

Master in Development Management

**The Saga of the Returnee: Exploring the Implications of Involuntary Return Migration,  
for Development. A Case Study of the Reintegration process for Ghanaian Migrant  
Workers from Libya.**



Source: *Laub* (2010). Associated Press

**By**

***Esi Akyere Mensah***

The master thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as such. The University however, this does not answer for the methods used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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## Abstract

*This thesis presents findings from a study that investigated the reintegration experiences of the returned Ghanaian migrants from Libya. The study, which was conducted in four communities employed qualitative methods to uncover the many complexities of involuntary return and its implications for development in southern countries; an under-researched area in the migration-return nexus.*

*The findings highlight the effect of the sudden loss of remittances on family expenditure, especially the education of children, and reveal the coping strategies adopted by returnees in the absence of formal reintegration assistance. Successful reintegration has not occurred for the majority of returnees who are being induced by unfavorable economic circumstances and the absence of reintegration assistance to re-emigrate. The absence of an explicit migration policy has led to the neglect of returnees and caused the nation to miss the potential benefits of return migration for development.*

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## Dedication

*I dedicate this work to my mother, Mrs. Mary Baaba Afedzi-Mensah, a returnee who laboured for my education and my father, Mr Kodwo Afedzi-Mensah who took care of three children in her absence.*

## Declaration by Candidate

I, Esi Akyere Mensah hereby declare that the thesis:

*The Saga of the Returnee: Exploring the Implications of Involuntary Return Migration for Development, a Case Study on the Reintegration process for Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya*

has not been submitted to any other Universities than University of Agder, Norway for any type of academic degree.

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Place

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Esi Akyere Mensah

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## Abbreviations

ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GFMD	Global Forum on Migration and Development
GMG	Global Migration Group
GNA	Ghana News Agency
NADMO	National Disaster Management Organisation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NYEP	National Youth Employment Program
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
SSA	Sub Sahara Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNCT	United Nations Country Team

# Chapter One: Introduction

## Background

The relationship between migration and development has been both debated and largely recognised by scholars and global organizations such as the United Nations and its agencies. For developing countries, successful migration has been hailed as a means of fostering human and economic development.

Ghana is one of the highest exporters of skilled migrants in Africa. While some have bemoaned this exodus calling it the “brain drain”, others have asserted that remittances from abroad are necessary for Ghana’s economy, emphasizing that remittances constitute the nation’s single highest source of income (Manuh 2005). In 2003, over \$2.5 billion was remitted which gave a boost to foreign exchange earnings (Manuh 2005:45). Further, the advantages of improved education, skills, experience and accumulated capital make migration and return a plus for development (Anarfi et al in Manuh 2005:204). Still, the consequences of migration still linger in many homes, which have been broken because one parent never returned or remarried at the destination and started a new family. Children have gotten school fees but lost the attention and care of their parents.

Most migrants leave home with specific objectives in mind and only plan to settle back home after achieving their objectives. These objectives could include getting capital for business, money for the education of children, building of houses etc. Whilst some return on their own volition, others may be forced to return due to a change in circumstances at the destination. The crises in Libya, which started in February 2011, christened as one of the eruptions of the ‘Arab Spring’ led to an exodus of as many as 7000 Ghanaian migrant workers back home (GNA 2011). As records will testify, the unprecedented number of returnees evacuated has raised many questions and concerns, which need to be addressed. One such concern borders on issues of reintegration as well as the possible implications of such an influx of migrants for development in a developing economy like Ghana.

Anarfi et al (2005) argue that return migration can either be an asset or liability, depending on the circumstances of return (in Manuh 2005:205). The circumstances in the case of the Ghanaian migrant workers from Libya raise concerns as to how their involuntary return can make them assets and not liabilities for their families and the nation. Coming home for most of these migrants has been a flight for survival, out of the fear for their lives. Most have returned without monies they earned or properties they bought and are therefore emotionally

and financially unprepared for the return. Never the less there is still the possibility that returnees' experiences and skills has long term socio-economic advantages which can be harnessed under the right conditions (Manuh 2005:205).

Clearly, this current and pressing development issue ought to be investigated. Policy makers need to be furnished with the right information in order to make well-informed decisions. Again, the bulk of empirical studies done on migration and development focus on voluntary return. Issues on involuntary return, is yet to receive such attention. Thus, there is a gap in the literature concerning the reintegration of involuntary return migrants which this research hopes to fill. The topic of this thesis therefore is:

**The Saga of the Returnee: Exploring the Implications of Involuntary Return Migration, for Development. A Case Study of the Reintegration Process for Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya.**

The study uses qualitative research strategy to find the answers to the research questions raised. The exploratory nature of this research and the desire to get in-depth information about the challenges of returnees from the migrants' own perspective influenced the choice of qualitative methods used.

### **1.1: Problem Statement**

*...much still remains to be understood about the complex and multilayered issue of return migration processes... [which] remains the great unwritten chapter in the history of migration (IOM 2012a).*

The literature on return migration and the few research works on return focuses on voluntary return and usually chronicle the impact of reintegration programs such as the Assisted Voluntary Return program (AVR) or pay to go schemes such as those run by the International Organisation for Migration, IOM. Involuntary return is a relatively new and under researched part of return migration. Available literature on involuntary return is also biased towards refugees and deportees.

According to IOM (2012a), returns in the past often occurred spontaneously, making it difficult to study and record them. It also seems that this lapse has been because of the perception of such cases as not, "...requiring the same level of monitoring as cases involving resettlement and integration" (IOM 2012a). Involuntary return is yet to receive the attention it needs from both policy makers and academia. As involuntary return is an under-researched

area, very little literature is available to the researcher. Policy makers and other stakeholders who have various roles to play in reintegration strategies also face a similar problem. For researchers, this presents a challenge in choosing the right methodology, for policy makers, this will mean that it will be difficult to formulate effective strategies for dealing with the reintegration of returnees on such a large scale as the case under study. Policy makers in Ghana face a challenge of reintegrating returnees, as there is yet to be any established precedent or standard in international policy or law from which strategies could be drawn.

