	0.000	1.10	1.9	2.4
Educational level	0.909	4.673	0.031	2.5	1.1	5.7
Constant	-8.494	44.438	0.000	0.000		

Source: Field Survey, 2016

*p is significant at < 0.05

4.10   Acquired Habits of Kayayei Returnees`

The respondents joined some social groups while in "kayayei". The results showed that 88.1% (178) said that they joined some social groups during their period in "kayayei" whilst 11.9% (24) said that they did not join any group. About 36.1% (73) said that they joined some peer groups such as entertainment, tribal, working/professional, religious

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and peer groups while embarking on "kayayei" as identified by the study. About 18.8% (38) said that they joined a tribal group whilst 20.8% (42) said that they joined a working group or professional which created a network for saving their money. The groups joined by the respondents influenced their lives as reported by 80.2% (162) of the respondents. It was found that 20.3% (41) said that their relationship with the opposite sex was changed by the groups whilst 26.7% (56) said that their views about societal and cultural values changed due to their association with the groups. The study also found that 94.5% (191) admitted that their perception about their indigenous cultural values has changed due to their involvement in the "kaya-business". These findings have been accepted by Felsen (2008) who reported that there are negative effects of adoption into different cultures because they learn different things which are conflicting with their cultures of origin. It is believed that, when Indians leave their culture of origin into different cultures, they learn and do things that are against the traditions of India and cannot be immediately accepted into their communities unless they are cleansed (Denov, 2007; Stavrou, 2003). These studies are in support of these findings.

One of the traditional leaders during focus group discussion reported that, the family system of the Nambagla and its surrounding communities have been altered by the returned "kayayei" migrants who traveled to the southern part of Ghana. He said that retuned "kayayei" find it difficult to accept the extended family system and are focused on individualistic and nuclear family system. According to a traditional leader:

> "*Dagombas live in an extended family. The family lives in various homes or huts that are set up around a courtyard. The head of the household is usually the oldest brother that resides in the individual courtyard. He is chosen by the elders.*

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He is called either Father or Housefather and is obeyed by everyone. Boys were trained by their fathers at the age of eight and nine. They were taught a skill of the fathers' choice. Boys were taught to use the talking drums. Talking drums are extremely important to the Dagomba. They are used for learning the Dagomba language, in ceremonies, rituals, and spreading news. Girls were taught cooking and housekeeping skills by their mothers, including control of the household budget. They also worked the fields and bring in necessary items, such as water, for the family. These were all done to make them see each/one another as one family member so that they grow up to be responsible family members. All these practices have been thrown away by the youth and current generation who travelled to the south and returned. They live on their own and do not respect even the elders of their own families. They don't want to greet the aged in the society while bowing down. They have copied the cultures of the Asante and the Ga. Nobody trains a boy or a girl in this era. They train themselves. The people travel to Accra, Techiman or Kumasi and come with their own characters and behaviors. They train themselves and even now those who have not migrated before are copying them and as such the extended family is not regarded again"….(a traditional leader from Nambagla).

This explains that the "kayayei" returnees whose lifestyle have been influenced as a result of their interactions with other groups are not ready to accept the social control by their own society and those who have not migrated before, are also now adopting new lifestyles brought home by the returnees. The age-long extended family system is irrelevant to the returnees as every "kayayei" returnee wants to live independent of his or

her own. They no longer see the need of bowing before an elder person as a sign of respect when extending greetings to the aged.

 Another statement from a traditional leader who recounted some cultures of Dagombas:

"*The youth of today have changed the occupation of Dagombas. We Dagombas were skillful farmers; craftsmen were skilled tailors, traders, and makers of ropes and mats. Some also specialized as blacksmiths, butchers, and barbers. Our parents sent their young sons to be trained by these craftsmen. Through observation and practice, a boy will gradually learn a trade and assume his role in the new occupation. These days, things have changed completely. Every young boy or girl in this community having completed Junior High School/ Senior High School and travelled to Kumasi or Accra, returned and don't want to learn a trade or go to farm because they want quick money. In this community we don't have blacksmiths again. Some are engaged in "Sakawa" because they want quick monies and others also engaged in other social vices. They young girls and boys are just copying anything they see in Accra and Kumasi which is not our tradition of which some of us are not happy. They are even "spoiling" those who have not gone anywhere before as almost all of them are now becoming Sakawa boys"….. (traditional leader in Nabogu)*

