

Economic and Social Consequences of Labour Out-Migration

The Case of Savelugu, Kpalung and Laligu in the Savelugu Nanton District of
the Northern Region of Ghana

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to explore the economic and social consequences of contemporary internal labour out-migration from Savelugu, Kpalung and Laligu in the Savelugu-Nanton District located in the Northern Region of Ghana. Migration is a spatial phenomenon which has over the years attracted great attention from many geographers. Migration usually refers to the permanent or temporary change of residence of a person or a group (Oderth 2002). Internal migration refers to migration that takes place within the borders of a country. Labour migration is a structural feature of African economies (Ishemo 1989) and Northern Ghana is not an exception. There is a flow of northern migrants to southern Ghana in search of jobs (Fortes 1971, Nabila 1972, Mensah-Bonsu 2003, van der Geest 2005). Probably, the most fascinating feature of the colonial history of northern Ghana, of which the Northern Region is part, is the role it played in supplying labour to southern Ghana where capital for generating wealth for the colonial government and European capitalists was located. This major feature of colonial northern Ghana seems to have become an inevitable structural feature of Ghana's economy which is largely agrarian. I have lived in the Northern Region of Ghana close to the study areas and I became interested in migration issues long ago when some classmates in the Junior High school dropped out of school or were unavailable for longer periods due to labour out-migration. The study areas which are only few miles away from where I live, have been known for their high labour migration rates by the media and NGOs and rumours among the people in my area. This is why these areas have been chosen for the study.

BACKGROUND

Migration has long been considered an important element of population dynamics which can have significant contribution to the shaping of the nature of both receiving areas and places of origin (Oderth 2002). Colonialism and more recently globalisation are the main factors that have influenced labour migration flows in much of the developing world (Ishemo 1989). The

Northern Region of Ghana is one of the regions on the African continent to have experienced labour migration in this sense. A main feature of and a legacy of colonialism in this area is labour out-migration (Nabila 1972). Besides forced labour, deliberate development strategies that led to structural imbalances were used by the colonial governments to attract labour to mineral and agricultural rich areas where European capital was located. Labour out-migration in the region is also a consequence of global economic and political influence. The structural imbalance in development trajectory laid by the colonialist has not been altered by post-independence governments but rather entrenched by both policies and neoliberal globalisation. Besides earlier development strategies, the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the 1970s and 1980s that were prescribed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and implemented by the governments led largely to the renewal of the conditions of colonial development strategies and their effects. This has led to a continuation of labour out-migration in northern Ghana (Cleveland 1991).

As already mentioned, the movement of people implies some changes in the economic and social aspects of the lives of the people at the origin. This could be both positive and negative. For instance, labour out-migration may have a diminishing effect on the economic capability of the remaining population due to the shortage of labour (Fapohunda 1976). However, the phenomenon is also known to have merits such as the reduction of pressure on land resources (Nabila 1972). Hence, what is interesting is to find out what kind of consequences there are in the study areas and the extent to which these affect the economic and social lives of the people. What seems to be lacking in the literature is the failure to identify that, new configurations of life would emerge on the economic and social arenas which would not be easily categorised as advantages or disadvantages. The quest to investigate economic and social consequences leads to the formation of the research questions below.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The goal of this research is to identify the economic and social consequences of labour out-migration from Savelugu, Laligu and Kpalung. The following research questions are constructed towards that end.

a) How does labour out-migration impact on the economic wellbeing of the people?

b) How does labour out-migration impact on the social lives of the people?

By the first research question, information on how the process of out-migration impacts on peasant livelihood and other economic aspects will be sought. This will reveal changes that are occurring in the economic lives of the people and help to explain the impact on their economic wellbeing and possibly their social lives as well. The second research question will help identify social changes that are taken place as a result of labour out-migration which could also have a direct or indirect impact on the economic lives of the people.

A GENERAL PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREAS

The following paragraphs give a brief description of the general geography of the study areas in terms of geographical location, vegetation, and climate and rainfall pattern.

The study areas are located in the Savelugu Nanton district of the Northern Region of Ghana. Kpalung and Laligu are located to the north-east relative to the district capital: Savelugu as shown in figure 1 below. The areas are underlined in red in the enlarged portion to the right. In the colonial days the study areas were part of the then Northern Territories and were responsible for supplying quotas of labour to the colonial government and in default were levied huge sums of cash. Also, labour in these areas migrated in search of jobs in southern Ghana to enable them pay taxes imposed by the colonialists (Yaro 2004). The people are Dagbambas (ethnic group) and therefore speak Dagbani.

The vegetation of the study areas falls within the Guinea Savannah categorization by Dickson and Benneh (1988). It has potential to support large scale livestock farming, as well as the cultivation of staples like rice, groundnuts, yams, cowpea, cassava, maize, and sorghum. The vegetation consists of fire and drought resistant trees which partially shed their leaves during the dry season. The trees are of great economic and social importance to the people as the trees are a source of food and income. Two trees of distinguished importance are the shea tree (whose nuts are used to make shea butter) and the dawadawa tree that provides seeds used for

condimental purposes. Gathering the fruits of these trees still involve wild fruit gathering rather than a conscious cultivation effort (SNDA 2000).

The study areas, fall within the tropical continental climatic zone as classified by Dickson and Benneh (1988). The climate is characterized by pronounced wet and dry seasons which culminate from the influence of two oscillating air masses; the North East Trade winds and the South West Monsoon winds (Yaro 2004). The North East Trade winds which emerge from the Sahara desert are dry, dusty and cold thereby bringing dry conditions to the area. The South west Monsoon winds on the other hand, blow from across the Atlantic Ocean and are therefore moist and wet. This air mass reaches its northernmost extent in August bringing rainy conditions to the areas it crosses. Consequently, the Savelugu district experiences a single rain season ranging from April to August or September. The area receives an annual rainfall averaging 1000 mm (Dickson and Benneh 1988).

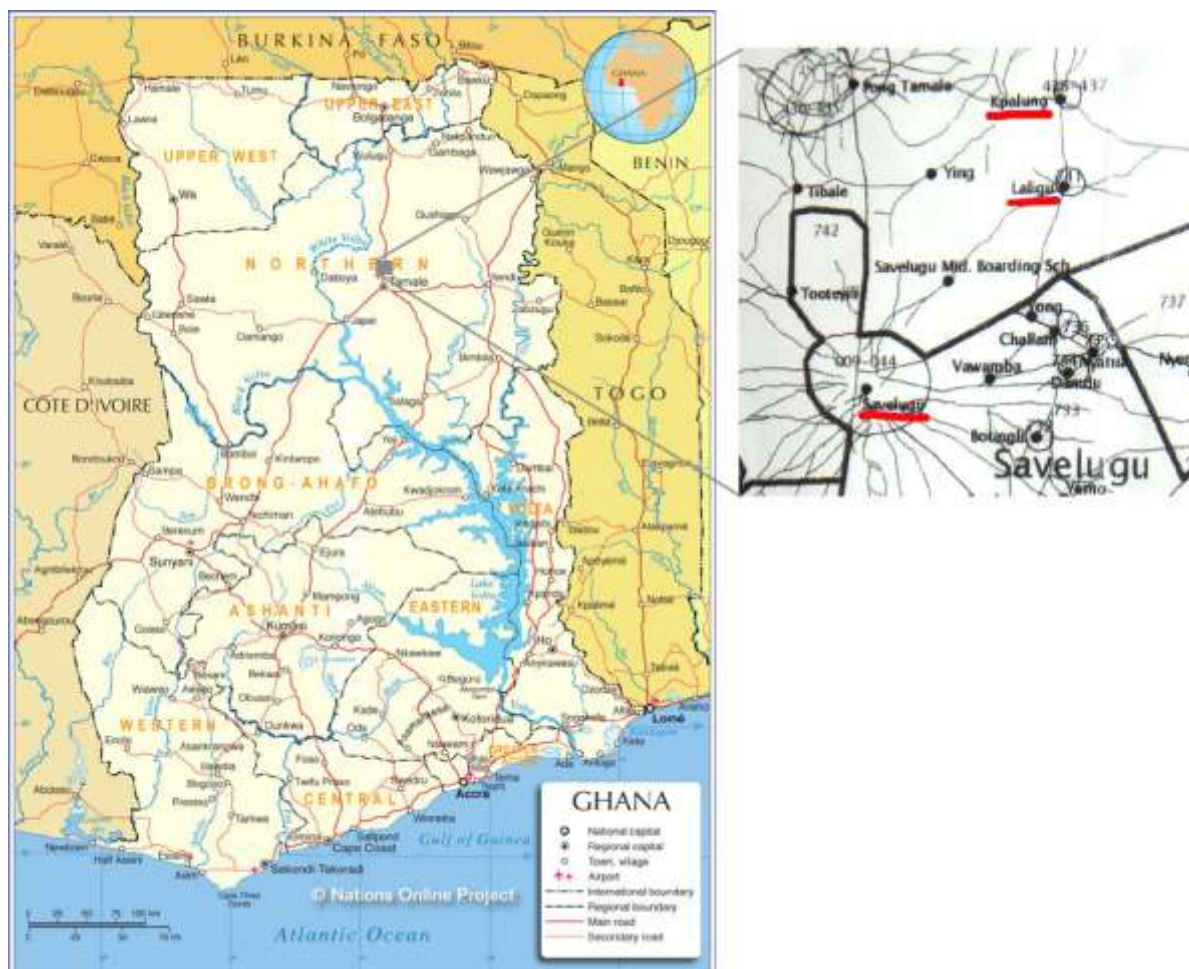


Figure 1.A map showing the study areas (Source of Ghana map: http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/ghana_map.htm.)

Temperatures are considerably high with mean monthly temperatures ranging between 18 and 38 Degrees Celsius (Dickson and Benneh 1988) for minimum and maximum temperatures respectively. Average maximum temperatures are usually highest in March and April and lowest in August. Average minimum temperatures are usually lowest in December due to the influence of the harmattan. The Harmattan period records the highest diurnal range of temperatures as nights are cool while days are hot as a result of the absence of clouds. The generally high temperatures as well as the low humidity during the day favour high rates of evaporation and transpiration, leading to water deficiencies. At its peak, the high evaporation and transpiration coupled with the single maxima rainfall pattern causes most streams and rivers to dry up. Hence most water bodies in the study areas are seasonal. This limits the use of rivers for irrigation purposes.

The long dry seasons coupled with dwindling food production due to reducing soil fertility, low rainfall among other factors culminate in people migrating out of the district for shorter or longer time frames in search of jobs (Field work 2007).

PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREAS

Savelugu

Savelugu is located a few kilometres to the north of Tamale, the regional capital of the Northern Region. It has a population of 27,478 people (SNDA 2000). Savelugu is the district capital of the Savelugu Nanton District. Savelugu is described as a town (SNDA 2000) though it has some village characteristics and is referred to as a village by some people in the study area. For instance its economy is predominantly agricultural and has low percentage of people in the formal sector who still cling to traditional values and way of life (Field Work 2007). It has a growing number of government and church institutions, in addition to physical infrastructure such as hospital, post office, a number of primary schools, stores that sell basic wares in bulk and single units, the district headquarters of some NGOs such as World Vision among others, which make it unique among the rest of the surrounding areas.

Savelugu like the rest of Savelugu is more than less a linear township, aligned along the Tamale–Bolgatanga first class road. This makes its role as an ‘on road’ service town very crucial. There are many stores along the road that sell many items especially yam and ready made food to travellers.

Agriculture is the main economic activity in Savelugu. Nearly every household engages in agriculture (Assembly man, Savelugu, Field work 2007). Among the crops grown are maize, groundnuts and yams. However, there are a growing number of people in white-collar jobs including teachers, nurses, agricultural extension officers, and electricians. With increasing soil impoverishment, reducing rainfall, increase in fertilizer prices among others, some farmers especially the youth abandon their farms and migrate to the south of Ghana in search of a better life (SNDA 2000). The same conditions or their ramifications may have resulted to women also joining their male counterparts in the migration stream.

Marketing has assumed an important stage in Savelugu. The settlement also has the biggest market in the district and attracts a large number of people on its market days. On market days, the streets and the first class road are filled with traders and buyers. Market days are also very important socialisation moments when long seen friends meet to eat cola, socialize and exchange information and ideas. They pass information about many issues especially NGO activities, new trading opportunities and news about their families (this is what some of the people refer to as gossiping) and also anticipate the return of some migrants. Market days are known for their importance in the spread of information hence some organisations also take advantage of the occasion to stage talks, plays and other ways of sensitising people. Among the beneficiaries of market day information are prospective migrants. Market days are the most preferred arrival and departure days for migrants in all the study areas. The convenience of the market day is explained by two reasons. First, return migrants can easily access transportation to their villages only on market days and those moving out also do get transport easily to the south. Second, the returned readily find their friends and brothers and sisters at the market to help with their luggage.

Savelugu as a town can be said to be growing even though at a slow pace. That it will grow bigger and continue to be the service centre for the many surrounding villages in the foreseeable future is true given its growing population and government interest in its development as a district capital. Its main problems for now seem to be the reduction in

agricultural output, insufficient off-farm and off season employment opportunities and the lack of constant flow of pipe borne.

Kpalung

Kpalung is located in the north eastern part of the district capital, Savelugu. It has a gently undulating landscape. There is just one cluster of compound houses, nucleated and sharing close boundaries, largely separated by backyard farms. The total population is 819 with a density of about 50 persons per square kilometres (SNDA 2000).

The people of the village engage primarily in agricultural production as the main source of livelihood. The people of Kpalung mainly cultivate groundnuts, maize, millet, rice, yam and various varieties of beans such as cowpea. Groundnuts, yams and millet as well as beans are preferred crops for bush farms while maize is the preferred crop for both intensive compound farm cultivation and extensive bush farm cultivation. Animal farming is also a very important endeavour. Cattle, goats, sheep and poultry are the common animals kept. These provide income for the people especially during the lean season when households have consumed a larger part of their food stock.

Vagaries of the weather and soil impoverishment constitute the main impediments to crop cultivation and animal rearing. The expansion of agriculture further into previously uncultivated land resulting from factors such as increasing population, soil impoverishment and the inability to afford intensification methods, involve maize, groundnut cultivation and livestock rearing which constitute the foundation of life of the people. The inability to meet the high cost of extensification in terms of labour and financial obligations and weather vagaries, in addition to the extremely low employment avenues has culminated in shifting emphasis to non-farm activities such out-migration and shea butter production which still depend on nature for raw materials. Out-migration is especially common among the youth. Most young men are seasonal migrants (SNDA 2000) while the migration pattern of young ladies in terms of migration typology, is generally unspecific. They (female migrants) may be referred to as target migrants and return only when they have fulfilled the purpose for the movement which may include earning money to acquire the wares needed for marriage or money to buy food for the lean season.

Kpalung has only the chief's palace and the market site as the common places of meeting. Other facilities such as clinics and places of convenience are missing. They, however, have regular visits by the district health outreach programme that deals with basic illnesses and vaccination against major diseases such as Cerebrospinal Meningitis and yellow fever. Malaria seems to be the only common disease that causes people to trek the about 10 km journey to the Savelugu district hospital.

The development standard of Kpalung as leaves much to be desired in terms of basic health, economic and social infrastructure. These have contributed to migration outflow from the village. The rural nature of the economy makes it imperative to provide such basic infrastructure as any little change in the physiology of the people and the market is likely to affect them deeply.

Laligu

Laligu is located to the north - east of Savelugu. It is surrounded by relatively flat and gently sloping low areas that may be referred to as valleys in the context of the topography of the area. It has a population of 572 people. The village is linked to other nearby villages and towns such as Kpalung and Savelugu by a third class road.

Crop cultivation and animal rearing are the pivots upon which the social, economic and political lives of the people swing. Compound farming and bush fallow systems constitute the farming systems in the village. Other income activities carried out by the people include trading, weaving especially of local sleeping mats, shea butter and groundnut oil extraction. The failure of agriculture coupled with seasonal out-migration as a legacy of the colonial era has led to more people migrating in search of a supplementary or better means of livelihood.

Generally, the village is poor, lacking in basic infrastructure. Any efforts to improve the livelihood of the people must necessarily centre on basic infrastructure such as health and transport; and enhancement in agricultural production and human development.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The study comprises of six chapters. Chapter 1 has delineated the research problem, presented the goal and research questions of the study and provided a description of the study areas.

Chapter two discusses the theories on labour migration and reviews literature on the consequences of labour out-migration. Chapter three discusses the research methodology. It discusses the choice of the unit of analysis, salient features of qualitative research, and the choice of method, the limitations of the study and data processing.

Chapter four presents data on how the process of labour out-migration has influenced the economic wellbeing of the study areas. It also briefly shows how the economic consequences are linked to the social consequences since the two do not exist in isolation. It shows the nature of reorganisation of agricultural and household production structures in the light of labour movements.

Chapter five presents qualitative data from semi-structured interviews showing how labour-out-migration has influenced the social lives of the people. The relationships between the social and economic consequences are also discussed.

Chapter six ends the thesis by drawing conclusions from the discussions, relating the conclusions to theory and making some recommendations for improving the lives of the labour migrants and their households in the light of the consequences of labour out-migration on the study areas.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses some of the theories and literature on the consequences of labour migration in the place of origin. The theoretical and literature review centres on the economic and social aspects of the consequences and offer insights to what we will see in the chapters four and five.

THEORY

There are numerous theories when it comes to analysing the consequences of labour out-migration. However, in general, two of these theories are selected for this work. These are the equilibrium models and the historical-structural perspectives. These two have often been used to analyze the causes and consequences of migration. The following paragraphs shall attempt to present a review of the propositions of these two schools of thought as well as provide a review of other literature on the causes and consequences of labour out-migration on the origin.

Equilibrium Model of Labour Mobility

The equilibrium model of labour mobility employs concepts of demand and supply associated with neo-classical economics in explaining the migration phenomenon. The process of migration is perceived as one of spatial re-allocation of resources. Population movement is conceptualised by this model as geographical mobility of labour in response to imbalances in the spatial distribution of land, labour, capital and natural resources (Carling 1996). The individual responds to this imbalance by moving and this gives the process a micro character. Labour, thus moves from places of scarce capital but with abundant labour to areas where capital is plentiful but where scarcity of labour also exists. In this sense, labour-migration can therefore, be seen as a natural response to inter-regional differences in social and economic

opportunities and also a means to bridge the inequalities that exist in different locations. More precisely, migration is viewed as an equilibrating mechanism in terms of spatial resource allocation in reaction to the uneven distribution of land, labour, capital and natural resources. The consequences of labour migration are viewed as beneficial to both the origin and destination. By virtue of redistributing human capital from places of low productivity to those of high productivity, the process of migration is considered a development fostering mechanism that operates to correct rural-urban, interurban and interregional imbalances in factor returns (Spengler and Myers 1977).

The equilibrium perspective therefore conceives migration as a rational reaction to the uneven distribution of resources. Hence people move from places with less resources and excess labour to places where there are relatively more resources and less labour. This explanation of the emergence of migration flows in Africa seems to be partly apt as humans may have other reasons for migration than just the search for a better life due to less resource. For instance family conflict could lead some individuals and even families to migrate to other places.