Involuntary returnees have greater spatial mobility (Anarfi and Jagare 2005, Haour-Knipe and Davies 2008), as they are more likely to be physically, mentally and financially unprepared unlike those who consciously decide to return. Depending on the type of skills they have, returnees may face problems reconnecting with their home communities on a social, economic and professional level with such things as job placement and accommodation. This means that their challenges will have implications for successful reintegration by formal and informal actors. In view of all these, reintegration may be more difficult. To what extent are the returnees going to be stable at home? What conditions in the country will precipitate re-emigration? To what extent does their lack of preparedness affect their stay at home and what does that mean for reintegration strategies? These underlying issues form the foundation of this research. The study also seeks to find out what has helped some succeed and what has caused some to fail as migrants and as returnees. On a national level, the study will investigate the implications of involuntary return on social and economic development. It would also be interesting to see how existing social and economic policies in Ghana affect reintegration.

In addition to filling the gap in the literature concerning reintegration of involuntary migrants, this study aims to provide information for policy makers for the successful formulation of effective policies on migration, return and reintegration.

## **1.2: Research Objective**

The main objective is to find out the major difficulties returnees face in reintegrating into their societies of origin after being forced to return home and to assert the extent to which formal reintegration assistance makes the difference in terms of successful and unsuccessful reintegration.

## 1.3: Research Questions

### Pre Migration phase

1. What factors motivated them to migrate to Libya.
2. What skills, qualifications and jobs did they have prior to migration?

### Per Migration phase

3. What was the quality of life whilst in Libya as opposed to Ghana?
4. How often were they able to remit monies home and for what purpose were they remitting?

### Post Migration Phase

5. What has been the major challenges returnees face in reintegrating back into society and how have they overcome them?
6. What factors account for success or failure in the reintegration of migrants?
7. How will the return of migrants and the absence of remittances affect family standards of living?
8. How have returnees been assisted by formal organisations and how significant is the assistance in terms of sustainable return?
  - a. *What has been the role of formal and informal reintegration assistance in ensuring sustainable return?*

## 1.4: Study Area: Ghana

### 1.4.1: Geography

Ghana lies along the Gulf of Guinea and covers an area of 239,000 square kilometers with an estimated population of 23 million (UNECA 2010:19). The country is bordered to the west by Ivory Coast, to the east by Togo, and to the north by Burkina Faso. The country is divided into ten regions, six metropolitan areas, 40 municipalities and 124 districts (Opare et al 2008).

The southern coast of the country has a strong European link because of colonization evidenced in the language and culture of many coastal towns. The southern regions include the Western, Eastern, Central and Greater Accra regions. Accra is the regional capital of the Greater Accra region as well as the national capital and seat of government. The Western region is Ghana's mining zone and recently has become the nation's oil rich region. The

middle belt is made up of two regions, the Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions with Kumasi and Suyani as regional capitals respectively. Brong Ahafo region is the second largest region in Ghana in terms of land size, covering an area of 39,557 sq km (ModernGhana.com 2012a:1). The region shares boundaries with the Northern Region, the Ashanti and Western Regions to the south, the Volta Region to the east, the Eastern Region to the southeast and Ivory Coast to the west. (ModernGhana.com 2012a:1). Kumasi is the second largest city in Ghana. The region is important for agro forestry products. The three Northern regions: Upper East, Upper West and the Northern Regions have Sahel savanna vegetation and are home to distinct plants and animal species. Popular amongst them are the sheanut tree, dawadawa plant (African Locust Bean) and other medicinal plants. Animals such as the hippopotamus, the elephant, different species of monkeys and bush pigs are native species in different areas of the North.

Unfortunately, these regions have been the most underdeveloped area with a past of ethnic tensions. The regions also have the worst records of floods and droughts in the country and they remain Ghana's most vulnerable area in terms of natural disasters and underdevelopment (Bempah 2011:7-9). Although these three regions are picturesque in terms of landscape and diverse in terms of culture, the combination of climatic conditions and southward skewed development have left the region with net outward migration. The three regions collectively account for 3,634 out of the total 18,115 (20.1%) returnees evacuated between February and June 2011 (see appendix IV). This is not surprising as Bawku, the Upper east regional capital, is a major stopover for transport arrangements to Agadez [interviews A1, A23, A24]. Again, the Northern regions are relatively closer to Libya with respect to geography and culture. Much of the documented work on internal southward migration in Ghana also discusses the three Northern regions as the highest supplier of young men and women who now reside in the cities as head porters and truck pushers.

#### **1.4.2: Economy**

Ghana is a resource-endowed nation with cocoa, gold, timber, bauxite, and diamonds as major exports. The economy of Ghana used to be primarily agrarian with agriculture contributing to 34.7% of GDP and employing 56% of the labor force (IOM 2009:37). Statistics indicate that the services industry is picking up, contributing 41.6% of GDP in 2009 but employing only 29% of the labor force (Countries of the World 2011). Industry ranks third, contributing 24.7% and employing 15% of the labor force (Countries of the World 2011). Agricultural activities are based mainly in the rural communities. However, with the



increased migration of young people from these agricultural hubs, food production has not increased to match the growing needs of Ghana's 23 million people. Importation of food therefore has been a source of worry for policy makers. Food imports, combined with petroleum and equipment importation cost the country \$10.18 billion in 2010. Service-based industries like tourism have had greater appeal for the youth especially the "educated" whilst working the land has been looked down on as being work for the poor.

In the light of all these developments, remittances from abroad have increasingly become an important source of national income. In 2003, remittances constituted 13.4 % of GDP, far outstripping Official Development Assistance, which constituted 4% of GDP (Manuh 2005:126-128). It is interesting that 2.8% of all recorded remittances were received from Ghanaians living and working in African countries (Manuh 2005:126-128).