Most traditional and opinion leaders interviewed are not satisfied with their youth as most of them are not ready to take up the long-established occupations of their societies but have rather assumed quickest way of making money. "Sakawa business" is now regarded as the most lucrative venture than learning a career development job. Anarfi et al (2003) reported that "kayayei" leads to social vices because young people are living on their own

without any parental guidance. Their studies found that "kayayei" join groups that are into smoking, drinking of alcohol, armed robbery and sex trade. The results of this study showed that some of the returned "kayayei" joined some social groups such as tribal association, entertainment groups and peer group. When these people are not guided they learn all the anti-social vices which may later derail their lives.

Another traditional leader recounted that there has been an acculturation of people who travel and live outside the communities for a long period. He reported that "kayayei" and people who have come to live in the communities have changed the pattern of housing in the communities. The statement below supports this assertion:

"Among the Dagombas, villagers arranged their houses in a particular order. The chief (eldest man in the village) locates his dome-shaped hut in the center. His hut stands out above the rest. The village is divided into wards or quarters, all facing the chief's home. A quarter is identified by its head or by its dominating specialist group. For example, there may be a soldiers' quarter or a butchers' quarter. The commoners were scattered throughout the village in round or rectangular huts (for female and male, respectively); there was no physical separation of the commoners from the ruling class. This time around, there is no pattern, people build their houses because they have money and therefore do not respect any tradition…." (Traditional leader from Zoggu)

During the Focus Group Discussion, it was revealed by returned "kayayei" that their mode or way of dressing has changed meanwhile the dressing pattern and clothes are part of cultural heritage of every society.

According to one of the "kayayei" returnees:

> *"…before I moved to Accra for "kayayei" business, I was all the time compelled to dress like an old woman. I used to put on long dresses everywhere I was going to. However, having been to "kayayei" and learnt how females can also wear jeans and imported foreign clothing as those one make you look smarter and lighter in your appearance. If you are wearing a traditional cloth, for me I will even classify you as being living in a colloquial era –olden days." (returned "kayayei" from Tampion)*

On the family systems of the communities, majority of the returned "kayayei" were also of the view that, the extended family impoverishes people because some people are lazy and will therefore leverage their responsibilities unto other members. These are some of their statements:

> *"When you go to Kumasi or Accra, everybody live his or her life like the white man because you don't go round greeting and visiting your relatives unnecessarily. Everybody is seriously working for money. But in this village, they want you to greet everyone in the morning before going to farm. This is very bad and waste of precious time as well, and that is why we are poorer than the Southerners. As for me I have stopped doing it" (a returned "kayayei" from Nyeko).*

Some of the returned "kayayei" revealed during Focus Group Discussion that the culture of eating together in groups is outmoded and should not be encouraged. These are some of their comments:

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The culture of eating together in groups is not good. We Dagombas and especially Muslims have taken it to be an expression of love but this should change because times have changed and we are aware of the health implications of this practice. Someone can easily spread a disease through eating together in groups. If I feel that I have to give some food I will do that but in a separate bowl or plate instead of us eating together. The Ashantis and Ga people don't do that. We should also adopt the same. That's why, since I returned from Accra I have stopped eating together with people in groups. (During a focus group discussion at Moglaa).

It can be deduced from the above that "kayayei' returnees are increasingly becoming aware of health implications of eating together. The possibility of getting certain communicable diseases is very high as such they no longer place high values on the cultural aspect of eating together.

In relation to the cultural practices regarding marriage, some of the traditional rulers explained the cultural perspectives of marriage among Dagombas. A Key Informant stated that:

"In the Dagbon culture, any young man or woman who attained the age of maturity (twenty years for men and sixteen years for the women) and who does not marry is looked upon with some sort of contempt. By refusing to get married, the individual is thwarting the growth of the society and by so doing prevent the incarnation of the ancestor. Since ancestral veneration forms the dominant theme of the traditional religion of the Dagomba, it will be considered an insult to the

ancestors for one to completely stay away from marriage. For example, some departed great grandfather or grandmother might wish to return into the world through a particular marriage but if that marriage is not made possible, this ancestor cannot return and so his or her displeasure is incurred.