Maintaining that the imbalances in land, labour, capital and natural resource distribution is the reason for labour-migration, the equilibrium model conceives labour migration as a mechanism through which capitalist profits can be siphoned to areas that are most in need of investment (Carling 1996). Also, migration reduces pressure on job opportunities in the origin, and at the same time the increase in wages due to scarcity of labour gives way for the poor to increase their income and wellbeing. Further from these, remittances from relatives are said to play an invaluable role in sustaining and propelling development in the origin. In lieu of these, it is argued that labour migration acts to ensure a balance in economic and population inequalities (Carling 1996).

Main Criticisms of the Theory

The equilibrium model has been criticised on several grounds. The model is said to obscure the actual causes of labour migration from one area to another. According to the logic of the model, labour out-migration is sparked off by excess population relative to complementary factor endowments in the place of origin. However, the aptness of such an explanation is limited without reference to the distribution of the means of production in the place of origin (Amin 1974). The distribution of the means of production in much of the developing world has been manipulated by colonial governments and independent African Governments. Hence

it seems inept only to assume a natural distribution of human, land and natural resources without reference to the political economy of Africa especially that of the colonial era. More so, exclude the role of the state, or communities in the allocation of resources and to assume a natural distribution as it is implied in the explanations does not augur well for a meaningful explanation of the causes and consequences of labour out-migration. The assumption of a natural distribution of resources may be applicable where there were no meaningful innovations and manipulations of communities, imperialist and the state such as the very beginnings of hunting and gathering. Humans did not have to make food but simply get water from the rivers and fruits from the wild. Hence in the days of hunter gatherers this perspective may have been completely apt as resource distribution in that era can be said to have been natural. However, given advancement in human society, resources cease to be completely naturally distributed in the sense that nature had to be processed so as to qualify as a resource. This needed equipment and intelligence. The ongoing explanation stems from the assertion that resources are not, they become, by human hands and intelligence (Zimmermann 1933). Given that colonial governments, independent development country governments and the international world order has directly or indirectly determined the allocation of production capital which eventually shapes resources in developing countries, implies ineptness in the explanations of the equilibrium model. Once the etiology of migration in the equilibrium model is sought exclusively at the individual level rather than the macro level, the conclusions arrived upon are invariably restricted to secondary causes (Amin 1974). The ahistorical nature of the proposition of the model is therefore, unacceptable as it obscures the actual causes of labour migration which are essential to their explanations of the consequences of the process.

Also, the assumption that labour migration brings about convergence in development across space is rejected by some scholars. Rather than a balancing effect, emigration often has the opposite impact (Oderth 2002). This is especially evident in the developing world (Wood 1982). The macro economic balance expected to culminate from the summation of individual self-interest is highly questionable as current prices are largely determined by competition in the world system that lead to migration decisions that accentuate rather lessen regional and sectorial inequalities (Amin 1974). Research suggests there is an ongoing exodus of rural people to urban areas. This creates conditions that do not augur well for restoring equilibrium; hence, we can consider labour migration as a process that intensifies inequality and dependency (Rhoades 1978).

In addition, the equilibrium model's assertion that the free market is capable of achieving optimum allocation of population and other resources has deep political implications. Among other things, this notion implies the state should remain neutral and should neither encourage nor discourage migration (Greenwood 1975). Such trust in the market forces is transparently out of touch with current demographic realities in the developing world (Portes 1978). Given the exploitation of migrant workers by upper classes in both the centre and the periphery, the theoretical bases of the equilibrium model is regarded as ideological justifications to maintain the status quo (Amin 1974).

Relevance of the Theory to the Research

The theory offers conflicting explanations for the consequences of labour out-migrations as against the historical-structural perspective as we are yet to see. This theoretical confrontation will also be explored in this work to provide a platform for the analysis of the consequences of labour out-migration.

Historical-Structural Perspective

The historical-structural perspective is approach is difficult to summarise due to factors including its different strands such as dependency theory, internal colonialism, the centre-periphery framework and more recently the global accumulation perspective (Wood 1982). However, it can be summarised by reference to the broader theory of socio-economic and political change of which it is a part. This general theory, that is, Marx's theory of historical materialism is the bedrock of the explanations that go in to the various strands of the perspective (Wood 1982).

The historical-structural perspective views migration as historically based and structurally-ordered. While historical factors function to lead to emergence of migration flows, structural factors influence migration by their impact on the spatial variation in demand for labour and the associated forms of labour and remuneration. This approach puts emphases on the social, economic or political structures that determine the preconditions for migration (Carling 1996). As already mentioned, the historical-structural perspective is primarily based on Marx's concept of historical materialism. It holds that classes are determined by the social relation of

production. Class structure is conceived as an exploitative relationship that culminates in the unequal appropriation of natural resources and the value produced by human labour. The organisational principle is that of capital accumulation and expansion, a process manifested in the content of history vis-a-vis specific classes and groups and the political and ideological movements that are a part of history. Furthermore, the explanation follows from the role of class conflict in the dialectical analysis of social change and seeks to clarify that through the organisation of production, classes are not only created but used as a means to perpetuate the exploitation that lead to transformation in society that generate responses to macro level impulses (Cardoso and Faletto 1979).

Hence, unlike the equilibrium model, the historical-structural perspective does not focus on the individual motive for migration. Rather, Marxist theorists put attention on the organization of the society and the modes of production within it. This way, migration is conceptualised as a class phenomenon where the unit of analyses is the stream as opposed to the atomistic approach of the equilibrium perspective that treat migration as the sum of individual choices. A leading proponent in this line of thought is Amin who emphasizes that, in fact, the overall strategy of economic development is the root cause of migration in the world (Amin 1974).

Marxists theorists argue that the problems of labour migration are strongly embedded in the transformation and disruption of underdeveloped economies resulting from their integration with the colonial capitalist system (Amin 1974). Similarly, Taylor recognises that the development of colonialism, post-colonialism and an international economy created a relationship of dependency, dominance and exploitation of countries in the south by those in the north (Taylor 1989). The resulting phenomenon of this relationship according to him is the emergence of new forms of spatial differentiation and interaction that set the grounds for migration. Therefore spatial differentiation between places with the increased interaction facilitated by new roads among others, the tendency to migrate cannot be an exception for people who consider their homelands less endowed especially when they experience a disruption in their livelihood structures. Thus, the emergence of migration flows is seen as possessing a macro structural character and also acts to engineer and perpetuate poverty in the places that supply labour.

In general, colonial rule in Africa provided a new vent for large scale migration necessitated by the rapidly expanding cocoa farms, mines and administrative centres. In Africa in general,

a series of measures designed to secure labour in required quantities including compulsory recruitment, contract and forced labour legislation which the indigenous people abhorred, culminated in large scale internal and cross border migration of adult males who were required for infrastructural work such as transport networks, white residences, and plantation agriculture in the coastal countries (Amin 1974). In West Africa and in Ghana in particular, chiefs who owed allegiance to the colonial authorities were in no position to disobey the quotas of labour imposed on them by the district commissioners. Hence people were forced out of their normal livelihoods and this, by no means disrupted normal production cycles, a factor that was later to culminate in the adoption of migration as a survival strategy by the people (Yaro 2004).

The economic policies pursued by many independent African countries are also said to have perpetuated colonial development policies and therefore, their ramifications in the independent era. This condition sparked off more waves of migration to southern Ghana which is a better endowed ecological zone and also has relatively more capitalist instalments (Songsore and Denkabe 1995, Yaro 2004).

In sum, the historical-structural perspective argue that the penetration of the African society by colonial capitalists and the unequal partnership that emerged resulted in the increasing dependence of the powerless rural poor on world capitalism, their labour being exploited and reproduced for capitalist gains. The reproduction of this scenario in the post colonial era by both African governments and the world capitalist system is seen as perpetuating the process of migration and the poverty condition already caused by the process.

The analysis provided by historical-structural perspective seem apt as it seems obvious that not only did forced labour lead to migration as part of life but as rational as humans are, migration also may have emanated as a response to the growing opportunities in the new centres during the colonial days and in the independent era. Hence, the growth poles where governments concentrated their development efforts became powerful magnets that attracted people from near and afar. This way, migration can be seen as historically based and structurally ordered.

The major similarity between the historical-structural perspective and the equilibrium model is that they both agree a resource disparity between the origin and destination is a reason for

migration. The problem, however, lies on how the inequality occurs. We have just seen the explanation of the historical-structural perspective which attributes this to the overall strategy colonial and post colonial development strategies. Also, we saw the explanations of the equilibrium model in the previous section which implicitly refers to a natural distribution which influences individual choices to migrate.

The historical-structural perspective as opposed to the equilibrium model, therefore, conceives migration as macro-structural and basically having a divergent effect on peripheral regions (the origin) while benefiting the core (destination). Hence the conception of a balancing or convergence effect as propagated by the equilibrium model is refuted.

Main Criticism of the Theory

Though macro oriented methods have been relatively successful in analysis of structural causes, the individual motives for the act of migration has been underrated. For example, Singer (1973), clarifies that the individual motive for migration are of secondary importance as opposed to the structural changes that propel aggregate population movements which he considers to be of primary importance. This demonstrates the scant attention payed to the factors that motivate individual actors. More precisely, no attempt is made to conceptualise the nature of the individual decision making process or the various variables that enter into the calculus (Wood 1982). Thus the historical-structural perspective is less efficient in identifying the specific cost and benefit that affect the decision to migrate and also in terms of investigating other variables such as social networks that may influence both propensity to move and the direction of the migration stream (Dinerman 1978, Portes 1978).

Relevance of the Theory to the Research

The historical-structural perspective offers a good explanation for the causes of labour migration (Wood 1982). This will help the researcher in this research meaningfully appreciate the changes in the economic and social dimensions of life in the study areas that may constitute the consequences of the process of labour out-migration. This is imperative as the northern Ghana and therefore the study areas have been influenced by centre-periphery relations of dominance and exploitation via colonialism, the perpetuation of colonial development policies by independent era governments and the international economy. Households and the entire study areas are part of a larger system, that is the national economy

and they aspire to earn a living or maximise benefits, therefore, the likelihood they are affected by historical and structural factors is not hard to imagine. Hence, reference to a historical-structural explanation about the origins of contemporary migration could help to investigate and appreciate the consequences of labour migration on the study areas as causes are interlinked with the consequences (Wood 1982).

In a nut shell, the two theories are imperative to this research in two major ways. First, the major similarity between the two theories that a resource disparity between the origin and destination is a major reason for migration flows is essential. This provides a common point of departure and a point of departure for this research to engage the two theories. Second, that the two theories provide divergent opinions on the consequences of labour out-migration is imperative arriving at conclusions when it comes to the analyses of the consequences of migration flows. Hence, the two theories can provide this research with an invaluable platform for a comparative study; analyses of the merits and demerits. Insights from the divergent point of view will further help in the diversity of the findings as there may be different experiences of households.

LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF LABOUR MIGRATION ON THE PLACE OF ORIGIN

The following section presents a review of some of the literature on the economic and social consequences of labour out-migration. The review shall include both studies on the consequences of labour migration and others which are related to the consequences of out-migration in general. Generally, the literature shows that there are both advantages and disadvantages in the consequences of labour out-migration on the origin.

Economic Consequences

The impact of labour out-migration on the economy of the origin depends among other factors, on the number of people who move, their demographic characteristics such as age, and the distance they move (Adepoju 1983) and possibly the actual rather than expected

economic conditions at the destination. The economic impact could, therefore, be positive or negative depending on the mix of the factors above and perhaps conditions under which migration takes place.

One of the immediate impacts of intra-national labour migration is on population growth rates. Zachariah and Conde (1981) indicate that rural labour out-migration could, in some countries lead to a reduction at the national level of the rural population but that this may vary from zone to zone in the same country. Out-migration could reduce the population size for reasons such as the mere act of moving out (reduction in numbers therefore), the increasing taste for urban destinations and the reduction of fertility since people stay away from their spouses for sometime and even if they were together, for economic reasons at the destination, child birth may be postponed.

Reduction in population size of the origin has economic implications on that area. Some studies reveal that out-migration in general in rural areas reduces pressure on land and employment due to the reduced competition on their demand. In Ghana for instance, in the independence era, Nabila (1972) noted that out-migration was to some extent an advantage especially in reducing population densities in some localities which had densities beyond their carrying capacities. The reduced pressure resulted to availability of more land for cultivation among other uses. Other Malthusian thinkers who maintain this assertion of population movement and resources include Bilsborrow (1987) and Mensah-Bonsu (2003). They point out that migration from densely populated rural areas is a way to reduce the prevailing pressure on the available natural resources. The reduced pressure is perceived to enhance the livelihood of those remaining. This could be possible if the conditions of the resources in question are favourable.

Also, given the composition and age selectivity of the migrants, the process of migration in general could have more specific consequences. It has been established that young adults and adolescents concentrated in the ages of 15 - 34 are the main undertakers of migration (Fapohunda 1976, Zachariah and Conde 1981). The age structure of those most liable to migrate not only represents a large portion of the working force but of the most active of the working group. Hence their departure creates more job opportunities. This conforms to the equilibrium model suppositions that labour out-migration reduces pressure on jobs via the decrease in supply of labour and, therefore, act to increase wages. However, on the negative

side of this consequence, the age selectivity of migrants brings about an increase in the dependency ratio since the majority of people left in the origin will be children and older people. This may put a higher burden on the remaining youth and capable aged, draining their energies and reducing their capacity to improve the general wellbeing of households.

In the rural areas, out-migration has a diminishing effect on the economic capability of the remaining population due to the shortage of labour (Fapohunda 1976). According to Rodney (1972), traditionally African men were responsible for the heavy work of felling trees, tilling the land, building houses among others but with colonialism women begun to take over men's role as the men migrated to areas where their labour was needed in the capital economy. Thus, the onus falls on women to till the land, pastor the animals among others. Since children are usually not so strong, the women usually are unable to utilize the available resources to at least reap enough economic benefits to cater for the family. Many scholars have revealed that in general the out-migration of men can be detrimental to development in some areas because of the shortage of labour (Wogugu 1976, Hugo 1985).

For instance, emigration in northern Ghana in the colonial days implied a change in family structure with fewer males and more females and in some cases women take over as family heads with a lesser capability. An administrator for the northern territories of the colonial regime admitted in 1923 that the forced exodus of labour had created an un conducive situation for economic progress and hence no opportunities to increase the wealth and purchasing power of the people of Navrongo in the north (Howell 2001). The absence of strongmen in the colonial days in the labour depleted north seriously constrained the ability of communities to continue the daily rhythm of economic and economic life and led to breakdowns in the inter linkages between the various strategies in the pre-colonial livelihood structure (Yaro 2004). Economic activities such as agriculture, weaving, blacksmithing all experienced a go slow due to the loss of locale artisans such as carvers, weavers, and blacksmiths and lately (in the post colonial era), educated elites, masons and carpenters (Yaro 2004).

One of the major economic impacts of migration is that of remittances sent home by migrants to their relations at home. In Africa as in other places in the world, migration does not only involve the movement of people from one place to another but also the maintenance of ties between those who move and those who do not (Eversole in Trager 2005). A major

expression of these ties is through remittances. Given that the most active of the population are those that migrate most as mentioned earlier, it is often expected that their remittances form a part of the solutions to household problems. Remittances play an important part in the lives of the sending areas. Studies show that remittances sent by migrants to their families at the origin usually enhance their income levels and standard of living. Remittances from migrant relatives can be considered as a way to diversify livelihoods by acting to supplement farm output especially in risk-prone agro-ecological zones (Stark 1991, de Haan 1999). Given the environmental catastrophes and low output from agriculture in some African countries in recent times, it seems wise on the part of members of vulnerable households to migrate in search of alternative sources of food and or income.

In Ghana, Caldwell (1968) found out that a third of rural respondents believed that village people would be very poor if none of their members emigrated and worked in the south. He explains that through remittances and the wealth that migrants send home, poverty does not increase at the pace it would have. Also, it is contended that remittances induce new technology and other income generating activities (Fapohunda 1976, Adepoju 1983, Simmons 1984, FAO 1984). For instance, migrants in the study areas of this research send home metal ploughs and also use some of their income to start small trading enterprises in small scale manufactures (Field work 2007). This is seen as enhancing the livelihood of households in the areas.

On the contrary, remittances can lead to inflation with detrimental effects on families who do not have their members in the migration stream (Simmons 1984). The author states that though the flow of money in to the rural area by no means automatically reduces the inequality between the receiving place and the origin, it has the (unintended) capacity to exacerbate inequalities between rural villages and between households in the same village. This could be the resultant effect of differences in success of migrants as well as their expenditure patterns and saving culture.

Another economic impact of labour out-migration is that return migrants usually come along with innovation in the form of agricultural technology, new cropping, new trade techniques, expansion of transport among others (Miracle and Berry 1970, Connell et al. 1976, Simmons 1984). These benefits are said to propel development in the origin with a potential to improve

standard of living. For areas that have received less attention from government and NGOs, such merits of labour out-migration could be imperative to their livelihood.

Other scholars have as well revealed that labour out-migration impacts negatively on innovation and may yet affect the maintenance of already developed local innovation. For instance, Oyiwole (1976) indicates that the loss of labour force and the change in role of household members, the need to spend more time on food production results to the neglect of existing local technology such as hand woven, brass and copper works, fibre and leather works. This is a likely consequence of labour out-migration for most rural areas given the high labour requirement of peasant agriculture in Africa. Hence, the absence of some members of a household could imply less time been spent on other activities with detrimental consequences for local innovation.

It is further argued that labour out-migration removes the incentive for investment in agricultural intensification and perpetuates unsustainable farm practices (Tiffen 1995). The explanation of the writer follows that less population pressure does not induce competition on resources that could bring about innovations and lead to agricultural intensification. Rather un-sustained farming practices such as overgrazing and bush burning is perpetuated that could have negative consequences both for technological advancement and environmental sustainability.

Also, some researchers maintain that there emerges a development crisis given the prevailing development policies and immigration in developing countries especially Africa. Labour out-migration is blamed for the lack of development of the origin as the process acts to increase the population thresholds of urban areas. However, both colonial and early independent and perhaps even incumbent governments have often used population thresholds in allocating resources. In most developing countries labour out-migration to cities therefore increase the urban bias already existing in the provision of services and infrastructure. Following this, governments turn to allocate more resources to the urban areas almost neglecting the hinterlands and they are well backed up by the consequences of immigration in cities (Oyiwole 1976, Adepoju 1983).

Social Consequences

One of the merits of labour out-migration is probably the fact that it has been a means to meet some of the social needs of rural people in the developing world upon the clash between pre-capitalist and the western capitalist systems (Lubkemann in Tragger 2005). Lubkemann in a study of migration in the Mechaze region of Mozambique revealed that the money young men earned from migrating to South Africa not only allowed them to pay for the taxes imposed by the colonial authorities, but enabled them to pay the *labola* (bride price) necessary for marriage (Lubkemann in Tragger 2005).