Similar to many developing economies Ghana has had a number of development issues, two areas which have been problematic with respect to the youth as been the education and employment sectors.

### **1.4.3: Education and Employment**

Governments' realisation of the shortcomings in the preparation of the youth for useful employment, rightly identified school curriculum as a major factor, which needed reform. Hence, a number of interventions were instituted. These included the Dzobos' Educational Reform of 1974, which emphasised vocational and technical training at the basic level; the Evans-Anfom reforms of 1987, which emphasised science and technology training, and the Anamuah-Mensah reform of 2007, which emphasised quality education and free basic education (Anum-Odoom 2010). The Dzobos' reform was to equip young people at that level with employable skills, hitherto lacking in the educational system. The result, a two tier educational system; the Junior secondary (now Junior High) and the Senior secondary (now Senior High) structures, which had an emphasis on vocational, commercial and technical training. Major reforms after the Dzobo reform all built upon this foundation.

These interventions have achieved varying degrees of success. However, they each have faced significant challenges, chiefly:

- a) The teachers were not equipped with the requisite knowledge to enable them teach pupils effectively. To put it succinctly, for lack of knowledge, my pupils perish. Teachers could not impart what they themselves did not know.

- b) Logistics needed; equipments, teaching and learning aids and other resources for hands-on practical work was absent in many schools. Students for instance studied carpentry without as much as touching a plank of wood.
- c) Motivation; teachers received inadequate compensation for their work. In some schools, learning conditions were poor; pupils studied under trees; children had to walk long distances before reaching school etc.

Another intervention on the employment front led to the creation of an institution to address the problem of unemployment. One of these interventions was the National Youth Employment Program (NYEP), established under the Ministry of Youth and Sports in 2006. Another has been the drafting of policies such as the National Youth Policy, published in the year 2010. This crucial policy among other things recognised that there are significant challenges to youth employment. Two of the listed challenges in the policy include:

- Access to quality education for the youth in the educational sector with attendant inadequate or inappropriate training for the job market.
- Unemployment and underemployment resulting from inadequate and inappropriate training for job the market.

As an interlinked effort between institution and policy, the mandate of the NYEP is to:

*...specifically tackle the youth employment problem in the country. Its goal is to empower the young people to contribute meaningfully to the socio-economic and sustainable development of the nation. Its principal objective is to support the youth to transit from a situation of unemployment to employment or to prepare school dropouts to continue their education (Government of Ghana 2012).*

After a few years of implementation, the efficiency of the NYEP has been called into question as unemployment among the youth continues to rise, evidenced by the many demonstrations of unemployed youth reported in the media. According to Appiah-Kubi (2011), 6.7 million Ghanaians mainly women and young people are without paid employment. The most affected age group of this unemployment situation are between 18 and 35 years. The inefficiencies of the program has led to deeper frustration of the youth who still find it difficult to get jobs after leaving school and thus have to look for other means of survival. For many, the options available are limited indeed, when one has to choose

between a life as a criminal and life as a migrant. Migration through regular or irregular channels thus becomes the best alternative.

#### **1.4.4: Southward Migration in Ghana**

Ghana has an active working population with 13.4% of the total work force being young men and women (UNECA 2010:20). Out of this, 8.5% are highly skilled and educated with 6% having no formal education with low skills (UNECA 2010:20). Similar to other developing regions, Ghana faces significant challenges of poverty and inequality evidenced by an ever-increasing gap between the rich and the poor. Formal Education has been used as a tool to bridge the gap and this is reflected in the above-mentioned percentages of the highly skilled and educated group. The reality on the ground as opposed to documented literature suggests that the uneducated and unskilled represent a much larger percentage of the active labor force. Urban areas such as Accra, Sekondi-Takoradi, and Cape Coast have greater access to quality education than those in the rural areas where electricity and water continue to be luxuries many cannot afford. According to the UNDP, the quality of education is affected by an 'urban bias in the distribution of qualified teachers, basic infrastructure such as classrooms and teaching materials' (UNDP 2010:7).

The desire of young people to break out of the vicious cycle of poverty therefore, accounts for the high level of rural-urban migration from rural areas to cities and from north to south. Most migrants from the north run to the cities to escape the unfavourable economic conditions and to chase better education and job opportunities. Unfortunately, the harsh reality of life in the cities causes some of them to end up doing menial jobs just to survive. The dream of further education usually dies for many of them. Most of the young girls become Kayayee\* and men turn to truck pushing and head porting.

As a result of the massive southward migration that began in the 1960s, almost every community in Ghana has a Zongo\* community where large populations of migrants from the three Northern regions usually settle. Due to a combination of factors such as inadequate funding for development planning, many Zongos have serious economic and environmental problems. The neglect of such communities by local government authorities has led to large populations living with very poor educational facilities, social amenities and almost nonexistent sewage systems.

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\*Zongo-corrupt Mande word for 'nsoko' meaning stranger see Wilks (1961). \*Kayayee- Local Ghanaian term for commercial head porter's .Ga origin

## **1.5: Study Area: Kumasi, Techiman, Agona Swedru and Sekondi-Takoradi in Focus**

The bulk of the interviews used in this thesis were conducted in migrant (Zongo) communities in Kumasi, Agona Swedru and Sekondi-Takoradi. Techiman in the Brong Ahafo region was the only area where respondents were not selected from Zongo communities. This section discusses these specific study areas.