We Dagombas believe that the ancestor can cause havoc not only to this individual but to his family and clan as well. That is why the institution of marriage in Dagbon is held high and that is also why parents do not hesitate to betroth their female children to men. However, among the returned "kayayei" and those who have travelled extensively, you cannot betroth them to anybody for marriage. They will not accept to marry somebody their parents may suggest to them. Some of them even come with their boyfriends and girlfriends from the cities. Parents no longer have control over who their daughters or sons should marry. The people who have not travelled to live outside this community, some of them still obey their parents to marry any man or woman they propose or suggest to them but they are others who follow the footsteps of the returnees."(a traditional leader from Sandu).

Bemah (2010) also reported that the perceptions of young people who embark on migration changes due to the social groups they join. They tend to be influenced by their peers and are more likely to copy all their bad behaviors of their peers. The findings of this study confirm the assertion by Bemah (2010) where returned "kayayei" said that their dressing, sexual relationships and tribal perception changed due to their interaction with the groups they joined.

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Table 4.17: Activities of kayayei at their destinations

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Respondent joined a group during kayayei period		
Yes	178	88.1
No	24	11.9
Sub Total	**202**	**100**
Type of group joined		
Religious group	14	6.9
Tribal association	38	18.8
Working/professional group	42	20.8
Entertainment group	11	5.4
Peer group	73	36.1
Not applicable	24	11.9
Sub Total	**202**	**100**
Group influenced respondents' life		
Yes	162	80.2
No	16	19.8
Sub Total	**202**	**100**
Observed changes due to group's influence		
Way of dressing	26	12.9
Speech	11	5.4
Relationship with opposite sex	41	20.3
perception about religion	9	4.4
perception about tribe	13	6.4
perception about wealth acquisition	8	4.0
Changed in values	54	26.7

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Not applicable	40	19.8
Sub Total	**202**	**100**
Respondent's view about cultural values has changed		
Yes	191	94.5
No	11	5.5
Sub Total	**202**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2016

During Focus Group Discussion at Zosali, it was revealed that majority of returned "kayayei" did not like polygamous marriages which is permitted by culture. According to one of the participants:

"*Polygamy is the norm in Dagbon society. A man with one wife is considered a bachelor because after his wife delivers, she is required to go and stay with her parents for a period spanning over one year. Thus for the period that one's wife is away, one virtually reverts to bachelorhood and that is why Dagombas consider a person with one wife to be as good as a bachelor. However, these days most of the returnees both the males and females are not ready for polygamous marriage and that it is out-of-date practice.*"(Opinion leader at Zosali)

With respect to worship and religious practices; some of the traditional leaders reported that education and "kayayei" to the southern part of Ghana has changed some of the people from the original religion of their parents. Some of the returned "kayayei" have converted to Christians which is against the will of their parents. This creates disaffection between parents and their children. This is a statement from one of the traditional leaders:

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"Islam was introduced into Dagomba society and it has exerted a strong influence on our customs. However, when these young girls and boys travel to Kumasi or Accra some of them turn to join Christianity because they feel that they have the right to join any religion. Others don't pray at all and this is unacceptable."

With respect to birth rites, majority of the traditional leaders bemoaned the fact that most young girls are deviating from their cultural practices where the necessary rites have to be performed. The girls become pregnant during "kayayei' and no man come home to seek their hand in marriage. This is a statement by one of the traditional leaders;

"by the culture of this community, when a woman is pregnant for about three to four months, her husband informs his in-laws of their daughter's conception and a date is fixed for the ceremony. A sister of the husband is normally invited to officiate in the ceremony. Where there is no sister, any female relative of the husband is eligible to perform the ceremony. She comes to the house with a calabash in her hand and opens the ceremony in the pregnant woman's room by giving her a knock on the head or shoulder saying "you were a child, but now you are an adult." This knock is supposed to transform her from a girl into a brave woman ready to bear all the impending pains thus the period between childbirth and the return of the womb to its normal state. All these processes have been altered by this generation because they feel that these cultural practices are outmoded" (a traditional leader reports)

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Another cultural practice that was found to be violated was child birth. The traditional leaders recounted the culture of Dagbon with respect to child naming. According to one of the traditional leaders:

"*…in Dipali here, a woman is assisted to give birth by a woman; traditional birth attendant. Men were not allowed into the place where a woman is to give birth. On the eighth day after the woman has given birth, the naming ceremony is held. Today, the youth is only prepared to outdoor their newly born babies on weekends without regards to the eighth day formal procedure. (Traditional leaders in Dipali report)*

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0   Introduction

The main outcome measure or variable for the study was to assess the reintegration of returned migrants into the local/indigenous cultures of the northern communities in which they live.