However, out-migration also has a negative consequence on marriage and child bearing in terms of the norms of many African communities. Because of the massive departure of young males of age, there arises an imbalance on the marriage market and this leads to an increase in the age of marriage (Adepoju 1983). In the rural areas the long absence of married men due to temporary or circulatory migration, could result to high rates of divorce. The author believes that all these factors can bring a lowering of fertility for some rural areas and possibly at the national level. It seems practical that imbalances in the marriage market and high divorce rates could lead to reduction in rural and possibly national level fertility. It looks more like a reduction in fertility will bring a big smile on the faces of planners in the developing world as increases in population is threatening the very sustainability and availability of resources.

An important aspect of the consequences of labour out-migration is the change in the roles of women and children in the family. Many studies have shown that the departure of men to other areas in search of jobs implies a change in the status and role of women and children (Gordon 1981, Simmons 1984). The exodus of men means increasing responsibility for women as they may take up the titles of heads of households. These households are usually different in terms of size and composition and as well come with higher levels economic participation (Amin 1974). Besides directing economic activities and or participating, women also have to play the role of fathers in imparting behaviour patterns on children especially the male. If mothers do not go this extra mile, children might go wayward contrary to traditional norms.

Another important aspect of labour out-migration is to be seen in its effect on socio-economic differentiation. For instance according to Lubkemann circular migration from Mozambique dramatically increased the degree and visibility of socio-economic differentiation that existed

between households (Lubkemann in Trager 2005). He explains that this result from the differential success of labour migrants owing to the kind of jobs they were able to procure and chiefly the wealth they eventually brought home after the end of the journey. The more successful migrants are usually more capable of acquiring economic and social capital in their communities relative to less successful migrants and non migrants. The new economic and social status achieved is manifested in their consumption patterns as well. Hence, migration acts to entrench inequalities in some communities.

Out-migration in general is said to facilitate the break down of the traditional controls exerted by the family and the community on the youths. Within the larger and especially the nuclear family, there is a changing relationship between members. This assertion is not well documented in Africa (Adeokun 1976). For instance, Lubkemann found out that in Mozambique, migration enabled young men to pay taxes and the bride price of their wives and this conferred upon them a greater amount of personal autonomy by reducing their reliance on elderly men (Lubkemann in Trager 2005). Having acquired not only this autonomy but perhaps new habits, young men are more likely to avoid traditional control by the family and community, make decisions all by themselves, do things the way they like best, among others.

A very interesting aspect of the relationship between labour out-migration and socioeconomic lives of people is the conflict face that emerges from the process courtesy of remittances. Remittances are usually sent to heads of the families back home for maintenance of family members; however, not all family members do send remittances. This is more especially the case when over time family ties become loose and there is a change in relation with the older generation. Conflicts may arise between the older and the younger siblings in the rural area due to failure to fulfil or continue the invaluable role played by the latter (FAO 1984).

Also, Lubkemann indicates that intergenerational conflicts emerge among brothers caused by the social differentiation (due to different levels of migrant success), and intergenerational conflicts caused by the autonomy of young migrants (resulting to dissipation of traditional control of elders and community on them (Lubkemann in Trager 2005). These conflicts, according to the writer, have both contributed to the nuclearization of co residence. This way, larger compounds of multiple generations of related married men and their families gave way to smaller households. The break down of larger families in this way is probably one of the

biggest challenges posed by modernization to traditionalism. If the parties involved in the conflict take very entrenched positions after the nuclearization of co-residence, it is likely that their level of interaction will be reduced. This could have serious development implications for both parties. For example, the effectiveness of social capital could dwindle as members give less help to each other. In a traditional agrarian society where there is high reliance on members of a family and community, social capital of the people is probably one of the main determinants of households' level of success in agrarian activities. Hence, a reduction of the strength of social capital and consequently a negative impact on livelihood and development becomes a possibility.

Migration has been acclaimed one of the most active factors in the health of rural communities. The impact of labour out-migration on the health of migrants may depend on their vulnerability such as baseline health status and behaviour, on the nature of the move, conditions at the place of origin and destination, marital status, age selectivity, among others. For instance, changes in the nutrition of migrants can affect their health dramatically (Adeokun 1976). Due to less money, social and work related factors underfeeding might occur among migrants. Studies have shown that breast feeding of children among migrant mothers is low because of the heavy load of work and social issues (Adeokun 1976). Similarly, in the origin breastfeeding has also been found to diminish because of the deep involvement of mothers in economic and social issues resulting from the absence of male labour (WHO 1984). This situation will certainly affect children's health and mortality.

It is historically known that out-migration in general has been one of the principal means of spread of diseases (WHO 1984). Prothero shows, for example, that in Nigeria, the in and out movement of migrants in general facilitated the spread of diseases such as cholera (Prothero 1985). Also, in Ghana, forced labour-migrants during the colonial era were forced to work in underground mines with the risk of contracting pneumonia, small pox, silicosis or respiratory tuberculosis which easily spread to the origin (northern Ghana) upon visits and eventual return (Patterson 1981). Given the single nature of migrants, prostitution is favoured and ushers migrants in to the circle of people vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases (WHO 1984, Adeokun 1976). The housing and sanitary condition of the destination has also been found to influence migrant's health. Overcrowding in cities, poor waste disposal are all potential sources of health hazards for urban and city dwellers, among them are labour migrants (WHO

1984). In Ghana, poor housing and sanitary conditions at the mines, pollution of water sources, exposed migrant workers to infections of all kinds (Patterson 1981).

Generally, the literature on the health consequences of out-migration seems to depict more of a negative situation than a positive one. This could be especially true for labour migrants with no or low level skills. Such migrants could be more vulnerable to diseases due to the physically demanding jobs they do and their economic status that might limit the quality of housing and health services they get. Ill health condition of return migrants will not only worsen the poverty condition of some areas by adding to the burden of households but also aid the devastation of the subsistence economies by spreading the diseases to others.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that the economic and social consequences of labour out-migration are manifold. The merits include the reduction of pressure on land, remittances, technological advancement and reduction of inequality between the destination and the origin. On the other hand the demerits include, the loss of labour, removal of incentives to invest in agricultural intensification, increased dependency ratio, increased economic differentiation, development policies based on population size, the breakdown of traditional control and the spread of diseases.

In the chapters four and five that presents the data and analysis of this research, brief reference to the literature on migration shall be included. That is, both what has been discussed in this chapter and others that have not been included here. The intention is not to do a thorough study with experiences from other places but to do a fair comparison and contrast that might help provide a better comprehension and appreciation of the consequences of labour out-migration faced by the study areas.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the method of data collection, the challenges and the analysis of the data. The study made use of existing secondary and primary sources of data. A fieldwork conducted between June and August 2007 generated the contextual qualitative data. The choice of the qualitative strategy is to enable a deeper understanding of the processes and consequences of labour out-migration from the perspective of the migrants (those currently in the destinations), return migrants (those who have made the journey back home without immediate plans of returning to the destination) and non migrants (those that have not migrated before). The qualitative data collection procedure used a Participatory Rural Appraisal approach which emphasizes a reorientation in relationships between the outsider and the target subjects of the research. PRA creates the opportunity for rural people to unravel and analyse their own situation and in ocular cases to plan and carry out actions on their own premises (Chambers 1983). The benefits of PRA is manifold but basically it enables people provide their own analyses of the consequences of labour out-migration as in this research.

Savelugu, Kpalung and Laligu, were selected for their acclaimed high rate of female out-migration (by the media and workers at local NGOs in Tamale).

The Household as a Unit of Analysis

The household is considered as the unit of analyses. The household may be defined as a group that ensures its maintenance and reproduction by generating and expending a collective income fund (Yanagisako 1979). For our purpose, we shall consider the household as a group of related people that have a collective orientation towards the group and work together for the maintenance, reproduction and advancement of the unit by generating a collective income and disposing it off in a wise way and headed by a headman or headwoman who may be the oldest male or female within the unit. The household has spatial, structural and functional features. Spatially, it occupies a distinct dwelling unit with its own resource base separate from the rest of the community. Structurally, the household has to do with issues of

production, division of labour and its mode of conducting inter-household exchange and patterns of authority and power (Yaro 2004). Functionally, the household is the unit where production, distribution and co-residence occurs (Reyes 1992). These various dimensions of the household make it most appropriate unit for the study of the economic and social consequences of labour-out-migration. Labour migrants are part of the household as a unit and play important roles within it. Thus every action they undertake is more than less likely to be reflected in household sustenance strategies and other issues important to the unit.

The economic and social activities of households or its individual members reflect the ways in which households are affected by forces that lie within and beyond the household. More precisely, the absence of migrants and the remittances and other things that influence the household as a result of labour out-migration.

Qualitative Methodology

The qualitative method was chosen to ensure that the people unravel and analyze their own situation. Qualitative research is used to explore the meanings of people's worlds. This is done by interacting with, empathising with and interpreting the actions and perception of its actors (Brockington and Sullivan in Scheyvens and Storey 2007). There are a variety of techniques that are used in qualitative research. These include participant observation and the writing of ethnography, semi-structured interview, oral histories and group discussions

Qualitative techniques helps one to gain in depth understanding of what people think and feel and to uncover the underlying reasons for their actions. According to Yaro (2004), intensive qualitative research has the potential to enable one get much data from a few informants. This seems to be the case when the people are the right persons to be questioned. Hence, the importance of selecting the right informants, that is, those with relevant knowledge cannot be compromised. Contrary to this proposition is the argument that the views of a few people may be used to generalise for the entire population which may not be the true reflection of the situation and therefore misleading (van der Geest 2005). This may be more likely when interviewees are not very knowledgeable to the issues being investigated or represent just one perspective. To ensure that this research does not present one view, the perspectives of the migrant, return migrant and the non migrants are sought.

Choice of Qualitative Method

In this research, semi-structured interviews were employed. Semi-structured interviews usually involve detailed interactions and longer interviewing times and sometimes repeated interviews with a limited number of informants (van der Geest 2005). The strength of such research lies in the validity and depth. An interview dialogue guide was used to direct the interaction. It centred on the areas relevant to answering the research questions while probing questions were used to gather details as new areas emerged.

Using semi-structured interview had both advantages and disadvantages. The technique enabled the researcher to gain deeper understanding of issues raised. However, it was very difficult to ask probing questions at most interviews because the informants had a lot to say. The time limit of 30 minutes per interview was exceeded in most of the interviews. The length of the interviews made the listening during the analyses process very cumbersome.

The interviews were recorded with on a tape. The concern of informants was sought first. To my surprise they were excited to have their voices on tape and started by mentioning their names. Though I insisted this was not necessary on subsequent interviews, some informants seem to unconsciously repeat it. A couple of informants explained it was a normal thing by some researchers in the past which they had gotten used to.

Selection of Informants

In gathering the data, migrants, return migrants and non migrants were targeted. The snowball sampling technique was then used to select informants. Snowballing involves selecting one person and then asking if she or he knows others that suit the criteria of the researcher and is particularly useful where information on the people with those characteristics are not easy to come by (Nichols 1991). Hence, the process started by identifying the first informant who then assisted to find the next one. This was done until enough of each category of informants was reached. The reason for using this method is that it is difficult to identify informants of the non migrant and migrant categories (Fieldwork, community entry procedure, 2007). Rather, it was easier to ask the first informants of the various categories of informants for help so as to get the next desired informant.

In each study area 3 persons in each category was sought. Hence there were 9 interviews in each area. The diversity of people may lead to different analyses of the same process due to different experiences. In order to capture a wide variety of views of the consequences of labour out-migration, the researcher considered the need to explore migrant, return migrant and a non migrant's positions. This is not primarily geared at comparative analyses of the three groups but to gain as many views as possible when it comes to the research questions and to avoid a sided analyses. This decision stems from the researchers long acquaintance with the people of the research areas. Migrants are likely to present more positive views about the consequences while non migrants are likely to have more negative views. Return migrants are likely to offer a mixed opinion. This may be because, by virtue of their migration status, they generally experience the consequences in different ways and varying degrees though other consequences may be common to all. Non migrants and return migrants may experience both the direct and indirect consequences while migrants experience the indirect consequences of the migration process. For instance, during the community entry procedure, the over 10 elders at the Savelugu chief palace agreed that a direct consequence of the absence of migrants is the labour shortage to households. They further stated that the indirect consequence such as remittances and accumulations of migrants benefits all the three categories.

Interviews of migrants took place in Accra, the capital of Ghana which is the hub of migrants from the Northern Region. Here, the researcher only had to identify one migrant each from the study areas and with snowball technique the others were found and interviewed.

CHALLENGES OF THE RESEARCH

It must be admitted that the data collection process was not without impediments. Some challenges were faced but frantic efforts were made to eradicate them with some degree of success. The main challenges faced included the season, cultural inclinations, illness, and material expectation from villagers, husbands hovering around their wives during the period of interacting with the researcher and intruders during interviews.

The three study areas like the rest of the northern sector of Ghana falls within the Tropical Continental climatic zone. The peak of the wet season when the rainfall is heaviest is the

month of August and this did not fail this year. This research was conducted almost in the midst of heavy rainfall since the research begun in late June and finished at the end of August. The rains seriously limited the time available for the research. This also affected the rapport building with informants as a motivational factor to make informants give more than they would normally do of information about their lives. Also, the season posed a serious challenge of reaching informants as they got up early and hurried to their farms to make good use of the moisture and the friendly mild early morning sun. This made it difficult to get informants in the early hours of the day. From the above narration, the middle of the day would be the best time to reach informants when they have taken a break to rest. However, being so tired and having less to eat as it was the lean season informants were reluctant to give detailed answers. Hence the researcher believes that the interviews that were conducted during such times were not as detailed as expected. This limited the time of this research to drier days and market days when the people either did not go to farm or stayed home for longer hours. Naming and marriage ceremonies were other times when villages were ready to have lengthy conversations and an opportunity at this was not lost.

In an area almost invaded by malaria infested mosquitoes, even mosquito nets did not help since the insects bit during the day as well. To add insult to injury, the district faces severe portable water shortage and depends on unsafe drinking water commonly infested with organisms that causes typhoid. Out of the will to build a good rapport with the villages all food and water offered was received at least in small quantities. Given these conditions, malaria and typhoid fever became 'my friends' during the research period. This seriously impaired the continuity of the work and disallowed me from making follow up or repeated interviews as intended as I soon run out of time. In fact I came back to school as a very sick fellow.

Following the heavy presence of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the district and their constant activities of conducting research and giving assistance, I was mistaken for an NGO worker who would soon come to salvage them from poverty. It took a lot of time to explain to the people that the research was instead meant for academic work. Explaining this to the understanding of informants took precious time out of the 'interaction time'. Some still believed I was an NGO worker in disguise and this was more than likely to influence their answers.

Also, following some research conducted by NGOs that was not followed by assistance in the past, some informants were adamant in answering questions. Example, one informant fumed; *“what are you going to use all these questions for, I know you people, you always ask and ask and ask but nothing comes at the end, you only sell us to the outside so that people will laugh at us.”* This attitude was exhibited by other informants but in a mild way and may have affected their responses. The only option out in very serious instances as the one in the citation just shown above was to replace the informant. There were only two such instances.

Gender disparity is a phenomenon easily noticed in the study areas. The superiority of men threatened the research to some extent. In a few instances when husbands came from the farm to meet their wives talking to me, they assumed I was an NGO worker despite the chief's announcement about my status as a student. The reason for the suspicion was that the woman would reveal ill treatment about the husband. Despite that the interaction with the woman had to be paused for a greeting and a second introduction done with the husbands, they would sometimes hover around the interaction scene to try to scare women from 'saying it all'. This impediment influenced the extent of information gotten from informants. For instance some of the interviews conducted in the presence of men were less detailed compared to those done in their absence. This therefore disallowed the gathering of detailed data of some important issues such as the reallocation of the land of labour out-migrants and migrant's sexual life. This constrain was partly overcome by moving from the conventional interaction point of the common sitting places for visitors to a corner within the house or to under a tree usually just in front of the house when no one was sitting there. This was done under the pretext of smoke from cooking pots and noise from kids.

Some interviews attracted more than one person due to their high interest on the subject. Other times, it was just visitors who jumped in to the conversation. In one of the study areas, an interview was joined by as many as five other people and almost three hours was spent listening to opinions and long stories. Initially it appeared they were in for the same perspectives but towards the middle of the interaction, different views begun to be stronger and made the interaction somewhat heated. Heated conversations and making fun of others is only a way of conversation in the area hence there was no trouble. More so, the informant assumed the status of a moderator which I readily succumbed to for reasons of his age and my status as the visitor. Occasional interruptions by excusing him to ask probing questions was the way out. In some cases, the people helped the informant to remember certain issues from

some years back and to give more explanation to them. In other cases, the intruders went ahead to state their own cases. Though I did not use their cases as citations in this work, it further enhanced my understanding of many issues and how they appeared different to different households.

Given these constraints, the researcher can admit that some informants did not reveal as much detail as expected (such informants had little time or patience to explain). Coded language as used here refers shortened ways of saying something such as proverbs and idiomatic expressions. Hence, one had to rely on derived meaning and interpretation from someone with in-depth knowledge in local language. Other times coded language was not used as a way to shorten interaction but as a way of speech and their interpretation for me and my interpreter sometimes did not make exact sense. Nonetheless, most of the informants were relaxed and spoke at length giving very practical examples of the issues being discussed and sometimes taken them very emotional. Hence, despite the impediments, the research was very exciting and did reveal very interesting findings that can be trusted.

DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of qualitative data is very cumbersome due to the large unstructured textual material generated (Bryman 2004). Though interviews were semi-structured and which was supposed to make analyses easier when it comes to listening to the tapes and recognising common views, this aim was not achieved in many cases. Informants would offer not only information about a question asked but just went ahead to unveil other issues and offer explanations for them. This way, comparing their views to others was far more difficult since they were scattered in different points of the tapes. The researcher was aware of this but did not foresee it to the degree to which it happened. Also, some of the linkages between the consequences as explained were unclear owing to the use of coded language. It therefore became very difficult to link the various explanations to come out with a pattern of interaction of the economic and social consequences. The way out was careful listening and seeking help for decoding coded language. As I was not familiar with some of these, I had to rely on an interpreter and experienced researcher at the Ghana Civic Education unit at Savelugu who did a beautiful job.

The study made use of interpretational analysis to unveil themes and interaction of the various themes. Individual accounts of their households are presented along some of the interpretations of the data. This would help explain household's experiences of the consequences of labour out-migration. The views were relayed in the exact manner they were presented. The direct translation was only altered in some cases to draw some concord in the sentences. It was very exciting to listen to the very words in the local language and this made me more interested in presenting views to the reader in a similar manner.

SUMMARY

In sum, this chapter has discussed issues concerning the data collection process. Despite that problems were encountered during the process, the measures put in place by the researcher has reduced the possibility of the problems causing major hindrances to the findings of the research. Moreso, more informants were more willing to share their experiences. Hence, we can say that the findings of this work are trustworthy and reliable.

CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF LABOUR OUT-MIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

The main economic activity in the study areas is agriculture which is augmented by other economic activities including wild fruit gathering, shea butter extraction, blacksmithing and carving. The out-migration of some of the inhabitants of the study areas implies some change in the performance and or incidence of these activities and the conditions of the resources involved since man is the main agent of change in his environment. This section examines the extent to which labour out-migration has influenced the economic lives of the people. The research reveals that the main consequences are felt in agriculture, remittances and art and craft. The economic consequences of labour out-migration do not exist in isolation from the social consequences. They either lead to or are a result of them, depending on the context. Hence, in the presentation below attention is given to the social consequences that are inseparable from the discussion.

LABOUR OUT-MIGRATION AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The discussion in this section focuses on the direct consequences of out-migration. The consequences of labour out-migration on agriculture in the study areas may probably be best understood by examining its influence on agricultural resources: mainly land and labour. These two, according to this study, are those influenced by the process through the resultant change in the population size (numbers) and competence (abilities). The study revealed that labour out-migration impacts both positively and negatively on agricultural activities and may yet have a neutral consequence on other areas. Labour out-migration is said to influence the availability of cultivable land, availability of grazing fields, and the size and competence of the labour force.

The Availability of Cultivable Land

Based on the interviews conducted, the labour migration of both men and women is said to have direct consequences on the availability of cultivable land in the study areas. The explanation is that the out-migration of people creates vacant cultivable land that is available to the rest of the people in the household or others in the area. In most cases, the land goes to landless people mainly women or to those who are seen as not having enough cultivable land. The household head decides the reallocation of such land if the owner of that land had not pre-allocated it before leaving.

It was also realised that some migrants do not pass on their lands to those at home but rather send down inputs to the household head or others such as their siblings and friends to grow the crops on their behalf. A land owner may also grant uncultivated land previously allocated to migrants to people who come to ask for land. It was found out that, even those who own enough land also benefit from the land resources of ‘the travelled’. When other farmers realise that a migrant farmer’s land is fertile or has lain fallow for some time and thought to have regained its fertility then they go to ask for it. Among other possible ways that farmers perceive good soils is the consideration of the type of grass that grows on the field. The growth of grasses known to require high soil fertility is an indication of *tam velli* (good soil). Reliance on lands owned by migrants has probably salvaged overused lands in the study areas and prevented them from absolute barrenness as farmers can afford to allow some of their lands to fallow or reduce the intensity of cultivation (such as avoiding too many plants per area) that somewhat favours sustainability in soil fertility.

Some informants stated that land made available to people due to the absence of others has been a blessing to food production. For some informants, the increase in land holdings of women did have a more positive impact on farm output than that of men. This view can be captured in the following statement by an elderly man.

Citation 1

“When a woman gets more land, she works hard and if God blesses and the rains come she gets a lot of food.

In my next neighbour’s house, many men went to Takoradi last year to collect metal scraps and the women got a lot of soya beans from their husbands’ fields. Their

husbands came home and were surprised; they themselves had not gotten that harvest before. The women work hard for the sake of their children, they take away all small grasses.” (Return migrant, Laligu village)

The above informant tells of his own household and that of a neighbour. He makes his point but buttresses it with experience in his neighbour’s house. In this statement, we can see a woman is eulogised for her assiduity on the farm aimed at making food accessible and meeting other household needs. What is more fascinating about this statement is the proclamation that women are more productive than men in food crop production. Besides that women work harder and take better care of crops such as taking away all small weeds as captured in the above statement, there are more reasons for their success over men as can be seen in the following statement.

Citation 2

“Our women are hard workers. They don’t fear the sun because they want more food for the family and to sell some for their clothing. Some of them also work hard to pay their loans. Hm, in this village only women get loans from the NGOs, they make men beat their wives because the women don’t want to share the loans with their husbands. So women can even buy ‘agriculture’ [improved crop variety see] for their farm. Some even buy fertilizer in these times when we can’t buy bicycle tubes.....”
(Non migrant, Laligu village)

This statement corroborates the assertion made in citation 1 above (that women are hard working) and yet gives additional reason as to why women’s work on the farm brings more output than men. The statement partly attributes the success of women over men to the support of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that assist them acquire farm inputs. The two statements (citation 1 and 2) reveal explicitly, the need for women to have access to land so as to contribute to efforts to arrest food insecurity problem in the areas and poverty as a whole.

That labour migration makes land available to those most in need of it is captured in the literature of migration especially that concerning northern Ghana. While investigating ways of combating Food Insecurity in northern Ghana, Yaro found out that “*In case of renting land from the land Chief, you may be given the land that belongs to an out-migrant*” (Yaro 2004, p 212). The writer explains that out-migration affords less privileged people who cannot afford

to go through the customary process of land acquisition the opportunity to own land for a while. This is alike the situation in my study areas which are located in northern Ghana. It can be said that increases in land holdings resulting from out-migration in the study areas will continue to result in increases in food production in the short term though at a decreasing rate (due to deteriorating cropping conditions and other factors).

This is a palatable result for the equilibrium model proponents who claim that labour migration will result to reallocation of resources across space (between the destination and the origin) with beneficial consequences. This is apt in this situation as landless and those with insufficient land get access to lands of migrants and are able to make gains out of them while the migrants also make use of other resources at the destination.

Availability of Grazing Fields

Grazing fields for livestock have been one of the major sources of tensions and conflicts between peasants and between peasants and nomads in the study areas. Several accounts during the interviews did reveal that labour out-migration had lessened the incidence of these tensions and conflicts by availing more idle land for pasture seekers especially the Fulani. A few citations from interviews that capture this are provided below.

Citation 3

“When we go to look for money in the south, some of our land is cultivated and the village herdsmen and the Fulani go to use it and we also get their dung for the next farming season. Because they have more land, they don’t go near peoples farms that much so the fights are few.....” (Migrant, Savelugu)

Implicit in this statement (3) is the growing shortage of grazing land. It further reveals that out-migration is helping to bring about some balance between cropland and grazing land. Crop farmers gain some manure from the animal farmers while the land fallows. Also, fallow fields resulting from labour out-migration means that the incidence of intrusion of animal pastors and their animals in to lands where crops are been grown become lesser thereby minimising tensions and conflicts.

Again, we can say the equilibrium models assertion of equilibrating mechanism of migration gains some substance in the study areas. If migration will increase grazing fields, reduce

conflicts due to land resource redistribution (though may be temporal), it may be a good omen of future resource equilibrium for households in the areas that may favour enhancement in livelihood. This could reduce the inequalities between the sending areas and the receiving areas.

This finding of the relation between out-migration, availability of grazing fields and tensions and conflicts between crop and animal farmers, is not too unique as other researchers such as Nabila previously found similar situations. Nabila (1972) noted that out-migration in general was to some extent an advantage especially in reducing population densities in some localities in northern Ghana. The reduction in population reduced pressure on land resources and favoured the remaining population as they gained more land for their agricultural activities.

The following citations (4 and 5), however, show another side of the story about herdsmen and crop farmers.

Citation 4

“When my children travel, we are not able to use all our land and the Fulani men come to graze on it. They used to graze a bit and move else where but these days they just stay and finish it like *kokoli* (baldhead). But it is still better because they don’t come near our farms again.”(Non migrant, Laligu)

Citation 5

“...it’s all the same, even when my people travel, there is no difference. All the land is already dead...the grasses don’t even grow as they used to...so my sonwe need help from the government and NGOs.....the farming is no longer helpful”.
(Return migrant, Savelugu)

Citation 4 and 5 reveal that it is not all a gloomy picture. Citation 4 tells that the herdsmen have the potential to overgraze a particular piece of land rendering it even more hostile to crop cultivation than before. This implies that labour out-migration besides having the effect of increasing grazing fields and reducing tensions and conflicts between crop and animal farmers, also causes already impoverished soils to further lose their fertility and other properties by availing land to desperate animal farmers.

Citation 5 though similar to citation 4, shows an extreme situation. For this informant there is nothing to lose or gain when land is unused as a result of out-migration. The land is already impoverished beyond the point where they can make gains in crop cultivation. In this case, even the animal keeper's only struggle to get water out of rock hence there was no benefit or loss in unused lands of migrants. This view seems to be more prevalent in Savelugu due to sand winning and other land degrading activities. It seems that this relation will hardly turn around as increasing desertification constantly draws more herds of cattle from the Sahel and desert countries such as Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Sudan to the study areas.

Given the extreme situation of some peasants, concerning losses in fallowed lands of migrants, it is clear that labour out-migration is not drawing any equilibrium or reducing the pressure on resources for all households in the study areas as the equilibrium model will have us believe. Rather, out-migration causes impoverishment in the origin and keeps the sending areas in a poor state (Amin 1974). The inequality between the receiving places and the sending areas can be said to widen rather than converge in this situation all things being equal. (That is, that migrant labour is beneficial to the destinations and results to increased productivity in the urban centres among others variables that migration economists would usually consider).

Besides its impact on the land resources of the study areas, labour out-migration impacts on labour available for agricultural activities. The following section shall present views on this issue.

The Size and Competence of Agricultural Labour, 'One Side of the Story'

Household Labour

Given the age selectivity of the migrants, the process of migration is considered by most informants to have serious consequences for the micro economies, of the study areas. This means that a labour vacuum is left to be filled by older men, older women and children who are considered less versatile.

Hence, from one perspective, as more and more people are on the move, the onus falls on the remaining energetic, the aged and children to till the land, weed, harvest, pastor the animals among for instance. Since the aged and children are usually not so strong, they are unable to utilize the available resources to at least reap enough economic benefits to cater for the household.

The following extractions from interviews reflect some of the economic consequences of labour out-migration on labour requirements in the study areas.

Citation 6

“...they will not stay home and farm, they want to go and see life. Now I have to use cattle to plough or tractor but each year they become more expensive.....so I have to give some of their father’s land to people who ask.” (Non migrant, Kpalung village)

Citation 7

“...when it rains I send for my two children. The elder one used to send the younger one first and he [the older one] comes later. But now the small one has also become wise, so they both come late when it’s past land preparation.” (Non migrant, Laligu village)

The two statements above (citation 6 and 7) indicate a labour vacuum created by labour out-migration. Their absence is manifested in one way in the inability of those at home to continue to utilise the fields available to the household. Thus, some people as the informant in citation 6 have to rely on the services of cattle owners or tractors which appear to be expensive and sometimes out of reach. Also, the late arrival of migrants is a major source of worry to the informant in citation 7 like it is for others especially the aged. The expansion of farmlands is also made difficult or impossible when the young men overstay and return late or do not return at all in a particular season.

Interviews indicate that not only is the size of the labour compromised by labour out-migration but, the competence. Usually, the youth are the most versatile and agile of every population. Not only are they able to execute more work in grand accomplishment, but largely, it is from them that creativity and innovation emerges. Their absence therefore compromises not only the amount but the competence of work done in the agricultural sector.

Several interview accounts also make mention that families were no longer able to go far enough to make use of much fertile land because the division of labour did not allow for someone to stay and watch the home, another to transport food where they did not make a hurt among other responsibilities. Also, the small number and lack of strong men means that in case of eventuality such as sickness they may not be able to do much to help.

Another major point of concern relating to the shortage of labour besides that of household labour is the depreciation in the size and efficiency of mutually organised labour.

Labour Organisation: The kparibba, Ayugba and Household Labour Soliciting

Labour out-migration also has the reputation of putting in disarray the normality of local labour mobilisation for group accomplishment on farms. This relates to the disintegration of the social capital of the people which is invaluable to the survival and progress of households. Social capital constitute the social resources (networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations) upon which people rely on in the pursuance of different livelihood strategies requiring concerted actions (Scoones 1998, Yaro 2004). Analysing the relationship between social capital and livelihood in northern Ghana, Yaro recognises that “*Survival in this era of multitude structural and proximate vulnerabilities, involves moving beyond self reliance to broader alternative networks of relationships through which people can have access to other forms of capital*” (Yaro 2004, p 219). The interdependence of households and dependence on other members of the community especially in organised units is therefore an essential aspect of the livelihood and development of the three agrarian study areas. With no or minimal modern technology and increasing vulnerability in all spheres of life especially food insecurity, individual farmers and households depend on other individuals and households for support in various ways in conducting their agricultural activities cannot be underscored. The most important aspects of social capital regards agriculture include the *Kparibba*, *Ayugba* and household labour soliciting.

The *Kparibba* is a party or group of young men usually friends of the same age group who help to make mounds or ridges and weed on each persons farm at a time. Any member of the *Kparibba* can also sell his turn to anyone ready to hire the group instead of using them on his own farm in which case he owns all the money made on that day. The *Ayugba* are a group of women and children who work together in harvesting mainly groundnuts. The *Ayugba* move from farm to farm with preference for larger farms. They live and work for a number of days

on any farm needing their labour in return for either farm produce or cash. The returns accrue to individual members of the organisation according to his or her output. That is, they are giving an agreed quantity of food stuff as they accomplish the corresponding quantity of harvest. This movement from one farm to another continuous until the group decides they have had enough to justify a return home.

The migration of the youth affects the effectiveness of the *Kparibba* and *Ayugba*. For instance, the mere reduction of numbers of the youth owing to labour out-migration has the consequence of reducing *Kparibba* and *Ayugba* in terms of size and time spent on farms. For instance the out-migration of young women to southern Ghana implies more work for the few remaining such as catering for children and this affects the endurance and therefore accomplishment of the *Ayugba* as some women could no more afford to stay longer on farms. This indicates that labour out-migration changes the structure of households in the study areas. Informants did not indicate there was a skewed deficiency of one sex though.

Another interesting issue regards the work of the organised labour groups of the study areas is the diminishing readiness of migrants to continue the same life style of being part of a larger social association of people working for their common good. Some returnees accumulate enough money to employ paid labour and do not necessarily have to be part of a *Kparibba* or *Ayugba* to accomplish farming. Some young women also prefer to work on farms closer to the home and resent distant farms which require more physical effort and denial of certain privileges one enjoys been at home as one elderly man in Laligu confides:

Citation 8

“.....they want to stay close to the home and eat their greedy dinners with ‘tinapa’ [canned fish] poured nicely on it.....They are coloured and don’t want to get darker by working hard in the bush” (Non migrant, Laligu)

Some of the returned female migrants differ somehow from the expected way of working as an *Ayugba* as can be clearly seen in citation 8 above. They resent work in far away farms but these farms accordingly, normally represent the bulk of farmer’s yields. Thus the attitude of returned young ladies towards the *Ayugba* network is a source of worry to many farmers. Owing to experiences and wealth gained by migrating, and the consequent change in the

behaviour of the youth towards the *Ayugba* and *Kparibba* groups, local agricultural labour mobilisation is experiencing a decline.

The depletion of the activities of the *Kparibba* and *Ayugba* is considered by some informants as having a great reduction effect on the size of cultivated lands, land preparation, weeding, protecting crops from animal invasion and the amount of food safely harvested from farms. For instance when farm owners have uprooted the groundnuts at the right maturity and conditions of soil (moisture) they may have to wait long before the *Ayugba* arrives. Owing to the limited number and size of the *Ayugba*, more time is spent on each farm visited than before. This exposes the farm produce to higher risk of animal invasion with a possible loss to the farmer. Also, without the *Ayugba* farmers face more difficulties in transporting their groundnuts back home. It is revealed by some of the informants that the day *Kparibba* and *Ayugba* is phased out completely, farming would only be done at their small backyard farms which would provide barely enough harvest to survive. This conviction may not be strictly true for all. Those without sound economic status might be affected by the phasing off of the *Kparibba* and *Ayugba*. However, farmers, who are increasingly using tractors, and combined harvesters and have more money to offer good wages to workers, may not be affected. It appears this group of farmers are few but there is a possibility that some will join the class. The newcomers though, may not include a substantial number and the majority poor as trade liberalisation and other factors is increasingly knocking them out of the survival struggle. Such a situation of insufficient labour calls for medium level agricultural mechanisation to reduce the reliance on human hands and to ensure increases in output.

Besides, the *Kparibba* and *Ayugba*, the other important labour organisation is household labour soliciting. When it comes to farm work, soliciting for help from a friends or neighbouring household is common in the study areas. The help of several households is usually sought which allows for accomplishment of farming activities in a shorter time. For instance, such labour is relied upon to sow seeds when the moisture is still available or to harvest crops as soon as they are ready which reduces vulnerability to animal invasion. Also, household labour soliciting is common with weeding of crops. Households help one another in turns. However, some informants regret that labour out-migration of more young people implies not only a reduced size but a diminished competence of household labour as already

shown. Less energetic older people and children comprise the larger part of some households labour. Household labour soliciting is therefore said to be experiencing a decline.

Given the loss of labour to the household and diminishing of labour organisations as shown in the above discussion, we can say the supposition of the historical-structural perspective is at work. The draining of labour away from the sending areas for capitalist gains while impairing progress at the origin acts to keep the sending areas in a disadvantaged situation. This way, it is pointless to view the entire process of labour out-migration as an advantage in resource distribution that will bring benefits. Though insights from the interviews indicate the rise in wages of labour owing to the shortage of labour as supposed by the equilibrium model, the inability of some peasants to afford the prices quoted rather makes the rise in wages inimical to agricultural production. Rather, the labour vacuum within households, the breakdown of social networks and hence organised labour which impairs the pursuance of peasant livelihood strategies in agriculture, conforms to the suppositions of the historical-structural perspective that migration drains labour for capitalist gains while maintaining the status quo or even entrenches poverty in the sending areas (Amin 1974).

The view of labour out-migration impacting negatively on agriculture is only one side of the story. Other informants had other views concerning the consequence of labour out-migration on the labour requirements of households and labour organisation that are meant for the entire area.

The Size and Competence of Agricultural Labour, ‘the other side’

The view is that labour out-migration does not negatively affect labour requirements. There are two views in this category. The first is that the process favours agricultural activities. The second is that the impact of the process is neutral. Though the researcher gets the impression that they seem to represent a minority view point, their views are imperative as it reveals that as peasants they may have one label but different lives. The first view is reflected in the two citations below.

Citation 9

“My children always come home to help me. They even bring money for their father to hire a tractor. So I like it when they travel.....it saves us.”

(Non migrant, Savelugu)

Citation 10

“.....and I used to send money for farming so I don't think my absence cost them anything on the farm.....” (Return migrant, Kpalung)

The statements above (9 and 10) are a non migrant and a returned migrant's views but indicative of one perspective. Common to these statements is the convictions that labour out-migration has not been inimical to agricultural production through the loss of labour. Rather, migrants return to play their role and also send money to those at home to enable them hire labour or pay the services of animal traction or tractor. Informants who had this view also did mention that labour out-migration helped in food security. They contend that quick drain of food during the lean season is avoided by seasonal labour out-migration. Seasonal migrants contribute to food production during the wet season and when they migrate in the dry season they also feed themselves over there instead of depending on home supplies. Yet, they provide more food and money through remittances they send.

Remittances for investment in agriculture in the study areas is in the view of the equilibrium model a way of siphoning capitalist profits for local development that would contribute to the convergence of resource distribution between the origin and destination. Households with committed and successful migrants are those more likely to experience such benefits.