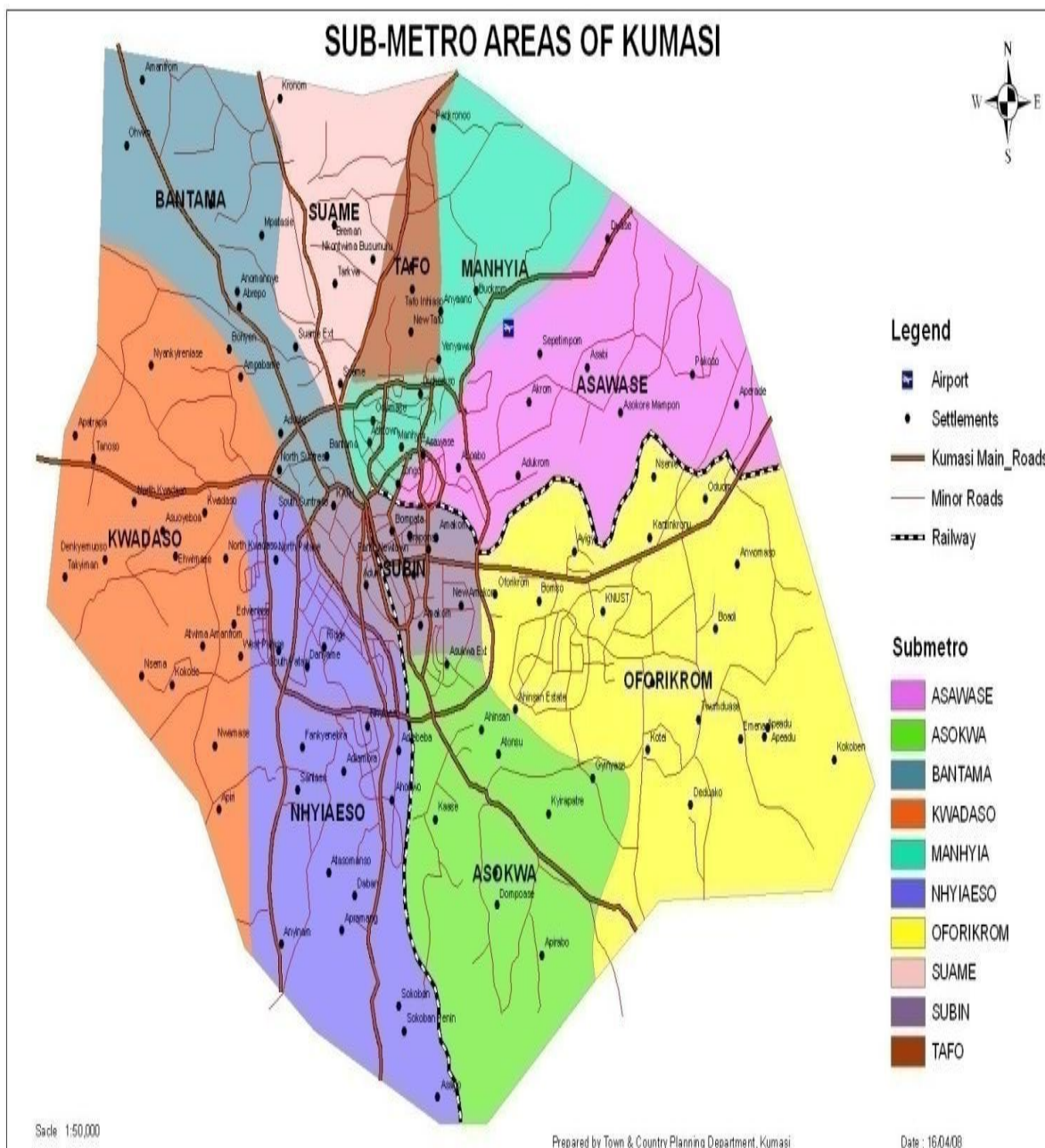
### **1.5.1 Kumasi: Old Tafo Zongo**

Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti region is the second largest metropolitan area in Ghana. With a population of about 1,915,179 in 2009, the area with a land size of 254 sq km accounts for 32.4% of the Ashanti regions' population (Ghanadistricts.com 2009). The 'garden city' as it is popularly known as, is an important trading centre with a strong cultural legacy as the capital of the Asante (also spelt Ashanti) kingdom. The region is home to many migrants from the three Northern regions who constitute 34.3% of the total population (Dakpallah 2011:42).

Tafo Zongo is located in Kumasi in the Ashanti Region and falls under the Tafo sub-metropolitan area. The area has two main suburbs, Tafo Zongo (Mile 3) and Old Tafo (Moshie Zongo) with populations 97,534 and 63,564 respectively as projected by the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly for the year 2011 (Ghanadistricts.com 2009). The area is predominantly Muslim and residents are usually migrants from various parts of the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions.

The study was conducted primarily in Old Tafo Zongo, in an area popularly referred to by residents as "45". The area is headed by a Zongo chief and his elders but his role is more ceremonial than administrative. There is a hospital close by in the main Tafo Township and the community have a Health Insurance officer available to them. The community has both Islamic (Makaranta) and government basic schools which the children attend free of charge. Most men in the area are businessmen or mechanics who work at Suame Magazine, an area known for vehicle repairs and sale of vehicle spare parts. There is a public toilet for use by both males and females. From observation, there seems to be a problem with waste and sewage disposal in the area. This could probably be attributed to the lack of attention of local government to the needs of the area. The community is a close knit one with residents having a strong sense of unity. As will be later shown in this thesis, this sense of togetherness has created a strong network of support for migration to Libya.

**Figure 1.0: Map of the Ashanti Region showing its Sub metropolitan areas**



Source: Town and Country Planning (2008) in Dakpallah (2011).