5.1   Summary of Major Findings and conclusion

- More females are involved in "kayayei" than males, they are usually less than twenty years, predominantly Dagombas who are mainly Muslims and normally unmarried.

- The majority of "kayayei" have no formal education, some ended their formal education at the Basic Level, very few attended secondary school and none educated to tertiary level. Sparingly, there was one such case of an educated migrant returnee up to tertiary level and 16 had obtained secondary school level of education, the implicating being that, "kayayei" had become a means by which some of the youth finance their formal education.

- Returned "kayayei" engaged mostly in farming, some are into petty trading, others are artisans, while tiny minorities are salary workers, very few are students, but a greater number remained unemployed. Most of them have no children. At the time of embarking on "kayayei" majority of these returned migrants had both parents alive, a few belong to single -parent families and very few where orphaned. Most of them were accompanied by their relatives and friends. Many

live with their relatives prior to the adventure. A greater proportion of parents or caretakers supported the idea of moving out of home into "kayayei".

- A myriad of factors contribute to the "kayayei" flourish. A greater proportion head for the cities down south for jobs, others wish to obtain funds for school uniform and to pay school fees, and while some intend to buy fancy clothes for festivities, others hope to obtain basic needs their parents could not give them. Some find "kayayei" as a means to buy clothes and other items for marriage ceremonies, while others indulge in it out of sheer peer influence. Most destinations are Kumasi, Accra and "galamsey" sites. "Kayayei", above all is underlaid by "Push" and "Pull" factors

- A majority of "kayayei" did not acquire any skills for work; neither did they learn any trade while in the "kayayei Business". The few, who did, went in for tailoring or seamstress, hair dressing and constructional works, and very few had some business training from Non-Governmental Organizations. There is one case in which returned "kayayei" migrant did a certificate course. About half the number of "kayayei" confessed to an improvement in their financial status. Some experienced no change at all, a greater majority admitted to a tremendous improvement in their lives, others were not enthused, hence no improvement. The number of experience in "kayayei" varied, ranging from six to one year.

- Despite the fact that "kayayei" returnees went to "kayayo" with the intention of not going to stay there permanently, nevertheless upon returned, they acquired certain habits that contravene the local way of life with respect to marriage, familial values, and birth rites, mode of dressing and most traditional and opinion

leaders interviewed were not satisfied with the kind of social vices being brought in by the returned migrants. The returned "kayayei" migrants had also confirmed that their relationship with local institutions had changed because of their experiences in the cities.

5.2 Recommendations

This is the dire need for families, and for that matter, community members to frequently interact with returned migrant "kayayei". This will reduce the isolationism the returned "kayayei" are going through. It would also facilitate their proper reintegration into the land of their birth parents and traditional authorities are duty bound to educate the youth in their communities on the importance of their own cultural heritage. The powers that be, such as political leaders should organize skills training programmes for returned "kayayei", since the phenomenon is unsustainable venture. Thus, appropriate recommendations based on the thesis have been made.

5.3   Suggestion for Further Research

The study found that most returned kayayei have negative perceptions about indigenous cultures of their original home places after their return. It is therefore recommended that further research should be conducted into outmoded cultural practices that should be modified among the people of the north.