This assertion is, however, refuted by others. They indicate that the monies sent could never do as much as the people themselves. Two reasons account for this. One reason is that, the remittances are not usually enough. Also, hired labourers do not work with their *hearts*. That is, they do not work diligently and efficiently.

More so, the informant of citation 9 shows that some migrants do return in the rain season to farm. According to other informants this is true but can not be relied upon as the late return of migrants nullify the aim of a return home.

The second view point of this category of informants (the other side) is that labour out-migration plays a neutral role in agricultural labour requirement. This group which I would like to refer to as the *acute survival group*, indicate that the process of labour out-migration

helps them to survive and to make progress in life as crop and animal failure over the years had rendered them incapable of surviving while at home. Hence, labour out-migration was an alternative source of livelihood for some households. The following citation offers a migrant view of the *acute survival group* of people.

Citation 11

“I used to go back to help my parents on the farm. But these days the soil is not good so you farm a lot but you don’t get anything. I now stay in Kumasi and send them maize.....” (Migrant, Kpalung village)

For this informant, labour migration offers an alternative source of livelihood as agriculture is no longer viable due to impoverished soils hence *negative returns* accrue from the farm which is not worth it. The migrants send cash and or food to the remaining family members. This suggests that labour out-migration is an alternative source of livelihood than just a supplementary engagement due primarily to the depletion of soil fertility and other factors such as erratic rainfall and draught.

Having discussed the impact of labour out-migration on the size and competence of agricultural labour, the one side and the other side of the story, three views can be said to prevail.

- One view is that the process negatively affects agricultural labour requirements due to the absence or late return of migrants during the rain season. This view can further be broken in to two due to the levels at which the analysis takes place. The household labour and labour parties that households rely upon.
- A second is that the process does boost agricultural labour. The return of migrants at the beginning of the wet season to participate in farming plus their ability to afford paid labour and remittances sent by those who do not return is used to pay for agricultural services. They further contend that the absence of migrants in the lean season implies less pressure on food resources.

- A third is that there is no effect at all of the process on agricultural labour requirements. The land is already impoverished plus other unfavourable cropping and animal rearing conditions therefore energy exerted plus money expended in agriculture does not pay off.

The first view seeks to analyse that labour out-migration adversely affects the availability and competence of family labour and that of the local labour organizations that is, the *Kparibba*, and *Ayugba* and household labour soliciting. Many scholars have revealed that, in general this phenomenon (the shortage of labour) can be detrimental to development in some areas (Hugo 1985, Wogugu 1976). Migration impacts negatively on the livelihood of sending areas mainly through the loss of labour and increased dependency ratio (Shresta 1988). Recently, van der Geest in a study of migration and livelihood in the upper west region of Ghana noted that labour shortage for farming is probably the most constraining factor to livelihood security (van der Geest 2005). He explains further that land preparation and harvesting, are those largely affected. These are not unexpected findings for an agrarian society still involved in primordial cultivation techniques that demand many hands. Hence, one can say that out-migration is generally inimical to agriculture in northern Ghana of which the study areas under are a part.

In far away from Africa, in the developed world, negative consequences of labour out-migration are experienced as well. Stockdale (2002) in a study in Scotland tells of a selective out-flow of people within the ages of 20-39 in Copus and Crabtree. Accordingly, this involves the loss of the much needed human and social capitals from the origin of the migrants.

In the second viewpoint we see that labour out-migration acts to boost agriculture through remittances. This conforms with the findings of some researchers such as de Haas (2001) that contend that remittances are invaluable to local investment and advancement. However, other people reveal also, a negative picture, that is, the shortage of labour is not fully compensated for by remittances and therefore threatens the continuation and progress of agriculture. In the Savelugu area where there were more emphasis on the poor soil fertility, out-migration is likely to continue as a livelihood diversification more than in the other two study areas of Kpalung and Laligu where there has been relatively less complains of soil impoverishment.

The third view seems very interesting as it is more or less prophetic; the returns of labour power will be *negative* for some households in time. This view might be the case of a foreseen future given the approach of the Sahara desert and the effects of global warming especially on climate change and the lackadaisical attitude of the world to revert this peril.

Labour out-migration does not only imply issues emanating from the empty spaces they create at home such as the labour deficiency due to their absence at home but may imply other issues concerning their presence at the destination such as the remittances they send and the accumulations they get. The following section shall discuss the role of remittances and accumulations of labour migrants in the study areas.

REMITTANCES

Remittances of labour migrants represent one of the most important aspects of migration in the study areas. This section unveils the importance of this aspect of labour out-migration. First it is important to know what they remit.

Remittances from migrants of the study areas include cash, foodstuff, bicycles, cattle ploughs, improved seeds, music gadgets (“simpa”-local music equipment; and radio cassette recorders), plastic and metal bowls, basins, bags, and clothing. These are given to their fellow migrants who are returning home or to transport drivers to deliver to the deemed recipients or someone in the delivery chain. The recipients include members of the family or household and friends. The common uses of remittances (cash) include buying foodstuff, purchasing livestock, paying the cost of labour, off setting debts, settling school fees and paying for hospital bills.

It is important to mention that prior to migration, that is, at departure of a migrant, the process of labour out-migration is seen by some as a way of siphoning home resources to the wild without assurance of returns. This fear emanates from the increasing risk of failure in recent times and the behaviour of migrants in drawing a dichotomy between what is individual property and what is household property.

Siphoning Home Resources (in return for remittances)

The process of labour out-migration in the study areas likewise in other places in the world, involves cost and risk. Basically, the cost is felt in transportation and seed money (money needed to help migrants settle down). One way to cover the cost is sponsorship by parents or other members of the household (in such cases expectancy of remittances is higher). Otherwise, prospective migrants usually sell off some property or sell their labour in the semi-proletariat agricultural labour market to raise the capital needed for the 'journey'. The most common properties to be sold include animals and harvested food stuff. It is also mentioned that some 'candidates' borrow money from friends and relations. Through the initial cost of migration, migrants are viewed by some informants as people who siphon resources from home though the properties sold were regarded as personal properties by the migrants. Counter to the idea of selling ones personal property to cover the cost of a 'journey', one elderly man likewise other informants stated that he owns all his children and their wives and everything they possess hence, there was nothing like personal property-all belonged to the household and he was the custodian. This is a clear manifestation of resilience of a typically conservative traditionalist towards the challenges of modernity. The clash between traditionalism and modernity is also captured by Yaro (2004) who states that one of the major features of change concerning capital availability in northern Ghana has been the movement from unified norms to individualistic and commercialised values. This tells clearly that the current generation of people are more individualistic in their possessions than the older ones. For instance, what is termed individual property by the youth is often sold in harsh economic times for the well being of the entire household hence, it makes sense to see the sale of properties of prospective migrants as a loss to the entire household. Though the process of migrant monetary preparation is seen as a loss by some people, the migrants themselves and others see it as investment for a better future. The returns, all parties (migrants, non migrants and return migrants) would agree, are not certain, hence the reason for the initial scuffle on the resources siphoned for the 'journey'.

The initial loss is, however, forgotten when migrants make some success and are able to send items especially food stuff to those at home. The loss is remembered if migrants do not send or bring *enough* money and items home. From the interviews conducted, there seem to be a general consensus that male migrants make up for the initial losses and surpass the investment

capital through the remittances they send home and possessions they bring. The story for the female migrant or the *Kayayo* is, however, unpalatable.

Female migrants are seen as the most extravagant of 'household resources'. Some girls are sponsored by their mothers and aunts to go on the 'journey'. Despite that the resources in question are sometimes owned by the women sponsors, some older men contend that this drains the 'ingredient money' (money used in buying ingredients for food) from the women and affects the diet of the household. Women are responsible for buying or cultivating the crops needed for ingredients in making soup in the house. Also, mothers and aunts are said to invest in magical charms to bring luck to their girls. This is said to also drain the ingredient money. Female migrants are acclaimed by some informants to be 'personal purpose travellers' (they basically migrate for their own good) and are seen as not remitting enough to their mothers to make up or compensate for the initial loss. Hence, the act of sponsoring female migrants is seen by some informants as more of an economic loss to households than that of the male migrant.

This loss to the household can be said to go along the lines of the historical-structural perspective. The sending areas are assumed to be at loss.

Though migrants are said to siphon household resources, on the other hand, some of them are able to make up for the losses and even follow up with compensation with the remittances that descend home thereby confirming the assertions of the equilibrium model. The model asserts that remittances are useful resources to sending areas both for consumption and investment. This assertion may be true but not entirely.

'Okro or Bitter Leaves': The Economic Consequences of Remittances

Informants made it clear that the fact that migrants send cash and items to their people back home is not enough to assume it has a positive impact on the economic life of a people. This section investigates the economic impact of remittances. For some of the people interacted with, remittances represent some form of manna that bring economic salvation while others did consider remittances largely as a form of bitter leaves that was not needed.

Two accounts that indicate the *okroness* (sweetness) of remittances are cited below.

Citation 14

“The young men sometimes send us food stuff which helps us a lot! We are always certain of receiving food from those who go to villages than those who go to pick and sell scrubs” (Non migrant, Laligu)

Citation 15

“...the items we get are very helpful, we can't provide all our needs so we have to allow some children to go and find more else where and allow some to stay and help us.” (Return migrant, Kpalung)

The two statements (Citation 14 and 15) capture the role and importance of remittances in the lives of the people. Remittances are regarded as imperative for survival as livelihood strategies are incapable of satisfactorily providing their needs. Statement 14 also indicates that rural migrants are more likely to send food than urban migrants. Remittances are also said to increase investments in agriculture through the cash, improved seeds cattle ploughs among other things that migrants send. There are also extreme situations where entire households literally depend on migrant remittances for survival and advancement. This has already been briefly mentioned where such households were referred to as the *acute survival group*. The following statement tells the story of one of such households.

Citation 16

“I am the only one [of all matured males] left home, my farm is so small and yet the rains fail so I don't get anything...its just name [dowry] for nothing] that I work on the farm. Me and the others including the two wives of my brothers eat the food that my brothers send and also use the money they send to do many things like the shop my brothers wife own by the road side...so some of us gain a lot from those who go...there is nothing here so why should they come home. If they come we will all wake up in the morning and just keep looking at each others faces” (non migrant, Savelugu)

The emotionally touching story above (Citation 16) typifies the extreme case where some households literally depend on migrant remittances.

The role of remittances indicated in the statements above alludes to the assertions of the equilibrium model of remittances helping to alleviate resource inequality in the origin. This way, the supposition of the historical-structural perspective is debunked.

Also, that remittances are invaluable or inevitable to some of the people of the study areas falls in to the traps of the sustainable livelihood frameworks where in the rural livelihood frameworks migration is clarified as having joined agriculture and local off farm activities as one of the three main sources of livelihood (Scoones 1998, Carney 1998). Of the three study areas, however, Savelugu seems to be the one with much of this extreme form of dependence on labour out-migration. This could be so because that area is a town with increasing deagrarianisation (SNDA 2000).

Some migration researchers suggest that remittances could lead to passiveness and economic stagnation as a result of receivers withdrawing from certain activities (Papademetriou and Martin 1991, Mochebelele and Winter-Nelson 2000). The finding of this research is, however, contrary to this assertion. Rather, the remaining population make use of migrant remittances by investing more in agriculture hence their economic involvement is boosted rather than made passive.

Despite that remittances are useful and necessary in various ways some people consider remittances as not being helpful enough or even inimical and unnecessary to local livelihood. This is indicated in the following statements.

Citation 17

“.....my girls send me only bread and this does not break day, it’s not even enough for the children” (Non migrant, Savelugu)

Similarly, another elderly man has this to say about migrants in his household;

Citation 18

“They send home garbage. The bowls, cloth.....and lip shines they send can’t help us” (Return migrant, Laligu)

These statements capture non importance of some remittances. For the two informants, the involvement of their girls in the migration process has not been helpful with regard to the remittances they receive from them. A similar case is presented below.

Citation 19

“.....they send bowls to their mothers but not all is meant for their mothers, most of it waits for them.....I don't eat in the new bowls,.....and these bowls make women jealous and they fight every day...they no longer help each other that much with their shea butter..... you cant breath in this compound, that is why I sit outside” (Non migrant, Kpalung)

The economic importance of remittances as depicted in the statement above is not delightful. The bowls that mothers receive according to the source are used to decorate wardrobes and are hardly used yet breed social chaos within the household which acts to reduce economic co-operation between women as in shea butter processing (a hectic process requiring several hands). He went on to state that some non migrant young women take loans from NGOs only to ‘invest in bowls’ so as to compete favourably with their migrant counterparts which to him does no good. If non migrant women would use capital meant for investment to buy such wares, non productive in the economic sense, then there must be some social importance attached. Casual interaction with some few young ladies revealed that the quality and quantity of bowls and basins earns one some prestige and therefore social status among her colleagues.

Here, the historical-structural perspective seems to have a shining face as some of the remittances sent by female migrants are seen to be inimical to local development. This way, the migrants had better stay home than migrate.

Regarding the entire benefits of remittances as against the costs of increased dependency ratio, arising from out-migration in general, Cleveland found out in a study of a northern Ghanaian case study that the home areas were at a loss (Cleveland 1991). Hence, remittances may not only bring problems to the household, but they do not compensate for the burden of increased dependency that arises from labour out-migration of households as we have already seen that the remittances sent by migrants in the study areas are not enough for some households to hire labour for farm purposes.

Non migrants are said to have high expectations from migrants. Remittances sent are expected to be able to offset some of the family's problems. The non fulfilment or less of the expectation is abhorred by the remaining population. The non fulfilment of *remittance expectancy* is, however, preferable to "reverse remittances", that is, where the migrant gets messed up in a situation that he or she can't salvage and demand the help of the relations at home. In this case the migrant has not only failed in meeting the *remittance expectancy* but is further taking resources out of the household. The next section shall discuss the function of reverse remittances in the study areas.

"Reverse Remittances"

By "reverse remittances" is meant, the loss of money, time, energy and or other resources in the process of salvaging a migrant from any sort of misfortune accruing from the migrants own actions, the unanticipated living conditions at the destination and other possible factors. Several accounts about female labour migrants or *Kayayo* as they are often called depict *reverse remittances* and therefore negative economic consequences on the households. They are susceptible to theft, diseases, police arrest for the non payment of taxes, fraud by customers and debts to their colleagues. Three abstracts from interviews that shed light on these happenings are presented below.

Citation 20

"...it brings us trouble and no good; I think the government should order the collectors [bus conductors] to stop them from joining the buses. If she does not bring us debts...her eye opens.... when you give her to a man she runs away..."

(Non migrant, Laligu)

For this elderly man, there is nothing good in female labour migration as his daughter incurs debts at the destination that he must settle and yet refuses a husband chosen by him (a typical traditional way of selecting a suitor). He is therefore of the view that bus conductors should deny potential migrants tickets to join the buses. The citations below (21 and 22) have a similar case.

Citation 21

“My daughter fell ill and was sent home by her colleagues, they paid her initial hospital bills, they could not buy all the drugs and then they contributed money for her to come. I and her mother had to sell our food to offset the debt.” (Return-migrant, Savelugu)

Citation 22

“I take care of her fatherless child, she is always sick and all my money has ended in the hospital. My husband is angry with me and my daughter.” (Non migrant, Kpalung)

The citations 21 and 22 like 20 above are indicative of *reverse remittance* as the migrants siphon home resources rather than contribute to. In the case of citation 21 the migrant’s health needs and debts are taken care of by her parents while in 22, an additional dependent is added to the household. The dependency ratio therefore increases and could cause further deterioration in the economic status of that household.

Reverse remittance is therefore a household’s nightmare as it exploits rather than contribute to available resources. Thus, this contradicts to the assertions of the equilibrium model. Rather than contribute through remittances, some migrants siphon household resources that strengthens the fulcrum of poverty as the historical structural perspective would explain.

Having discussed the salient issues about remittances, the presentation goes next to access the composition and benefits of the accumulation of migrants to the migrants, their households and the areas in general.

THE ACCUMULATIONS OF MIGRANTS

Labour migrants are interested in accumulating wealth. These may be in the form of cash and in bank deposits while goods form a small portion of the accumulation process. However, some labour migrants convert the cash and bank deposits in to goods at the end of every ‘trip’. Goods form a small amount during the accumulation process due to the lack of space and insecurity faced by migrants at the destination.

Some migrants consider migration as time and energy maximising in comparative terms of potential income at home. A return migrant from Savelugu has this to share about her income as a migrant.

Citation 23

“When I arrived, I had enough money and I gave some to my father to buy animals for rearing....when I was in Kumasi things were better, there is no work at home. Over there you get goods to carry. The shea trees did not fruit well this year so there is nothing here.” (Return migrant, Savelugu)

A male migrant has a similar story to tell.

Citation 24

“In the dry season, there is nothing here, why shouldn't I go somewhere I can get something to do. There are always metal scraps to pick or buy over there. Sometimes you can also find hotel jobs or security jobs. You get more money in a short time than if you remain here and keep looking at God.” (Migrant, Laligu.)

In statements 23 and 24 above, the need to leave the home land for some time in search of jobs and higher income is emphasized. Some informants see the view that male migrants get more income while at the destination than at home as been true. However, that of the female migrants is a different story as one elderly man fumed;

Citation 25

“They don't get anything!they just go there to see the city and the nice things there. I have not seen a single *Kayayo* that has come home to do anything meaningful.” (Non migrant, Savelugu)

The *kayayo* are vulnerable to theft from their colleague's and proper thieves in the city. Some *kayayo* have literally come back home with nothing in their hands except debts owing to theft of their wealth. Hence, it may not be a matter of income but one of luck or been wise at safe guarding once resource by saving at a bank or taking part in some *susu* (explained in the next paragraph) activity.

Some informants indicate that male migrants keep their accumulation in physical cash because they are less liable to robbery. However, their female migrant counterparts, who also work in robbery prone locations such as Accra and Takoradi, engage in some kind of financial activity popularly known as *susu* in Ghana. *Susu* involves contributing a fixed amount of money periodically such as each weekly to one person and circulate until the last fellow gets her money. Accordingly, they benefit from this exercise in three major ways.

- First it acts as a way of safe money keeping for those without bank accounts. Some members receive their monies at the time they plan coming home or when a good friend or relation is en route home. This allows them to buy goods and send them home immediately since they have hardly any space to keep their properties and also help avoid or reduce the incidence of robbery on them.
- Second, the exercise offers the opportunity for members to have interest free loans during their stay to buy and send items home or send money to their relations when the need arises.
- Third, the *susu* money when still in the possession of the receiver is sometimes relied upon as a source of ready cash in times of emergency. For example to bribe the police when any of their members falls into the first and *easy* hands of the law (police) or to cater and possibly transport home a sick colleague. However, all members of the group do contribute later to replace the *susu* money used while the actual debt awaits payment by the beneficiary.

The practice of *susu* among female migrant is a wise way of ensuring the economic wellbeing and general welfare of members. Without this, some female return migrants would probably have returned home empty handed given the high risk life they face.