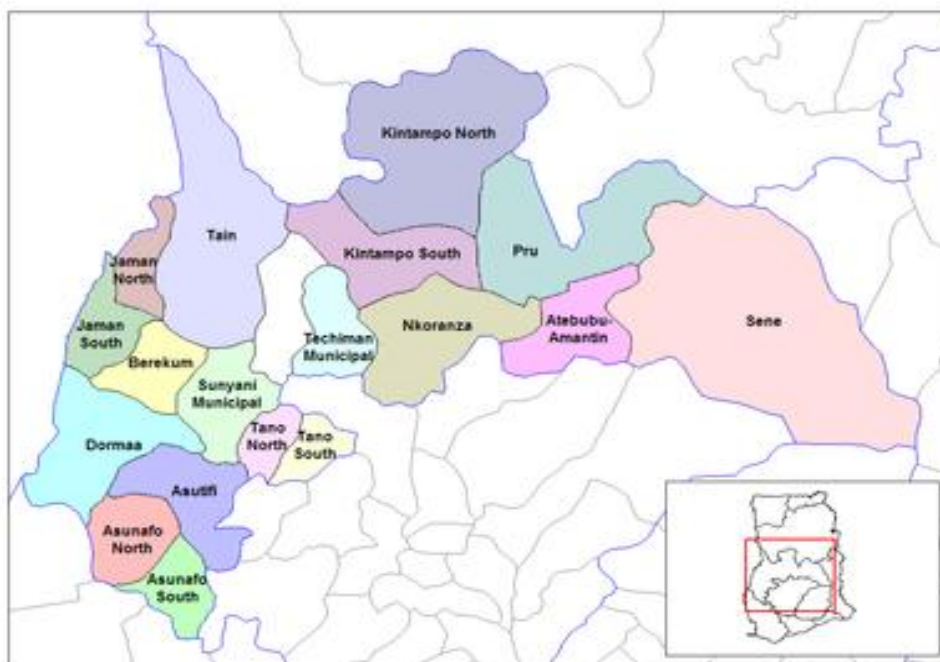
### 1.5.2: Brong Ahafo Region: a look at the Techiman Municipality

It is common knowledge that the Brong Ahafo region is the “Libya capital” of Ghana. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) field officer in an interview confirmed that the region, which has the highest recorded number of returnees, 9,388 (51% of returnees) has a history of out migration beginning as far back as the 1980s when Germany was the dream destination ( E2 interview 2012). The region lies in the forest belt and has been described as Ghana’s breadbasket because it is one of the nation’s major cocoa and timber producing areas

as well as a major grain, food and cash crop area. The region is divided into three main municipalities: Sunyani, Techiman and Berekum with 22 administrative districts (ModernGhana.com 2012a). Out of the 22 districts, nine stand out as major hubs for irregular migration. Districts such as Nkoranza South are said to provide transport of migrants to Bawku in the North en route to Agadez. (Manuh 2011:4) writes that the Nkoranza district, prior to the crisis in Libya was also notorious for providing false documents for migrants. So popular is the trip to Libya that drinking spots have names such as “Tripoli Inn” (Manuh 2011:4).

The Techiman municipality is located south of the Brong Ahafo region. The municipality has a large urban population (173,742 as at the year 2000) and occupies a land size of 1,119 square kilometers (Law 2008). Techiman is a historically important town in the history of the Fantis. Oral tradition indicates that this ethnic group originated from Techiman and migrated southwards to Mankessim and then spread out from there to Cape Coast, Elmina and its environs. The municipality has the largest foodstuff market in Ghana and serves as an important trading hub for yam, cassava, tomatoes, onions and other staples. Agriculture and agric related trading is the commonest profession. According to ModernGhana.com (2012a), the employment sector of this area is predominately private and informal. The agric-based commerce in the municipality has made it a home to many traders from all over West Africa.

**Figure 1.1: Map of the Brong Ahafo Region showing its Districts**



Source: Wikipedia (2006a).



### **1.5.3: The Central Region: a look at Agona Swedru**

Initially a part of the Western region, the Central region was created in 1970. It occupies an area of 9,826 square kilometers (4.1 % of Ghana's land area). The region is the second most densely populated in the country, with a population density of 162 persons per square kilometer (ModernGhana.com 2012b, Ghanadistricts.com 2007:2).

Out migration is a major problem in the region partly because of the absence of major industries in the region. ModernGhana.com (2012b) records that the region recorded a net out migration of 14.3% from 1984-2000. However, as result of the region's growing tourism industry, there is a trickling in of ECOWAS nationals into the service sectors. The Gomoa Awutu-Efutu-Senya and Agona districts have recorded proportions of ECOWAS nationals higher than the regional average (ModernGhana.com 2012b). The region is the country's educational center having the highest concentration of secondary schools as well as two out of the five public universities. Undoubtedly, teaching is a major occupation, second only to fishing and farming which are the main occupations of the indigenes of the region.

Agona Swedru is the district capital of Swedru and it is one of the busiest commercial towns in the Central region. The town boasts of a large concentration of private basic schools which supplements the public school system as a step in improving the District's high illiteracy rate (Agona West Municipal Assembly 2006 :4). The major occupation is farming which is done primarily by the aged on a subsistence basis (Agona West Municipal Assembly 2006a). As seen in the rest of the Central region, many young men especially migrate out because of the high rate of unemployment; over 3000,000 persons migrated in 2006 (Agona West Municipal Assembly 2006a). The causes of poverty have been attributed to the poor access to credit facilities for start-ups and the collapse of the districts' cocoa industry (Agona West Municipal Assembly 2006a).

The Zongo community in Agona Swedru has a high concentration of returnees perhaps the highest in the Central region. NADMO records indicate that only 1.6% (349 persons) of returnees are indigenes of this region; which is the lowest figure for the entire nation. Within the Zongo community however, travelling to Libya was common practice.

### **1.5.4: Western Region: a look at Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolis**

The Western Region covers 10% of Ghana's total land area, approximately 2,391 square kilometers and about 10% of the countrys' population (ModernGhana.com 2012c). The region lies within the forest zone of Ghana, and has the highest recorded rainfall figure of 1,600mm per annum (ModernGhana.com 2012c). In recent times, the discovery of large oil

fields has led to the re-christening of the region as Ghana's "oil city". The presence of these resources has made the region one of Ghana's most economically active regions.