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APPENDICES

5.2.1   APPENDIX 1: Focus Group Discussion Guide

**ASSESSING THE RE-INTEGRATION OF RETURNED 'KAYAYE' MIGRANTS
IN THE SAVELUGU-NANTON MUNICIPALITY, GHANA**

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION guide FOR RETURNED KAYAYE

CONSENT FORM

*Thank you for agreeing to participate. I am very interested to hear your valuable opinion
on how returned migrants re-integrate into their society*

- *The purpose of this study is to find out how returned kayayei reintegrate into
  their communities' cultures*

- *We hope to learn things that the development practitioners can use to improve the
  reintegration of kayayei back into their communities.*

- *The information you give us is completely confidential, and I will not associate
  your name with anything you say in the focus group.*

- *I would like to tape/record the focus groups so that I can make sure to capture the
  thoughts, opinions, and ideas we hear from the group. No names will be attached
  to the focus groups and the tapes will be destroyed as soon as they are
  transcribed.*

- *You may refuse to answer any question or withdraw from the study at anytime.*

- *I understand how important it is that this information is kept private and
  confidential. I will urge all participants to respect each other's confidentiality.*

- *If you have any questions now or after you have completed the questionnaire, you
  can always contact me on the phone number: 0244186694*

- *It is a learning process as we are going to learn from each other/*

- *We would like the discussion to be informal, so there's no need to wait for us to call on you to respond. In fact, we encourage you to respond directly to the comments other people make. If you don't understand a question, please let us know. We are here to ask questions, listen, and make sure everyone has a chance to share.*

- *Please check the boxes and sign to show you agree to participate in this focus group.*

QUESTIONS

1. Are there some factors that serve as hindrances to the reintegration of returned kayayei into the cultures of this community? Name the possible factors

2. Are there some fears/threats of cultural adulteration being attributable to kayayei returnees in this community? What are some the cultures that are being adulterated?

3. Are there some economic and social gains that have brought to this community through kayayei?. Name some of the identifiable gains that have been achieved through kayayei.

4. Are there some habits that have been acquired by returned kayayei that are affecting the cultures of the community? Can you name some of these habits?

5. In your opinion what can be done to address the adulteration of the culture of this community by migrants?

5.2.2 APPENDIX 2: Study Questionnaire for Returned kayayei

ASSESSING THE RE-INTEGRATION OF RETURNED 'KAYAYE' MIGRANTS IN THE SAVELUGU-NANTON MUNICIPALITY, GHANA

QUESTIONAIRE FOR RETURNED KAYAYES

INFORMED CONSENT

Hello, my name is Issifu Alidu Laa-Bandow. I am a student of the University for Development Studies offering MPhil. Development Studies. I am conducting a study on the above topic. I would very much appreciate your participation in this study. This information will help the government agencies, private agencies, the community and other decision making bodies to know the exact factors leading to kayayei and how returned kayayei are integrated into their communities of the north.

The interview will take between 15 to 20 minutes to complete. Whatever information you provide will be treated with the utmost confidentiality. Participation in this survey is voluntary and you can choose not to answer any individual question or all of the questions. However, we hope that you will participate in this survey since your views are important. At this time, do you want to ask me anything about the survey?

May I begin the interview now? YES……………..

NO………………………………

IDENTIFICATION

Name of community ………………………………………………………………..

Questionnaire ID …………………………………………………

Interview Date…………………………..................

Language of interview……………………………………

Translator used (A| Yes   B| No)

INSTRUCTION: Administer this questionnaire to returned kayayei in the communities

SECTION A: SOCIO – DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT

1) Age of are respondent............................. (years)

2) How old were you when you left this community to engage in kayayei?...............

3) What tribe are you A) Dagomba B) Gonja C) Mamprusi   D) Nanumba   E) Dargati F) Others

4) What is your religion A) Islam   B Christianity   C) ATR D) Others

5) What is your marital status? A. Single   B. married   C. widowed   D. Divorced

6) Were you married before going for kayayei? A. Yes B. No

7) Number of children………………………….

8) Were you having a child when you left this community to engage in kayayei? A. Yes B. No

9) How many children did you have when you left for kayayei? ………………

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10) What is your educational level? A. No formal education B. Primary C. Basic D. Secondary E. Tertiary

11) What economic activity were you engaged in before going for kayayei? A. Unemployed B. Petty trading C. Farmer D. Student E. Other (specify)……………….