Female migrants expend their income in acquiring kitchen wares and clothing in preparation for marriage. This relieves mothers and aunts and the household because the women will not have to sell off some of their vegetables and other properties to earn income for that purpose. Some did mention that they bought items such as cloths and plastic household wares to be sold at home upon their return. This has been helpful in some cases. Others contend that such

small businesses are sometimes plagued by the non payment of debts especially by relations and they collapse easily.

Male labour migrants on the other hand are said to be able to utilise their accumulations in a more productive way. Interviews with male migrants and male returned migrants reveal that much of their wealth is used in improving their agricultural activities and establishing small road side businesses or petty trading. Informants established that investing in agriculture is a priority for return male labour migrants.

Return Migration and Agricultural Production

The money expended by migrants on agriculture represents an indirect impact of labour out-migration on the sector and seems to be more beneficial to the other members of the household than other investments because every member will enjoy the food that is harvested. Return migrants expend their accumulated wealth in agriculture by paying for the cost such as that of agricultural labour and hired machinery and inputs. Insights from the interviews give the researcher the impression that female migrants rarely invest their returns in this sector as one elderly woman (return migrant) would explain:

Citation 26

“How can they marry if they bring money home to farm for men to eat, they must buy what is needed at the husbands home so that the husband will know they are not easy.” [“Not easy” means to gain respect from the husband]. (Return migrant, Savelugu)

As the elderly woman suggests, female migrants are less likely to invest their accumulated wealth in agriculture. Rather, they would expend it on preparations to get married.

Male return migrants on the other hand are usually in a better position to pay for the cost of agricultural labour and afford the use of tractors and combined harvesters as well as other inputs. Not only do they accomplish the cultivation of their farmlands but are sometimes able to increase the land under cultivation without depending on household labour or labour

parties. Also, farmers in this category are able to afford agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and insecticides to enhance their yields as one return migrant has it:

Citation 27

“I can buy fertilizer but my friends who do not travel cannot, these days if you don’t put fertilizer, you will get nothing from your farm.” (Return migrant, Laligu)

Transportation cost is another cost that sometimes leaves farmers torn between rock and hard surface. Common in the qualitative interviews is the view that by the time they finish harvesting the crop much or all their farming capital (the money farmers accumulate for farming purposes) is finished. This is especially so for farmers with farms in far off places. However, the return migrant and migrant are, unlike some of their non migrant friends, able to afford the cost of transporting the foodstuff home without having to sell off some of it to the owners of transport or market women at lower prices or price below break even. Some farmers pay transport owners in kind based on an agreed quota but this is usually not in the favour of the farmers nor is it a win-win situation.

Capital accumulation by labour migrants enables them to avoid the extortive activities of money lenders. Return migrants are able to support their own activities without having to pledge a part of their expected harvest to the creditors as some poor farmers do. In effect, for those who pledge a part of their harvest as collateral for loans, it means the foodstuff is even sold before the harvest. They therefore, lose the opportunity to make more profit if prices rise. Hence, the farmers who engage in this make little gains if any. Also, if the crop fails his debt awaits him in the next season. That is, if the creditor is patient, else the farmer would have to sell some other properties such as livestock or simply follow the same trail by borrowing money from other sources to pay. Common in the interviews is the view that this difficulty is usually over run by return migrants.

Return migrants are also said to be able to increase their animal stock with relative ease and within a shorter time compared to non migrants. Livestock possession is a key determinant of one's socio-economic standing in the community and “*Livestock has become a social insurance policy that every capable and wise person must invest in order to avert imminent peril in a continuously unpredictable economic atmosphere*” (Yaro 2004, p 34). The possession of livestock is therefore not an option even for those who cannot afford. They must

do all that is possible to purchase some livestock and continue to keep them as the last resort to hunger and other untold catastrophes. Reliance on animal stock usually comes after long suffering and when all alternative solutions have proven futile. The sale of goats and sheep is considered a small blow compared to that of cattle. The sale of a cow or bull can be said to be a like a funeral in the house in the sight of the elderly. The statement of an elderly man in the interview session that “At night when am asleep I hear the cows noise and I sleep well” shows how comfortable and secured one is when you possess livestock especially cattle. He (the elderly man) could sleep well because he did not have to think so much over what would happen when the crops failed. Having more livestock implies more security against hunger, famine and other catastrophes.

Following the above discussion, it can be seen that labour out-migration has an indirect positive impact on agriculture at the origin thereby enabling migrants and their relations increase their economic standing. Income earned by successful labour migrants of the study areas is used to propel local investment and development as the equilibrium model holds.

The economic impacts of labour out-migration are not limited to that of agricultural resources, remittances and accumulations of migrants but extend in to other areas such as that of art and craft. The next section discusses the relation between labour out-migration and traditional art and craft.

TRADITIONAL ART AND CRAFT

Traditional art and craft constitutes an instrumental aspect of the economic life of the people of the study areas. The two major traditional art and craft of the people are blacksmithing and woodcarving. In blacksmithing, the major items made include outmoded agricultural tools such as hoe blades, cutlasses, and cattle ploughs. Other items include kitchen utensils such as aluminium bowls, copper pots, spoons and ladles; and musical instruments. The carvers mainly produce wooden handles for agricultural tools, traditional music drums, stools and game wares. As a tradition, the youth usually have the skills passed on them by their parents. It seems, however, that today’s generation has deviated from this age-old tradition. Labour out-migration to southern Ghana implies absence in time and diminishing interest in the local

art as a result of the discovery of a new life. Two accounts that capture this abnormality in the study areas are shown below.

Citation 28

“.....you this *Karachi* [meaning educated elite and referring to the researcher], which child will sit by me again in this time, I make my hoe blades alone and sell for money, but how many can I make in a month.....” (Return migrant, Savelugu)

Citation 29

“Now if you want a cattle plough you have to go to Savelugu main Town or Tamale. They no longer make them here....the makers have all gone to Nkoranza to make farms.” (Non migrant, Kpalung)

These two statements captured from two long interviews depict clearly the effect of out-migration of the youth on traditional art and craft. From the statements 28 and 29, labour out-migration implies the loss of the very artisans or their helpers which results to reductions in the level of productions. It is not strange that the lack of many hands does affect the continuation of traditional art and craft. The reason is obvious; the old technology involved in the production process is one of ‘hold for me’ (that means the need for the support of others in the workshop). The use of outmoded technology does require more hands in doing what may now be a simple work considering the efficiency of modern tools and techniques. For instance one carver complained there was no young man to help him fell and transport his tree trunk from afar. In a modern society, this work may be viewed as very simple taking in to consideration the use of chain saws for cutting and tractors for haulage of plant materials.

Besides, owing to labour out-migration the division of labour does not allow for a good distribution of working time to traditional art and craft. With fewer hands, much time and effort are spent on the farm keeping animals and or cultivating crops. This has the effect of reducing the incidence, advancement of local art and craft. Local technological stagnation is perhaps a better option in this case than extinction which is more likely in the long run.

The analysis of the informants concerning the impact of labour out-migration on traditional art and craft does not succumb to the allure of the equilibrium model. Rather, it conforms to the

historical-structural perspective which considers the absence of migrants detrimental to local livelihood activities owing to loss of labour.

Oyiwole (1976) indicates that in Nigeria, the loss of labour force and the resulting change in role of household members, the need to spend more time on food production results to the neglect of existing local technology such as hand woven, brass and copper works, fibre and leather works. Also, given the age selectivity of migrants, the tendency for migrants to leave and the conformists to remain while the individuals with change take them elsewhere brings about a process of community retrogression (Jones 1999). This is the situation that most elderly people have reported in the study areas. Local technological advancement is in stagnation for some households while others experience a diminishing effect. The study has not found that labour out-migration induces technological advancement contrary to some of the literature on the subject (Miracle and Berry 1970).

The people of the study areas have adapted to the changing trend by cleverly reverting to the dry season as the main working period. This coping strategy, however, brings about a long gestation period for the profits from the sale of the wares they produce. This is because most of their products are agricultural inputs and are of high demand only during the wet season.

One may view the lack of sufficient labour for the survival and advancement of traditional art and craft as compelling reason for the introduction of capital intensive techniques. However, this does not seem to be happening in the study areas. According to some interviewees, it is the lack of capital to buy and use new technology. But the most likely basic reason is the failure in the linkage of the art and craft activities with their sister activities such as agriculture and social activities such as traditional dance that demand their products. For instance less labour implies demand for cattle ploughs. Similarly, out-migration results to diminishing taste for local music hence, the demand for local musical instruments have fallen in place for modern musical gadgets such as cassette players. The demand gap or reduction therefore does not provide the needed incentive for an increase in production let alone the shift from traditional methods to modern or medium level technology. The current problem provided by labour out- migration seems to leave the people with only one basic option. That is the re-establishing the backward linkage of the activity to agriculture and other activities by investing in medium term technology and with a higher demand for the products of artisans

and all things being equal a forward linkage will be re-established with increased innovation in the artisans domain.

SUMMARY

Out-migration has economic benefits such as increasing the amount of cultivable land, grazing fields, remittances and accumulations. On the other hand, it impacts negatively on sending areas mainly through the loss of labour which adversely affect the sustainability and advancement of agriculture and traditional art and craft. We can further summarise that labour out-migration affects the economy of the study areas in the following ways:

- It causes the amount of cultivable land to increase for the remaining population especially women, which leads to increase in food production in some cases. The process of labour out-migration also increases amount of grazing fields thereby minimizing conflicts between animal and crop farmers. It is also said to increase soil fertility through the dung of animals. More so, for some households labour out-migration cause land impoverishment due to overgrazing.
- It affects the household labour requirement and also reduces labour available to labour organisations. That is the *Kparibba*, *Ayugba* and household labour soliciting. It also contributes to labour inefficiency through the age selectivity of labour migrants.
- It is an alternative source of income and food, to augment local crop and animal output. Thus, labour out-migration is necessary for the survival of some households.
- It is an accumulative strategy for some households who can be said to be better off in terms of crop and animal output compared to those households who engage in the process as part of a survival mechanism.
- Some consequences of labour out-migration such as one of its impact on soil fertility owing to the access granted to cattle herds for some households may not easily be classified as advantages or disadvantages.

There are direct or indirect linkages between the economic and social consequences of labour out-migration with reference to causality (Field work 2007). The following chapter discusses the social consequences that are experienced by the study areas and how they are related to the economic consequences.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF LABOUR OUT-MIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter unveils the social consequences of labour out-migration on the study areas. Humans are typically socially inclined in the way they live their lives. Thus, one may say that every activity that humans carry out affect the social environment. Yet, social activities undertaken in turn affect the economic and other aspects of life. In this vein, labour out-migration can be said to be one of the important factors affecting the social aspect of the lives of the people in of Savelugu, Laligu and Kpalung. Similarly, economic issues emanating from labour out-migration also affect their social lives. The research has shown that Labour out-migration impacts on the lives of the people mainly through; contributing to the realisation of their social needs, introduction of new values that loosens social control and cause other social problems, the role of remittances, and changes in the health of migrants and consequently non migrants.

RESOURCES FOR SOCIAL NEEDS

(“Now I can marry my own wife”- (young migrant, Kpalung village)

Labour out-migration plays a significant role in meeting the social needs of the people. The social needs that are affected are diverse but the most important of them include housing, marriage and livestock.

Housing

Owning a house is customarily considered a very important thing and it is the dream of every young man. From a prototypical perspective of tradition, women do not own houses. Hence men are the chief beneficiaries in this endeavour. Labour out-migration offers young men the opportunity to build their own houses earlier in age. They are also able to afford houses roofed

with zinc and walls plastered with cement and sand. Such houses compared to the traditional thatch and grass houses are better at withstanding flooding and heavy rainfall.

Marriage

The research indicates that migration is one of the main sources of income for paying for the cost of marriage such as the bride prices of the wives of men in the study areas. Young men try to marry early in age so as to make a family and gain social recognition. The essence of marriage can not therefore be overemphasized as the family is probably the most important institution in the human society. This may be especially true for societies in rural settings that have experienced much less modernisation compared to others in urban and city locations. Almost everything that concerns the lives of people in the study areas evolves around the family.

Marriage is therefore an important milestone that every young man and woman must achieve. ‘An unmarried fellow is like a coconut tree that bears no fruit’ and no one sees (respects) him. It appears in the study areas that being married but with no children is a better option than staying single. Customarily, every father must ensure that he ‘marries’ (bear the cost of marriage of) a woman for his son when he is deemed to be matured for that enterprise. However, in recent times young men have taken the mantle to marry for themselves. This results from among other reasons, from a decreasing economic power of the elderly and increasing economic autonomy of the youth resulting from income from labour out-migration. A major priority for labour migration among young men is to be able to earn money to bear the cost of marriage.

This, however, does not seem to reduce the age of marriage (as informants indicate) as some of the literature on migration suggest. Rather, the chances that the age of marriage is increasing seem to be high. “*Just one leg [trip] is not enough to marry*” says a young man from Savelugu. It is explained that given the prestige aunts and girls attach to the high cost of marriage, young men engaged in seasonal labour migration must go several times before they can afford the bride price. It is also mentioned that because most of the girls migrate for longer periods the young men have to wait longer also. The competition increases because the girls who return to settle are fewer than the marriage market demands. Moreso, some young male informants were of the view that the demands of young ladies in terms of marriage wares

besides what is customarily approved such as clothing were changing. A young man expressed his dislike for many girls he tried to marry because they had seen many new things that he did not know and they wanted them all. The young men therefore have to go several trips in order to have enough money for marriage. This according to an elderly man leads the youth to steal metal scrubs so as to make quick money. *“They no longer buy and sell, they just go at night, and if someone puts his metals down, they just take”* (Citation 31) (return migrant-Savelugu). The high cost of marriage can therefore be said to be detrimental to the morality of some young men who can not wait.

Young girls are also able to procure the items they need for marriage which otherwise is the responsibility of their mothers or aunts. Migrating for this purpose is a result of the inability of aunts and mothers to provide the items needed for marriage and the growing changes in taste of marriage wares in young females. The marriage items are basically household items such as clothing, bowls, plates, spoons, wardrobes and trunks.

Livestock

Furthermore, labour out-migration acts as a means to acquire money to purchase livestock which plays a crucial role in the social dynamics of the people. The acquisition of livestock is difficult for households with diminishing farm yields. However, some labour migrants are able to afford the cost of procuring livestock for their parents or them selves with the money they earned from working at the destination. The possession of livestock especially cattle is very important in the northern part of the country. Below are the words of an excited elderly man who tells the story of his son, a migrant, who saved money to buy him a cow.

Citation 32

“...he came home and bought a cow for me, when I am sitting outside the hut people respect meAt night when am asleep I hear the cow’s noise and I sleep well. Now I know when I die my children will slaughter a cow for me.” (Non migrant, Laligu)

For this old man, his son could not have done better than buying him a cow. He sees the importance of the cow in two ways. First, it provides him socio-economic status thereby reducing his vulnerability to social and economic perils. Second, it gives him hope that his

children will be able to fulfil the cultural burial rite that demands a cow when he eventually passes away.

Livestock possession is a key determinant of one's socio-economic standing in the community as Yaro clearly states that "*the non possession of livestock is indicative of social irresponsibility and depicts a person who has lost touch with tradition.* (Yaro 2004, p 34)

Besides enabling the fulfilment of building homes, marriage, the procurement of livestock, labour migration can be said to reduce pressure on household resources through remittances and accumulations in a critical period when the crops and animals fail or the market refuses to *sell well* (when prices fall). The people can afford to continue meeting these needs discussed above at least in the short term via labour migration wealth without completely emptying food stocks and selling significant number of livestock. Labour out-migration therefore acts to cushion, the social and economic lives of the people in significant ways.

That out-migration assist people in the villages acquire their needs is a manifestation of the existence of the assertions of the equilibrium model that labour migration brings benefits to the place of origin and seeks to bring a balance in the long run between the origin and destination. However, that labour migration will bring a balance in resource inequality between the relatively poor sending areas and the well to do destination may not be true. Efforts geared at rural development in Ghana are less effective as compared to those geared at improving urban places sometimes using over population and pressure on social amenities owing to immigration as an excuse (Assembly man, Savelugu, Field work 2007). The large populations of these places make them more attractive to politicians as they aspire to gain more votes. Besides, development strategies rely on population thresholds as one criterion for allocation of resources. This may be considered as one of the problems faced by African economies in the name of democracy.

THE NEW CROWN: FROM RURAL BOY AND GIRL TO CITY BOY AND GIRL – LABOUR MIGRATION, TRADITIONAL VALUES AND TRADITIONAL SOCIAL CONTROL

Man is a social agent. As a consequence, he may easily adapt to what pertains in where she or he is at a given time, therefore it becomes prevalent to see that primary socialization inculcated in the migrants at home erodes away in place for new values they encounter. The research indicates that labour out-migration is said to have contributed immensely to the erosion of traditional values and the loosening of social control mechanisms in the study areas. This comes as a consequence of the acquisition of material and non material aspects of culture from the migrants' destination. This consequence seems to be more associated with rural-urban migrants. However, as one elderly man has it, the rural destinations are also becoming towns and migrants also come home with similar though less damaging behaviours. This is indicative of the fact that rural migrants are not left out in the acquisition of new forms of behaviour.

Migrants consciously or unconsciously acquire material things and non material aspects of town or city life which may translate into new behaviour patterns. Some of the aspects of migrants new behaviour does contravene the very social norms and values fundamental to social behaviour at their places of origin. It became clear during interviews that rural to rural migrants were better than urban migrants in terms of maintaining prescribed social behaviour. The newly acquired behaviour that turns the migrants from a village boy or girl to a city boy or girl threaten the very existence of long known and cherished traditional norms and values and the control mechanisms (such as the elderly, the family, youth chief and the prescribed punishments) that check uncultured behaviour.

Some informants and elders of the study areas contend that Savelugu might be the most hit primarily due to the comparatively large number of its inhabitants who engage in labour migration. Also, the town has a comparatively longer history of labour migration than the other two (Assembly man, Savelugu, fieldwork 2007). Kpalung and Laligu can be said to be experiencing about the same level of change in terms of social control. This is probably because they are so close and share more similar traits such as soil type and fertility, drainage and development level. An elderly man explains the differences in social behaviour of labour migrants between the two set of study areas (while smiling) in the following words;

“We are still better than Savelugu, over there even young men come back home and beat their fathers.” (Citation 34) (Non migrant, Laligu)

Physical abuse on parents is a very outrageous act which is abhorred by even modern societies let alone in small towns like Savelugu that as a norm demonstrates and advocates due respect for the aged.

Migrant’s behaviour may sway in significant degrees away from the prescription of traditional norms and values that constitute the ideal way of life. A serious struggle therefore is inevitable between the two opposites, the new behaviour backed by youth, some middle aged people and seldom elderly men who have lived much of their lives in the *n-nyong* (abroad) and the traditional behaviour patterns shouldered by the elderly and some non migrants. This struggle sometimes generates tensions and both silent and open conflicts among members in a household. The non material and material aspects of culture acquired by migrants that results to this are discussed below.