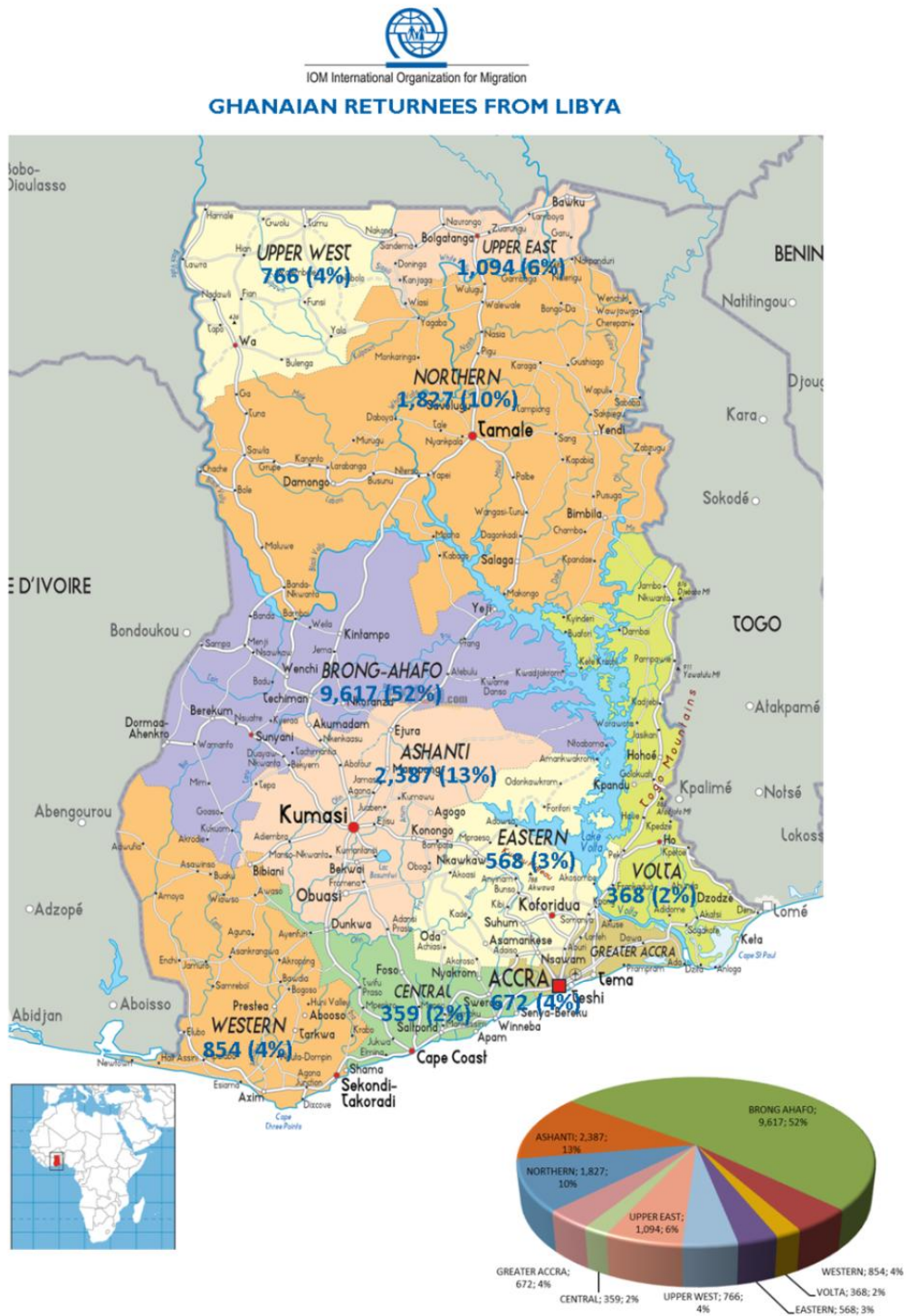
According to the Ghana Statistical Service, there has been a phenomenal increase in net immigration in the region which can be attributed to the increased economic activity due to more mining explorations in the region as well as growth of industries (ModernGhana.com 2012c). These developments have led to a movement of rural migrants to the urban areas, and the 'evolution of rural areas into urban centers' (ModernGhana.com 2012c). The region has also become home to scores of Ivorian nationals after the civil unrest in Ivory Coast in 2011.

Sekondi-Takoradi the capital of the Western region is the third most industrialized metropolis in the country (Sekondi-Takoradi Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry 2010). The twin city, as it is popularly known, is located in Shama-Ahanta East Metropolis, and has a population of 335,000 (Sekondi-Takoradi Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry 2010). The metropolis is an Export Processing Zone that boasts of a port, which is second only to Tema port in the Greater Accra region. In times past, many irregular migrants would stowaway to Europe on the ships that would dock there. One such story of a group of stowaways from Sekondi who met their deaths upon a French ship was made into an award-winning movie *Deadly Voyage* in 1996.

The developing oil industry has also brought in many expatriate workers from Europe, China and America. Sekondi-Takoradi is now a melting pot of both internal and international migrants. In view of the developments in the region, one would have thought that very few people would have migrated to Libya. Records from NADMO however indicate that 833, (4.6%) of all returnees came from the Western Region (appendix IV).



Figure 1.2 Map of Ghana Showing the number of Returnees by Region



Source: IOM (2011)

Slight variation in the figures used in this map and that given by NADMO in appendix IV. This may be because this map may have been drawn before the evacuations were completed.

## **1.5: Thesis Outline**

This thesis is in five chapters, each addressing a specific phase of research. Chapter One introduces the topic under study and sets the geographic location of the study areas. The chapter covers the research objectives and research questions on which the study is built as well as the methods used in the study. Chapter Two delves into written literature on the various themes in migration, return and reintegration. It outlines the theoretical framework for the study. It reviews peer-reviewed articles, journalistic reports and data on migration, which are relevant for this thesis. Chapter Three covers the methodology used in acquiring and analysing the data in detail and justifies the choice of methodology. Chapter Four presents and discusses the findings from the field and draws linkages with the reviewed literature in chapter two. Chapter Five concludes the thesis and sets out some recommendations concerning reintegrating involuntary return migrants successfully for development.