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GAINS MADE BY RETURNED KAYAYES

12. Did you go for kayayei alone? A. Yes B. No

13, If no to Q12, who did you go with? A. a friend B. Brother/sister C. Mother/father D. other relative E. Others (specify)………………

14. What was your reason for going to engage in kayayei? A. poverty B. to buy school uniforms/books or raise school fees C. to get a job in the city D. to buy wedding items and clothes E. to raise money to cater for my family F. my parents were not able to take care of my needs G. peer influence H. to buy clothes for festive occasions I. Loss of my parent (s) J. other (specify)………………………….

15. Which city did you travel to engage in kayayei?. A. Kumasi B. Accra C. Tamale D. Sunyani E. Techiman F. Cocoa growing areas G. Galamsey site H. Other (specify)………

16. What assets have you been able to acquire through kayayei activities? (Tick all that apply)

    A. Built a house

    B. Learnt a trade

    C. Bought a motorbike

    D. Bought a sewing machine

E. Improved my education

F. Others (specify)…………………………

17. Who paid your lorry fare? A. Myself B. Parents C. Spouse D. Free vehicle E. Other (specify)…………

18. Did you have any professional or skills training before leaving for kayayei? A. Yes B. No

19. If yes to Q18, what type of training was it?...

20. Did you acquire any skills or professional training in your period of migration? A. Yes B. No

21. If yes to Q20, what type of professional training was it? A. Apprenticeship B. Certificate course C. business training D. others (specify)………

22. Did your financial conditions status improve during your kayayei period? A. Yes

B. No

23. In your own assessment, do you think kayayei has improved the conditions of your life? A. Yes B. No

24. If yes, how has kayayei improved your life's fortunes?

…………………………………

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25. What is your financial status after returning? A. Good B. Poor C. Worse D. no change

EINTEGRATION PROCESSES OF RETURNED KAYAYEI INTO LOCAL CULTURES OF THE NORTH

26. Did you get enough emotional and physical support from your family when you returned from kayayei? A. Yes B. No

27. Which of these factors do you think helped you in reintegrating into the community?

A. Family support B. Employment C. friends D. personal motivation to change or adapt E. Sex partner

28. Do you enjoy life in this community as compared to the city where you came from? A. Yes B. No

29. Which of the following do you experience *(Tick all that are applicable)*

A. Feeling like you no longer fit into your family or community due to changes

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B. A feeling of separation for returning from the culture of the city to new culture in the village

C. Difficulties related to interpersonal interactions (including those with their relatives and non-relatives) due to low frustration tolerance

D. Difficulties in coping and self-regulation

E. Social exclusion or withdrawal

F. Deciding who to turn to for advice

30. Do you have negative beliefs or perceptions about the culture of this community? A. Yes B. No

31. Which of these do you experience?

    A. Feeling of loneliness

    B. Feeling of worry

    C. Feeling of bleak future

    D. Feeling of living in a primitive community/society

32. Do you think that your freedom and autonomy has been reduced by the cultures of this community? A. Yes B. No

33. Do you think all family members maintain realistic expectations from returned kayayei? A. Yes B. No

34. In your own assessment, have you been able to develop a shared family narrative and collaborative meaning-making? A. Yes B. No

35. Has there been changes in your perception of the cultural values of your community?

A. Yes B. No

36.   What are some of the things that should be changed in your community? ………………

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37. Have you been able to live your life the way you want to live? A. Yes B. No

38. What are some of the challenges or difficulties you face in integrating into your

societal

culture?..

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39 Do you think your perception about the values and culture of your community has

changed after migrating to the southern part of the country? A. Yes B. No

40. Has your relationship with your local institutions changed? A. Yes B. No

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41. Do you have difficulties with the traditions in your community? A. Yes B. No

42. What are these difficulties?

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HABITS OF RETURNED KAYAYEI THAT CONTRAVENE THE LOCAL CULTURES

43. Did you join any group while engaging in kayayei? A. Yes B. No

44. If yes to Q29, what group was it? A. A tribal association B. religious association C. A working/professional group D. Entertainment group E. other (specify)………………

45. Did the group change or influence your way of life? A. Yes B. No

46 If yes to Q31, what has significantly changed? A. Way of dressing C. speech D. relationship with the opposite sex E. perception about religion F. Perception about my tribe G. wealth acquisition H. values I. other (specify)………………….