Non- Material Things

Some of the non material aspects of urban and city cultures that some migrants are reported to have acquired and brought back home include strange eating habits, stealing and sexual promiscuity. These literarily make them opposites of their own cultural ideals. Besides migrants own growing resistance to the traditional way of life by trying to exhibit new traits learnt from their *travels*, they also contribute to the dissipation of traditional norms and values and social control through the spread of their new forms of behaviours among their peers in the area. Presented below are abstracts from interviews conducted that capture the extent of infiltration of strange behaviours of migrants.

Citation 35

“...now young girls even know how to eat tinapa [canned fish] and must always have meat on their meals when we all eat without meat. They put the meat in the soup and when it is ready they remove it for themselves only.” (Non migrant, Kpalung)

The statement in citation 35 depicts a changing eating habit in labour migrants. They develop preference for eating meat which is seen as an occasional ingredient of people’s food. More

so, food is eaten collectively, hence eating meat while others in the household have none on 'top of their meals' is an expression of diminishing of togetherness.

Also, stealing is among the serious crimes linked with labour out-migration in the study areas. Labour out-migration is considered one of the agents introducing this ill practice in to the study areas as the following statements have it.

Citation 36

"...they go to Accra and learn how to steal metal scraps.....then they bring that home, they come home and steal our animals.....those who go to Nkoranza are better" (Non migrant, Laligu)

Citation 37

"Some others steal government properties, I know one man who the harbour people sold a rotten shipand he got so much money, he came home with two tractors, he shared the money with the harbour people, they all stole from the government. One time, I was there in Takoradi, the police inspector took me up the storey building and sold a ship to me and I asked: who actually owns this ship, he laughed and told me - you are old fashioned, just cut the metal and take it away, sell it and bring my share - but if I am caught I will not be allowed to mention inspectors name, he will find his own way to release me. But I declined the offer because I was afraid. I came back with nothing.....So those who get quick money are those who steal." (Return migrant, Kpalung)

The statements 36 and 37 above are indicative not only of the incidence of theft at the destination accomplished by male migrants but the replication of the same behaviour at the origin upon return. Statement 36 adds that, rural migrants (such as those who go to Nkoranza - a rural popular destination) compared to urban migrants, are less destructive of traditional norms and values. This has been noted by several informants. Statement 37 goes further to explain how people at the destination influence the stealing behaviours of migrants. The police are even inclusive in this abhorred behaviour. It also seems that labour migrants engage in stealing partly as an act of necessity or desperation due to the failure to realise expected employment. Labour migrants are associated with stealing and so are those who *eat and drink* with them upon return.

The *Kayayo* are also known to engage in petty theft by spotting nice things and grabbing them for themselves illegally. While others are busy working and gathering stuff others are busy calculating what to steal from their colleagues. This generates suspicion and quarrels among *Kayayo* congregations at the destination. Not only does this affect their relationship at the destination but upon return may translate in to secondary tensions and quarrels between their mothers and aunts with possible consequences of less interaction and assistance or co-operation in their daily life activities. The act of stealing manifested in returned female migrants is often seen as a threat to peace in the household with the potential of children emulating such acts.

The citation 38 and 39 below discuss another social nightmare; the sexual immorality associated with migrants.

Citation 38

“The girls work hard during the day, pay their lampo [taxes] and at night they eat their good meals with a big ball of meat sitting at the top of the food and then they eat whatever size of man they like” (Return migrant, Savelugu)

Citation 39

The boys go after the girls in Accra, they get them free, easily, and they don't have to pay their dowry. Then they finally select who they want and impregnate her and then chase her home to us. My son did not pay the bride price for his wife before their first son.” (Return migrant, Kpalung)

As is reflected in the citations 38 and 39, sex is no longer seen as something meant for only married people by some migrants and they have sexual relations and sometimes bear children out of wedlock contrary to traditional norms.

The existence of these immoral acts, new eating habits, stealing and sexual promiscuity in the study areas provide a challenge to social control mechanism. The citations below seem to summarise it all.

Citation 40

“...when they come back home, they no longer see you, you have not been there, they have been to disco and eaten fried rice but am still here eating *sagim* [main traditional dish], advise no longer works” (Non migrant, Laligu)

The statement 40 tells how migrants react towards the elderly upon return. Some of them no longer regard the elderly as advisors and therefore do not pay heed to their advice. They have seen and done things that those at home have not. Hence, they consider themselves as modern and the remaining members of the household and area as old fashioned who must discard the old ways of life in order to enjoy life.

Material Things

The material things (accumulations) that migrants acquire are basically cash, savings, cattle ploughs, tape recorders and bicycles. These especially the cash, makes migrants less depended on household resources largely under the control of the household head. Thus, they achieve economic and social status and some level of autonomy.

The *Kayayo* are also noted for their refusal to marry men chosen by their parents and rather seek their own suitors. The opposition of young females to the customary process of their fathers selecting suitors for them is very interesting as this was achieved by males a “*long time ago*” according to an elderly man in Laligu. Resistance to customary marriage may be seen as enhancing the will (love) of young people but it could also be a process that results to easy break down of marriages as there is no fear or deep respect for the father of the wife. Problems arising from such issues are said to lead to a break down of relations in the household. This is said to manifest in the reduced interactions between mainly returned migrant young men and women and the remaining members of households. Example is the refusal of return migrants to join in the household labour and the *Kparibba* that he could use to help the household. Young men who acquire enough capital to invest in agriculture may cancel their membership of a *Kparibba* group and also refuse to offer their labour as part of household labour to another household that solicits help. This depicts a break down of social capital so essential to the lives of the people.

The acquisition of material and non material aspects of culture in migrant destinations, the wearing of the new crown depicted by social disorder (captured by changed eating habits, emergence of individualism, stealing, sex promiscuity, disregard for the elderly) and

consequent loosening of social control in the study areas is a great source of worry to many inhabitants of these places. It seems the social control mechanisms are being eroded and may not stand the test of these new days.

The acquisition of material and nonmaterial aspects of urban life and its contribution to the erosion of social capital aligns to the explanations of the historical-structural perspective. It contends that this could perpetuate poverty in the sending areas. Informants leave us with the information that the break down of social relations and thus social capital is in no way helpful to the study areas. The theoretical view is thus apt in this instance.

This finding of the research in the study areas is not too unique as it is the case in other parts of Africa. For instance Lubkemann found out that in Mozambique, migration enabled young men to pay taxes and the bride price of their wives and this conferred upon them a greater amount of personal autonomy by reducing their reliance on elderly men (Lubkemann in Trager 2005). Thus, one can say that the acquisition of non material aspects of life at the destinations of migrants is an essential factor that contributes to the dissipation of values and norms and the loosening of social control mechanisms at the origin.

In a contrasting situation, however, van der Geest (2005) found out in the Upper West region of Ghana that in the absence of seasonal migration and a combination of other factors such as scarcity of money, food shortage and idleness could lead to stealing, cheating, quarrels, violence, teenage pregnancy and rape. This assertion could be possible in my study areas but the degree of change in behaviour that would lead to such would be so slow given strict traditional norms and punishment mechanisms in rural settings. However, with labour out-migration, it seems the wave of change has been so powerful and fast sweeping. It seems little can be done about it given the tumbling powers of the current social control structures in the study areas.

In the above discussion, one can realise that conflict of interest between those wearing the *new crown* and some of the remaining population is basic and then a struggle ensues in which the migrants seem to be winning with vigour. Below are discussed two other issues; *veranda boyfriends and short remittances* that also set grounds for the emergence and perpetuation of discord in the study areas.

“VERANDA BOYFRIENDS, SHORT REMITTANCES AND REMITTANCE FAILURE”

“Veranda Boyfriends”

Some female migrants face difficulties in trying to find accommodation at their destination. The common place of shelter is the verandas of shops and some houses. For some of them, they have to succumb to the security man’s demands for sex so as to be granted the opportunity to spend their nights there for a longer time. Others pay small amounts of cash to watchmen. The watchmen who sleep with these ladies and other young men who come to befriend the *Kayayo* and sleep with them on the verandas are here referred to as the *veranda boyfriends*. The *kayayo* are also said to be vulnerable to rape. The *kayayo* are seen as sources of cheap sex. Besides the risk of getting infected with known and unknown sexually transmitted diseases, the sexual act is said to cause those married to face problems on return to their husbands as stated by an elderly man below.

Citation 40

“Those days when a woman became a *dog-kanna* [that is, when a woman gives birth and returns to her fathers home for some time usually a year] and got a boyfriend, then we say she has jumped over her child but these days women have boyfriends in the *kaya* [city destination] so jumping over children is common.” (Non migrant, Savelugu)

Informants brought to bear that some women who have been reported for having boyfriends at the *kaya* especially those who migrated without permission from home have been divorced by their husbands. Some of such women have had to wait for several months elsewhere before coming to put a *sandani* (apology) through respected elderly men or women to their husbands. A married *Kayayo* woman confided that men would accept them back under the pretext of respect for those who come to plead on their behalf but are actually interested in the nice soups they will prepare and other resources they have accumulated. This assertion could be true as rumours and some *Kayayo* claim their husbands coerced them to travel in search of food and their own stuff.

The unmarried *kayayo* girls also face other problems besides the risk of being infected with sexually transmitted diseases. In the process of the every day bustle and hustle, some of the *Kayayo* sleep with men that have befriended their friends before. With time, a rivalry ensues among some of the *Kayayo* which is said to sometimes develop in to big quarrels. This is said to be more common when the boy friends are responsible in some ways and help with their struggle to amass wealth. The situation is, however, worsened if the male involved is one from the origin or a Dagomba because they are regarded as potential husbands. Such happenings sometimes develop in to rivalry, quarrels that degenerate in to secondary tensions and quarrels at home between mothers and between aunts. This is said to sometimes develop into inter-household conflict involving only women as men are said to have little interest in women's talk.

Another issue that has a similar social impact as *veranda boyfriends* is *short remittances and remittance failure*. The issue of short remittances is given audience in the following section.

“Short Remittances and Remittance failure”

The term *short remittances* as used here refer to the situation where a migrant is inconsistent in the sending of remittances. It is relevant to explain what is meant by ‘inconsistency’ in remittance. Remittances are normally expected from migrants during the lean season where many are liable to hunger and during festive occasions to add glamour to the feast. The beginning of the wet season is usually a toughest time for farmers as their foodstuffs normally reduce drastically. During these times, migrants are usually expected to send gifts especially food to those back home. Failure to do this implies *a short remittance*. If this happens again and again or continuously, the people at the receiving end could develop some form of dissatisfaction against the migrant.

Speaking in a sorrowful manner, an elderly man revealed his dissatisfaction about the migrants in his household in the following words:

Citation 41

“..Last year I received a bag of maize in good time...this year nothing has come yet...they know when we need it....where has the virtue of sharing and looking after the old gone, they are not like I gave birth to them.”(Non migrant, Savelugu)

The old man had not received anything from his sons so far in that year. At his age, he expected his sons to cater for him as tradition holds. Consequently, the once warm relationship had begun to crumble.

Short remittances imply a feeling of neglect on the receiving side and results to a build up of some resentment for the migrants. The continuous occurrence of *short remittances* may eventually lead to the long term branding of a *remittance failure* of a migrant. In this sense, hope on the migrant is lost; he or she is no longer seen as a potential source of remittances.

Remittance failure reveals another interesting issue about remittances. An elderly man regretted in the following words about his migrant sons.

Citation 42

“I am no longer strong. My sons married and brought the wives home and travelled again. They should have stayed to work on the farm but they want to stay there and rather send money. The money they sent at first was ok.....but now they have forgotten us....they want to keep all their wealth and also buy big things over there and gain respect from people over there.” (Return migrant, Savelugu)

As indicated in the above statement, migrants may exhibit reducing tendencies of sending home remittances as they become more attached or used to the destination as a second home. Hence, in the situation of the elderly man above, the failure of the sons to send enough remittances signifies a *remittance failure*.

Issues emanating from *short remittances* and *remittance failure* coupled with others such as *the new crown*, do not only sour relationships but contribute to the fragmentation of the household. In some instances nuclear families within the household have had to either ‘remove their bowls from the big family kitchen’ (that is to form another household and have their own kitchens) or simply move out to live separately. Hence, the fragmentation occurs at two levels;

- a) maintaining co-residence in the larger compound house but with a new household and reduced interaction and;

- b) Moving out of the co-residence multi-household house to put up one's own home and maintaining less interaction with the rest of the previous household.

In both instances, the level of interaction is reduced but the second implies a more entrenched situation. Living in one's own house automatically limits the interaction and responsibilities towards parents, brothers and sisters because of the added responsibility of caring and sustaining ones home. In such a case there is less attention given to the aged. For instance, one informant complained his son moved out when he questioned him about his hidden wealth. It also resulted to the son abandoning the age old responsibility of helping on his father's farm.

Some informants are of the view that households with *remittance failure* are most likely to have more of their members on their toes. That is, the propensity to migrate becomes even higher and if they follow the footsteps of those members already there, the consequences of labour out-migration could be entrenched for those households. Hence, remittances can be said to have other dimensions than just the positive impact on investment in agriculture, small scale businesses, contribution to food security and development on sending areas as discussed in the previous chapter. Thus, the position or picture of remittance depicted in the literature of the equilibrium model is not always the case. Remittances are viewed as completely advantageous to the donor areas. However, in addition to the little importance of some remittances, and the bitterness of others, remittances can generate instances as shown above that could be detrimental to sending areas as in a wider sense as the historical-structural perspective will emphasize.

Relating the findings to the migration literature we can say that the fragmentation of households as a result of situations emanating from or relating to migration has been experienced in other parts of Africa. For example according to Lubkemann, in Mozambique, migration is known to generate conflicts within the household and consequently contribute to the nuclearization of co-residence. This way, larger compounds of multiple generations of related married men and their families give way to smaller households (Lubkemann in Trager 2005). The writer also notes that conflicts may also arise between the older and the younger siblings in the rural area due to failure to fulfil or continue the invaluable role played by the latter through sending of remittances. In such instances, the relationship within the family is affected severely and the negative consequences which may include the reduction in the effectiveness of the invaluable social capital those households posses. Labour out-migration

has ruptured the informal support networks and rendered older people socially isolated in rural areas with serious economic consequences (Shucksmith 2000). The breakdown of social cohesion inevitably affects the origins ability to sustain or enhance livelihood strategies especially in agriculture as is the case in Savelugu, Laligu and Kpalung.

Remittances are not the only link between migrants and those remaining but the occasional visits and eventual return are other ways that bring interaction between the two. The occasional and eventual return of labour migrants has consequences for the two parties. These include the diseases that may be carried along by migrants and other health elements that they come with.

NEW MIGRANTS, NEW HEALTH?

Labour out-migration in Savelugu, Laligu and Kpalung is seen by informants as a major source of distortion to the health of the inhabitants. This occurs in various ways. These are discussed below.

“....they bring us all sorts of strange diseases”

“the girls work hard during the day, pay their *lampo* (taxes) and at night they eat their good meals with a big ball of meat sitting at the top of the food and then they eat whatever size of man they like and they then bring us all sorts of strange diseases. Two of my girls came home pretending to be well but they had sexually transmitted diseases” citation 43, Return migrant, Laligu

Though, these are the words of one fellow, they are an excellent summary of what several informants had to say about migrant’s sexual behaviour. According to this source, the consequence of such behaviour (“eating whatever size of man they like”-that is, sleeping with different men as they wish), is the acquisition and transfer home of many kinds of strange diseases (*dori-cheh*) hitherto unknown such as HIV / AIDS and hepatitis and the proliferation of known ones such as tuberculosis. Also, he went on further to state that due to such promiscuous behaviour, migrants are unable to “enjoy one man forever”. That is, to stay with their husbands without extra marital affairs. Corroborating this evidence, one elderly man

(non migrant) exclaimed angrily that; *“It is the girls who lead the boys to Ankara [Accra], the boys go after them, they just lie and wait for the girls to come at night, they get them easy... and take as many as they want.”* Citation 44

As the statement above suggests, courting in a free land means no rules of engagement, hence the young men have sex with as many *Kayayo* ladies as they wish. It seems that the use of condoms is not universal for the *Kayayo* as well as the men who sleep with them. This is deduced from the pregnancies and fatherless children that are a common sign among *Kayayo* returnees.

It is likely that any sexual diseases contracted by migrants are a result of unprotected sex. Besides sexually transmitted diseases, interviewees noted that other diseases such as small pox and tuberculosis were now more common in the study areas. Colonial day’s migration experience indicates that migrants from northern Ghana in southern Ghana faced a high risk of contracting pneumonia, small pox, silicosis or respiratory tuberculosis (Patterson 1981). The contraction of strange diseases by migrants is therefore a continuing trend which has affected the lives of some people and might continue to do so in the foreseeable future.

In accordance with the suppositions of the historical-structural perspective the diseases acquired by migrants and spread among non migrants could mean more devastation to the rural livelihood strategies in these study areas. Also, it is visible that health facilities are unavailable in Kpalung and Laligu. The hospital in Savelugu is also ill equipped to handle common diseases as malaria let alone more uncommon ones.

Return migration therefore means more health woes for the people as the disease migrants come along with may begin to spread among others. Migrants have long been known to be one of the main agents for the spread of diseases (WHO 1984). Prothero also indicates a similar situation in Nigeria stating that the in and out movement of migrants facilitated the spread of diseases such as cholera as was the case in (Prothero 1985). The contraction and spread of diseases by labour migrants in the study areas is likely to escalate as more people enter the labour migration stream.

The New ‘white Ladies’

Informants indicate that the use of beauty creams and lotions is a common thing among the *Kayayo*. The objective is to become fairer and more attractive to the opposite sex both at the destination and at home on return. This practice is, however, said to be uncommon with married women in the *kayayo*. The bleaching creams and lotions make their skin fair that a young migrant male described them as the ‘new white ladies’.

Some informants established that young men have a preference for fair women. To liken the description of one informant one may say that, it seems that a fair woman is like the proverbial beautiful woman who is said to be like an olive tree standing by the road side; every man sees her on his way up and down the road. One old lady cracked a joke that throw s light on this issue even though she laughed and insisted she was joking. She stated “....*my son, parents get more money from the salache [dowry] of a fair coloured woman.*” Not only do parents get a bigger dowry from their daughter’s husbands but also gain some pride and reputation in and around the neighbouring villages for their daughter getting married to a responsible man by virtue of a good dowry, as other informant brought to light. This, therefore, suggests that bleaching among the *Kayayo* not only make them more attractive to men but acts to attract more wealthy men as husbands who will bestow some reputation on them since it is fashionable to marry a wealthy man.

The first negative effect of the bleaching exercise is probably the itching of the skin when they fail to continue the use of the ‘efficacy’ due to the inability to afford. According to some informants, the young girls who do so get even darker than before and when the sun is very hot they can’t go out to harvest food crops comfortably. They work while scratching their backs, legs and faces and then they say ‘the insects are terrible today’. The *Kayayo* resent work in far away farms because they feel they would get darker and also because they thought they had gone pass working on the farm especially under harsh situations. Their inability to work comfortably under the sun implies less effort per ‘woman hours’ and this certainly represents a negative situation for harvesting and sowing activities and other agricultural activities. This has already been noted by other informants in the discussion on the economic impact of labour out-migration in chapter 4 and how it affects household labour and labour organisations including the *Kparibba*, *Ayugba* and household labour soliciting.