## **1.6: Methodology in Brief**

The research was carried out from November 2011 to March 2012 in identified communities in Ghana, which have appreciable populations of return migrants from Libya. A brief follow up was done in April 2012 in Tafo, one of the four study areas. The study employed a case study design and was dominated by qualitative sampling techniques. The main tool for data collection was qualitative semi-structured interviews. Secondary data from the National Disaster Management Organisation (NADMO) and the International Organisation Migration (IOM) were the main sources of documented data.

## Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

### Introduction

There are many theories on migration, return migration and development. To discuss all the varied theories is a herculean task that cannot be completed in this section. This section therefore discusses some of the main theories that have a bearing on the topic under study. It begins with a brief historical background to migration studies and discusses some relevant and contemporary themes and theories in migration, return and reintegration. The study of human migratory patterns began as a physical science. A look at the history of the studies of migration shows how this interesting beginning evolved into a whole body of knowledge in its own right.

### 2.0: Migration as a Physical Science

The study of man's movement can be traced to the 19th century when Ravenstein published in 1885; *the Laws of Migration* that asserted that the major causes of migration were economic (Arango 2000:284, De Haas 2008). However, Ravenstein (1885) and others after him such as Thornthwaite (1934) used scientific thinking and terminologies to study and explain migration: gravitation fields, migration fields, migration currents and gradients, likening the phenomenon to the flow of electricity or water (in Tobler 1995). It is interesting that scientific laws such as Ohms law found application in the early studies of migration, much to the chagrin of sociologists and political scientists of the time who would argue in later years that there was more to the phenomenon than scientific calculation. They stressed that there was a more human and social aspect to it.

Based on the foundation laid by the physical scientists in the 1800s, scholars' analysis of migration began to be focused on labour migration from low income, densely populated areas to high income, sparsely populated areas. Migrants were said to be employed into the labor markets and migration movements were thought to achieve a "spatial-economic equilibrium" (Castles & Miller 2003:22). This has been the underlying assumption of many migration theories such as the popular push-pull theories, which are later discussed in this section. Migration then was studied without any direct linkages to development though it was thought to have a positive impact on economic growth. Using empirical evidence and research, experts argued that population loss through migration had negative implications for the "economic vitality" of any state (Kearney 1986). Close to the end of the 19th century, the implied implications of migration on development began to emerge.

## **2.1: The 20th- 21st Centuries: Migration as combined Social Science**

Migration in the late twentieth century was characterized by inflows into the informal sectors of the economy rather than into labor markets as postulated by the Todaro and Harris school (Kearney 1986:349). The 20th century saw a boom in the study of the phenomena, which generated many theories. To Massey et al (1993:432), contemporary migration processes could not be understood by using tools from one discipline alone as pertained in the 19th century models. Rather, a multidisciplinary approach, which encompasses a variety of perspectives, level and assumptions, was needed. True to this, migration theories of today in addition to geography make use of concepts from economics (rational choice, utility) to sociology.

One theory, which is based on economics, is the dual market theory whose main tenets are the “pull and push factors” and the “demand and supply” thesis of migration (Jennissen 2007, Moraskwa 2007:3). The theory argues that pull factors (higher wages) in more developed countries are affected by low demand for labor and push factors (low wages poverty, unemployment) in developing countries. Thus, migration from less developed countries into more developed countries is a result of a pull created by a need for labor in the developed countries in their secondary market. The demand is also intensified by the fact that natives of a society shun such low skilled jobs (Jennissen 2007).

Proponents argue that it is the demand for unskilled and dispensable migrant labor in secondary sectors of northern countries, which pulls immigrants from the global south. These sought after jobs usually have poor working conditions which natives are unwilling to accept. However, these same conditions in the mind of the migrant are comparatively better than home conditions and so migrants would still seek such jobs even at the peril of their lives. As shown by articles in the global media, many immigrants come to North America and Europe in order to make a better life for themselves and their families back home. As shown in the article below, chasing such dreams is never easy.

### **"Made in the USA"**

Although "Made in the USA" labels suggest that merchandise has been produced under U.S. standards and laws, these labels are often deceptive. The workers who make the products often labor under horrible conditions in U.S. territories. Saipan is part of the U.S. Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands. Women are often lured to Saipan by recruiters who promise great opportunities in the U.S. (Jansen, 2000). However, what they find are labor camps with horrible working conditions including physical abuse, debt bondage, sexual harassment, and so forth. Most of the women who are "imported" to work in the sweatshops in Saipan and other U.S. territories are from Asia, and many of the factories, themselves, are Asian-owned (20/20 special investigation, 2000). The women work under a controlled system of fear and domination. If they are fired for any reason, they are sent back to their homelands and are forced to pay heavy debts to the government officials who gave them the jobs (Collier, 1999).

Extract from *Women and Sweatshops Women and Global Human rights*

## **2.2: Who Is A Migrant?**

Migration is a huge phenomenon that has been occurring for years. The parameters of who a migrant is are clear from the literature. It is important to have an appreciation of migrants as unique individuals in order to properly study and understand the dynamics of migration. This however is not an easy task, as each individual is unique. It can be difficult to categorize migrants as a result. Despite the difficulty in categorizing migrants, there are several accepted definitions of who a migrant is.

A migrant according to the United Nations 1998 recommendation, is "any person who changes his or her country of usual residence" (GMG 2010:10). This definition is a broad one that gives qualifies different scenarios as migration. However, to understand the processes involved in migration, it is important to accept and study migrants not as homogenous entity but as different social groups (*women, children, elderly, disabled, youth, etc.*), who come

from diverse circumstances (*e.g., forced vs. voluntary migrants, regular vs. irregular migrants*) and have different needs and aspirations (GMG 2010:5).