47. How many years did you plan to spend in kayayei? ....

48. Did you actually spend the years you planned to spend in kayayei? A. Yes B. No

49. What are your reasons for coming back? A. ill-health B. Meet with my family C. for marriage D. Lack of job opportunities in the cities E. poor wages in the cities F. divorce G. I achieved my objectives H. To start a work I. other) specify)……………………

50. Did you marry someone during the period of kayayei? A. Yes B. No

51. Were you accommodated by the opposite sex during your kayayei period? A. Yes B. No

52. What are some the newly acquired habits from the cities?

A.………………………………………………….

B.…………………………………………………

C.………………………………………………….

D.……………………………………………………………

53. Have you regretted for returning? A. Yes B. No

5.2.3   APPENDIX 3: Key Informant Interview Guide

ASSESSING THE RE-INTEGRATION OF RETURNED 'KAYAYE' MIGRANTS IN THE SAVELUGU MUNICIPALITY, GHANA

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COMMUNITY LEADERS

CONSENT FORM

Thank you for agreeing to participate. I am very interested to hear your valuable opinion

on how returned migrants re-integrate into their society

- *The purpose of this study is to find out how returned kayayei reintegrate into their communities' cultures*

- *We hope to learn things that the development practitioners can use to improve the reintegration of kayayei back into their communities.*

- *The information you give us is completely confidential, and I will not associate your name with anything you say in the focus group.*

- *I would like to tape/record the focus groups so that I can make sure to capture the thoughts, opinions, and ideas we hear from the group. No names will be attached to the focus groups and the tapes will be destroyed as soon as they are transcribed.*

- *You may refuse to answer any question or withdraw from the study at anytime.*

- *I understand how important it is that this information is kept private and confidential. I urge will ask participants to respect each other's confidentiality.*

- *If you have any questions now or after you have completed the questionnaire, you can always contact me or the district director of health service our names and phone numbers are on this form.*

- *It is a learning process as we are going to learn from each other/*

- *We would like the discussion to be informal, so there's no need to wait for us to call on you to respond. In fact, we encourage you to respond directly to the comments other people make. If you don't understand a question, please let us know. We are here to ask questions, listening, and make sure everyone has a chance to share.*

1. Position of respondent……………………..

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2. What is the rate of kayayei among young people in this community? What do you think are the causes of kayayei among your community members?...
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3. Have there been any cultural adulterations among people who have travelled outside this community to engage in kayayei? What are some areas of adulteration?...
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4. What have you observed about the behaviors of returned kayayei in this community?...
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5. What measures have you taken to preserve the cultural integrity of this community?...
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QUESTIONS

6. What are the factors that lead to kayayei in the cities?

7. Do you think kayayei has helped to improve the lives of people who engage in it?

8. What are some the negative attitudes acquired through kayayei activities?

9. Do people who have gone for kayayei able to reintegrate into their communities cultures? What are some of the challenges you encounter in trying to start a new life in your communities after the kayayei engagements?

10. Do you think that some cultural values and practices in your community need to be changed? What are these cultural practices?

11. What are some of the changes that have occurred in your life after migrating into the city for kayayei?

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5.2.4   APPENDIX 4: List of communities where respondents were selected

No.	Name of community	Category of respondents		Sex		
		Kayaye	Traditional leader	Male	Female	Total
1	Diare		1	2		
2	Nanton		1	1		
3	Pong-Tamale		1	1		
4	Savelugu		1	2		
5	Tampion		1	3		
6	Nanton Kurugu		1	1		
7	Zoggu		1	1		
8	Zion		1	1		
9	Dipale		1	2		
10	Sandu		1	1		
11	Nabogu		1	1		
12	Nyeko		1	2		
13	Zosali		1	1		
14	Gushie		1	1		
15	Nyolugu		1	1		
16	Kadia		1	3		

17	Kpalung		1	1		
18	Kpuung		1	1		
19	Tarikpaa		1	1		
20	Nambagla		1	1		
21	Moglaa		1	3		
22	Duku		1	1		
23	Kadia		1	1		
24	Adayili		1	1		
25	Kanshegu		1	1		
26	Faxihini		1	1		
27	Jana		1	1		
28	Sakpalogu		1	1		
29	Naprissi		1	2		
30	Sahanayili		1	3		
	Total			44		