The bleaching habits of the *Kayayo* may not end with them but be passed down to the females colleagues in situ who may adopt it hoping for similar gains but may initially ignore the undesirable effects. If this happens, there will be great implications for the skin health of females with accompanying suffering and health cost to a people who are barely making ends meet from seemingly failing livelihood strategies.

The Children on the Backs of the *Kayayo*

Out of survival instincts, some nursing mothers embark on the 'journey' to sell their labour for cash. This situation was, however, easily visible to me when I walked through the strong hold of the *Kayayo* in Accra. Carrying babies along to *Kayayo* has negative implications for the children's health and overall development in to responsible adults. Poor breast feeding, physical stress as they lie on the back of a mother who hardly sits and carries heavy loads, exposure to the scorching sun, exposure to mosquito bites among other unpalatable things are all likely to affect the health of the child. Convulsions, cholera and malaria are common diseases that affect these children. Given the meagre incomes mothers earn, they are unable to seek medical attention and therefore turn to drug stores for drugs prescribed by themselves or the seller. This is the kind of situation some of the future brain of Savelugu, Laligu and Kpalung face. Missing the opportunity to grow up in a healthy and loving environment implies a higher risk of not attaining the requisite physical and mental capabilities needed to perform one's role in society and could also compromise one's ability to fend for himself or herself 'as the ground gets harder' (as life gets harder) as one informant would put it. In such a situation, there is a possibility of such children becoming dependents to the rest of the household and village rather than being one of its strong men to contribute on the ongoing efforts for survival and wealth accumulation. Having more dependents without a corresponding increase in some component of the household economy may imply a reducing strength and therefore less resilience to unforeseen perils. This way, the social implications of carrying children along to *kayayo* translates into economic perils to be faced by households and the entire villages.

Stimulants at Work

Some interviews indicated that some male migrants use stimulants to enhance their energy and endurance, a way to maximise the benefits of their *journey*. Accordingly, this practice is

common with rural-rural migrants as working on the farm demands a lot of energy. The drugs commonly referred to as *dadari* or *blue-blue* (valium) are orthodox medicines accessed from pharmacies without prescription from a doctor. These drugs are said to make people weaker as they get older. Comparatively, few informants mentioned this issue and also not much were said about it. This is probably because even some of those at home use the same drugs hence they did not want to share so much about something that they themselves fell victims which NGOs have been campaigning against. Referring to advocates of `cognitive dissonance reduction in psychology` who contend that most people subconsciously convince themselves that their actions and decisions were the right ones (Harmon-Jones and Mills 1999), we may find reason for this. The people probably feel that taking those drugs were right any way and knowing that outsiders will not agree with them due to a long history of campaign against drug abuse in the area makes them want to say less about it.

However, insights from the work of van der Geest (2005) in the Upper West Region of Ghana indicate that the use of stimulants could have devastating consequences for the health of the people. He found out that in some cases the drugs were said to have caused madness among migrants.

SUMMARY

The issues discussed above indicate both positive and negative social consequences of labour out-migration and how they are related or translated in to economic consequences in the study areas. Hence, labour out-migration provides both opportunities and constrains in the social and economic lives of the people of the study areas.

- That labour out-migration enables the people in the study areas to obtain resources to satisfy their social needs is an alternative means for some households as there is only one rain season (single maxima rainfall) and irrigation projects around them are not lucrative for various reasons including shortage of water (as water bodies do not last the entire dry season). Hence labour out-migration is essential for social reproduction. Others improve their social statuses by embarking on labour out-migration as an accumulation strategy.

- Labour out-migration causes human and social capitals for some households to diminish. Labour out-migration confers some amount of autonomy and individualistic behaviours in migrants that is also emulated by some of those at home who admire them, plus *short remittances* and the health issues that arise do not augur well for maintenance and improvement of human and social capitals which are inevitable threads of livelihood and advancement given the collective orientation manifested by the people.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

MAJOR FINDINGS

The study has investigated the economic and social consequences of labour out-migration in Savelugu, Laligu and Kpalung. The study was concerned with the consequences of the labour out-migration on agriculture, traditional art and craft and remittances in the economic realm while in the social arena, it investigated the influence of labour out-migration on social needs, social control, and the role of remittances and the health implications of the process. Specifically, the research set out to answer the following questions: a) *How does labour out-migration impact on the economic wellbeing of the people?* And, b) *How does labour out-migration impact on the social lives of the people?*

Land and Agricultural Production

To begin with, one of outcomes of the research is the finding that there is a positive relation between labour out-migration and access to productive land. Labour out-migration is seen as a means through which cultivable land is made available to the landless and people with insufficient land holdings. The access or increased access to fertile land by women in particular is said to boost food production.

Similarly, out-migration grants livestock owners access to more land for grazing. Though, this helps to improve fertility owing to droppings of livestock for some farmers, reduce tensions and quarrels between farmers and livestock owners, it is also viewed as facilitating further impoverishment in soils owing to over grazing by pasture seekers. Yet, some peasants do not see any merit or demerit in the extra grazing fields brought about as they are already impoverished and abandoned.

Labour and Agricultural Production

Labour out-migration does not only grant more land to the remaining population but also results to the shortage of labour in the study areas. Labour out-migration has been found to

have a reduction effect on the size and competence of agricultural labour. This is viewed in four perspectives.

- First, the reduction in the number of capable labourers in the household. This reduces household's ability to maintain normal farm size and farming systems. Their absence also increases wages of labour and makes it difficult or impossible to reach by some households. This compromises the ability of some households who partly depend on hired labour to maintain normal farm or to expand them.
- Second, the reduction in efficiency of social capital with respect to labour parties; the *Kparibba* and *Ayugba* systems, and family labour soliciting. The areas affected include land preparation, planting, weeding, harvesting and post harvest treatment of food stuff. It is mentioned that, despite the reception of remittances, the impact of the absence or late return of migrants is still ruinous to the sustainability and development of agriculture.
- Third, for some households, out-migration boosts agricultural labour requirements. The return of migrants at the beginning of the wet season to participate in farming plus their ability to afford paid labour and remittances sent by those who do not return is used to pay for agricultural services.
- Fourth, the consequence of absence of migrants whose family lands are already seriously impoverished is neither negative nor positive to agricultural production. Since working on the farm barely brings anything.

Traditional Art and Craft and Agriculture

Traditional art and craft which hitherto had probably been the second most important economic activity as it manufactures wares for agricultural and other purposes, is also influenced by labour out-migration. The lack of sufficient and competent labour owing to labour out-migration is the point of focus. Less labour to engage in traditional art and craft

implies less attention is given to the sector hence less production of artefacts and consequently, a growing loss of long cherished skills as well as lack of innovation. An indirect consequence of out-migration is the growing lack of interest of return migrants to re-engage in the art. Hence, the linkage between the art and agriculture has been compromised. In this vain, the decline of the traditional art and craft has been a major contributory factor to the declining crop and animal output.

Household Resource Insecurity

Not only does the labour out-migration raise eye brows among those at home due to the shortage of labour but the very initiation of the migration process. The process of labour out-migration is considered a means through which household resources especially food crops and animals are lost or siphoned away into the wild. This arises from the need for potential migrants to sell these items to raise capital for the *journey*. Female migrants are considered the most extravagant of household resources as they do not send enough remittances to cover for the initial loss. Male migrants on the other hand are often eulogized for considerably surpassing their cost of investment. Female migrants especially are also well acclaimed for siphoning household resources through what this research has termed *reverse remittances*. In this situation as opposed to remittances, resources are leaving the home to salvage a migrant in the destination. *Reverse remittance* is a household's nightmare. It causes severe loss to households through the sale of especially food stuffs and animals. Thus, it is reasonable to say that labour out-migration is for some households, a threat to resource security and development.

Remittances and Food Security

The study found that there is an important relation between out-migration and food security through remittances. Remittances are extremely important in contributing to household food security of the study areas. It is revealed that the farm output of some households is incapable of taking the members through the year without a reduction in the number or quantity and quality of meals eaten in a day in the lean season. Migrants send back food and money for food which assist some households in dealing with the peril of food insecurity. The absence of labour-migrants in the lean season also reduces pressure on food stocks of households.

Migrant Accumulations and Agricultural Production

The fulfilment of the purpose for migration is not only manifested through remittances but the accumulations of migrants. Female migrants are said to invest their accumulated wealth on personal and household wares (in preparation for marriage) which are economically unproductive. Some male migrants invest their wealth mainly in agriculture. Return migrants are in a good position to engage in agriculture by being able to afford the cost of labour, purchase fertilizers, handle the cost of transporting their food stuff home, avoid extortive money lenders and also acquire livestock. The presence of livestock and better still more of cattle confer upon the elderly economic and social status in the villages. Hence male labour migration can be said to be a major means to increase household's economic potential and power in lives of the people of the study areas. This way, the vulnerability of households to shocks is reduced.

The economic consequences of migration have been found to relate directly or indirectly to the social consequences of out-migration of in Savelugu, Laligu and Kpalung

Satisfying Basic Social Needs

Labour out-migration has some impact on the household's ability to acquire social needs. The process assists some people in the study areas to satisfy their social needs. These include housing, marriage and livestock. Migrants are said to be able to afford better and resilient housing using cement and zinc which do provide better protection in times of floods and torrential rains. Hence, the process of labour out-migration is for some households necessary for the development of appropriate shelter in a flood prone and torrential rainfall zone.

Labour out-migration also has the merit of acting as a vent for acquiring resources for the purpose of marriage. Some young men are able to pay the bride price for their wives and girls acquiring marriage wares rather than waiting for their fathers or aunts and mothers. On the other hand, labour out-migration is said to cause the shortage of girls for marriage and therefore increased the cost of the dowry. This comes as a result of the edge of demand over supply in the marriage market and the increased taste of girls for modern wares such as foreign designed cloth as a way to draw prestige. The high cost of marriage is said to have contributed to the situation where young migrants engage in stealing of especially scrap metal at the urban destinations in a bid to secure the amount required.

Social Disarticulation

Social disarticulation arises from two groups of issues. These are the changes in behavioural and economic status, and *short remittances* and *remittance failure*. By their acquisition of both material (wealth) and non material aspects (assimilation of behaviours) of urban destinations, return migrants undergo social change and are a great source of incongruent or disarticulated behaviours as opposed to cherished traditional ways of conduct and relationships. Consequently, social disorder in terms of behaviour and the break down of traditional control mechanisms ensues, manifested by the escalation of stealing, sexual promiscuity, new eating habits, and the disrespect for the elderly. For instance, some return migrants are more individualistic and do not fit well in to the local system of collective orientation which is primary for social capital building and maintenance and puts the elderly first in decision making. Labour out-migration is loosening the strings upon which the social relations of the people depend. The social set up is therefore undergoing severe changes with detrimental consequences both for the existence of cultural heritage such as music and dance and norms and the dependence of the people on social capital.

The second group of issues, *short remittances and remittance failure* also contribute to social disarticulation. These have contributed to the nuclearization of some households either by altering the set up of the relations within them or led to some people moving out to make a new home. The fragmentation of some households has led to reduced importance of claims, social networks among other indicators of social capital. This has affected the social and economic functioning of household units within the study areas as nearly all activities depend on many and varied hands. Closely related to the issue of break down of social capital is that of the health risk that labour migrants encounter.

Health

Labour migrants are exposed to variety of unknown diseases and unhealthy practises such as skin bleaching that puts them and the origin in a new health situation. Even though this research has no empirical data on this subject, it is no doubt that migrants have contributed to the spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS in the study areas. Informants indicated some migrants came home with strange diseases. Tuberculosis, especially, has affected the ability of

some farmers to continue the daily rhythm of their lives. Thus, such ailments affect the entire functioning of households and the area at large through human and social capitals functioning.

Following from the above illustrations and clustering of major findings, we can further draw four conclusions about the consequences of labour out-migration on the study areas:

- a. With labour out-migration survival is possible for some households in the event of failure or reduction in output of local livelihood strategies.*
- b. Labour out-migration has made it possible for some individuals and households to accumulate wealth beyond local strategies.*
- c. Labour out-migration for some households has a negative relation with the existence and growth of human and social capitals which are central to the survival and development of the people.*
- d. Not all the consequences of labour out-migration may be easily categorised as advantages or disadvantages for some households.*

THE THEORIES AND THE MAJOR FINDINGS

Employing the divergent positions of the two theories in accessing the consequences of labour out-migration, the research has brought forth many important issues. The findings indicate that both are relevant to the study of the consequences of labour out-migration in the study areas. They have provided invaluable insights to the possible consequences and as well sometimes helped to understand the realities found. Despite the relevance of the two theories, none of them is entirely apt in its assertions as labour out-migration has both potentials and constraints and yet not necessarily all the consequences may be classified as advantages or disadvantages. We can generally align the benefits of labour-migration to the propositions of the equilibrium model. On the other hand, we can align the demerits to the propositions of the historical-structural perspective. While labour out-migration is responsible for survival and the amassing of wealth, the negative consequences are also to be seen in reducing size, readiness and capabilities of human capital and consequently disintegration of social capital.

The diminution of human and social capitals is central to the consequences of labour out-migration in the study areas. Human and social capitals are fundamental components of endogenous development and are therefore, a major element in the future of rural communities (Woolcock 1998). Social capital is central to the formation of human capital (Coleman 1988). Hence, both concepts (human and social capitals) are interlinked and relevant to the livelihood and development of any rural area especially in the developing world where there is yet a high level of communal orientation to life.

Given the inevitable importance of human and social capitals in the livelihood and development of rural places, one is tempted to stipulate that the future consequences of labour out-migration for the study areas will be devastating since human and social capitals happen to be the fulcrum upon which rural lives swing. Informants gave the impression of a great reliance of household collective strategies and their reliance on relations within them and with other households and labour organisations such as the *Kparibba* and *Ayugba*. The imperativeness of social capital today is not only to be seen in the lives of the people but in the collective strategies of NGOs and rural banks in the area. An example of this is the encouragement of people to form groups or associations as part of a precondition to receive assistance from NGOs and rural banks. Thus, in the foreseeable future, the diminution of human and social capital could have even far reaching detrimental ramifications to the livelihoods and development of the study areas.

Despite the hegemonic position of the negative consequences in the research, the researcher acknowledges the importance of the positive aspects of labour out-migration. As already indicated, migration is a survival strategy for the poor and an accumulative strategy for some individuals and households. The interaction between migrants and people at the destination could also be considered as a source of national unity especially through cultural sharing and tolerance towards other aspects of culture that are not common.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Against the backcloth that migration has positive and negative consequences on the lives of the people, it is imperative to put measures in place to reduce or avert the undesirable

consequences and measures to salvage households ruptured by labour out-migration. The inclusion of people in planning; decision making and implementation processes, deliberately aimed at the improvement of the livelihoods and development of the people is imperative to give meaning to the lives of the remaining population and migrants who may decide to stay rather than go owing to such changes. It is also imperative that government considers developing options not only with the people but in concert with other stakeholders such as NGOs, bilateral and multilateral organisations that are or may be interested in the region's (Northern Region) development. The following are suggestions that development players could in concert consider.

- Agricultural improvement that is, fostering the development of endogenous knowledge and practices along with medium level technological knowledge, equipment and machinery, rather than agricultural transformation (that is, complete change in cropping and animal production strategies). This might be a good option to improve declining agricultural output that partly results from shortage of labour.
- Infrastructural development such as good roads to facilitate transportation of especially perishable foodstuff to the market, better equipped educational facilities and personnel to aid development of human capital especially in areas of agriculture.
- Enhancing a good rural terms of trade through subsidising agric inputs, providing storage facilities, preventing dumping from overseas of agricultural products among other measures to contain the production disincentive in rural places. This would help avoid or curtail some of the economic and social consequences of labour out-migration as peasants would hopefully make meaningful gains all things being equal such that labour out-migration ceases to be necessary due to poor farm output.
- Also, health education to be organised on market days using simulation and informal seminars for the people especially the youth could help reduce the health impact of labour out-migration.
- Migrants should be assisted in areas of destination to understand the new situations they find themselves and NGOs and other civil rights organisations should fight for the rights of migrants and protect the young girls against abuse such as rape and exploitation.

- The government needs to revisit the issue of northern development to reverse the North-South trend of migration which reduces the capacity to sustain the economy back home and maintain the environment.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

Given the above discussions, we can say that the consequences of labour out-migration are manifold, positive and negative and yet others can not be easily termed positive or negative. The study has also shown that different households may experience different or a mix of the consequences different from others. Hence households may have one label as peasant households, but may have different experiences when it comes to the consequences of labour out-migration. It is unclear whether labour out-migration can generate major economic and social development in the study areas. Rather, in the current situation labour out-migration is necessary for survival and modest livelihood improvement despite the problems that it brings to the study areas which has led to changes in the normality of peasant livelihoods in several ways especially the diminution of human and social capitals.

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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW DIALOUGE-GUIDE FOR NON MIGRANTS

1. Some people in this village (town) go down south in search of jobs. Do some people from this household also go? Yes, NO. If yes, what is your opinion about this? (Good, bad). Explain. If no, does the labour out-migration of members of other households affect this household?
2. Do you think that this household would have been better off without its members going to the south to search for jobs? Yes, NO. Explain?
3. As we know the bird knows its nest better than the hunter: are there other issues you would like to share concerning labour out-migration with me?

APENDIX 2

INTERVIEW DIALOGUE-GUIDE FOR MIGRANTS

1. Besides Accra, where else in the south have you migrated to?
2. Do you think your coming here is helpful enough? In what ways do you think your endeavour to come to the south and work benefits you and your household?
3. When we are home, we usually help our households to do their work. Do you think your absence costs your household any problems in terms of their ability to do some of the work?
4. Do you try to solve these problems? No, Yes. If yes, how?
5. Do you experience any problems with your household when you return? No, Yes. Explain? (Seasonal labour migrants).
6. Do you think return migrants in general pose any problems to their households? How?

If not well answered, proceed to question 7

7. When we travel, we sometimes learn new things. That is how life is. What do you think is the impression of those at home about labour migrants? Do you agree with them? Why?
8. So would you say it is better to go than to stay or otherwise?
9. As we know the bird knows its nest better than the hunter: are there other issues you would like to share concerning north-south labour out-migration with me?

APENDIX 3

INTERVIEW DIALOUGE-GUIDE FOR RETURN MIGRANTS

1. Which places in the south did you migrate to?
2. Do you think your endeavour to the south helped you and your household? How?
3. We all perform some roles in our households and also, when we travel, the other members in the household usually think about us. Do you consider your absence from home at that time as advantageous or disadvantageous to your household? Yes, No. Explain?
4. Were they able to do without you? How? (Did you assist in some way whiles absent?)
5. Did you pose any challenge to your household on return? Example, illness
6. Given the answers you have provided, would you say it was better for you to travel at that time or should you have stayed home?
7. As we know the bird knows its nest better than the hunter: are there other issues you would like to share concerning north-south labour out-migration with me?