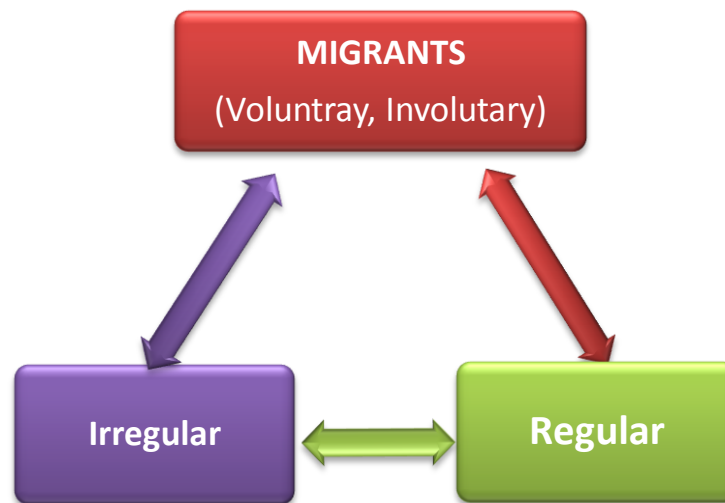
### **2.2.2: Regular Migrants and Irregular Migrants**

Regular migrants are those migrants who enter lawfully, legally with the proper documentation. Such migrants may have come through recruitment of corporate firms and companies, or due to having a relation at the destination.

Irregular migrants' may be illegal and undocumented migrants who generally do not comply with some aspect of immigration law such as rules of entry and stay. This could mean they crossed borders without proper legal permission, or violated conditions for entry (Jordan & Düvell 2002: 15 in De Haas 2007: 4). Some authors may describe them as strictly illegal but many argue that they are not criminals as the term illegal may imply but they may commit "administrative, rather than criminal, offences" (Migrants Rights Network 2009: 3- 4). Such migrants may use forged documents or lie about the reasons for entering the country (Migrants Rights Network 2009: 3- 4). Such a description according to De Haas (2007:4) may also not reflect their true experiences as migrants. Irregular migrants have been difficult to profile and it is important to pay close attention to their circumstances and reasons for which they have become so. In practice, regular migrants tend to be more recognized and protected than irregular migrants because of their status.

There is not always a clear-cut difference between regular and irregular migrations. Authors such as Allasino et al (2004) and De Haas (2007b) who have written about the strong mutually enforcing relationship and somewhat overlapping boundaries between irregular and regular migrants have proved this statement. De Haas (2007b:3) for instance indicates that through the functioning of social migrant networks, regular migrants can aid other migrants to enter a country illegally; migrants may enter through irregular channels and later get the proper documentation to become legal and regular. It should also be noted that those who may have entered lawfully might overstay their permit and become irregular (Allasino et al 2004).

**Figure 2.0: The Cyclical Nature of Irregular, Regular Voluntary and Involuntary Migration**



**Source: Author's Own Construct based on literature review**

### **2.3: Return Migration: A Comparative Analysis of Voluntary Return Migration and Involuntary (Forced) Return Migration**

The reasons why people migrate, and the reasons why they return back home affect their reintegration. This, according to Van Houte and De Konning (2008:3) places constraints upon returnees. The dynamics of return whether voluntary or involuntary have different implications for returnees and the communities to which they return. Returnees who come back because of favorable conditions usually have planned for it. Black et al (2003) assert that such returnees are assets because of their ability to create businesses and contribute expertise for the development of their communities.

Return migration in some academic quarters is thought to be voluntary by definition. The National Geographic Guide on Human Migration defines return migration as “The voluntary movements of immigrants back to their place of origin” (2005:3). This is true; immigrants may choose to return home because of savings accrued, or capital investments made or because they wish to enjoy their retirement back home. Such voluntary return “usually benefits the migrant’s own development in both economic and social dimensions” (GMG 2010:12).



An investigation of the relationship between migration and credit market rationing showed that return migration might be one way to overcome capital constraints faced in the country of origin. People migrate in order to get starting capital for a business venture or even to further their education or that of their dependants. For many migrants coming from south of the Sahara, weak currencies of their native homelands makes the prospects of working in a stronger currency market look and sound appealing. Migrants see travelling to such countries as offering the advantage of providing more money for equal or even less volume of work. In line with this analogy, Dustmann (2003) argues that the high purchasing power of the host country currency in the migrant's home economy, higher returns to human capital accumulated in the host country, may compel migrants to return home voluntarily as conditions are favorable to them. Dustmann and Kirchkamp (2002) also illustrate that a higher rate of return on self-employment activities in the home country may trigger a return migration (in Dustman 2003). Under all these conditions migrants make the decision to return willingly after careful planning and not under any duress.

Conditions for involuntary return could not be more different. At the destination, certain unfavorable conditions can compel a return home without prior preparation. Such unfavorable conditions in the host country, which makes life unbearable and risky, could be war, conflict, crackdown on illegal immigrants that leads to deportations. Return in such cases is unplanned. Conflict at the destination for instance is more of an escape for safety than a planned trip home. Thus while voluntary migrants make a conscious effort to return home, such a decision would not have been taken if circumstances had not changed in the host country for involuntary returnees. For migrants caught in a conflict situation, there is no other option either than to migrate elsewhere, to return home or to another destination.

For returnees who are forced by circumstances to return, going back home is not a choice and so the desire to once again migrate elsewhere is high. The literature indicates that such returnees "cannot be expected to remain where they did not want to be in the first place" (De Haas 2005, Anarfi and Jagare 2005). Although involuntary returnees according to the literature usually have a greater spatial mobility (Anarfi and Jagare 2005, Haour-Knipe and Davies 2008), it is plausible to think that the degree of trauma or hardship that compelled them to return influences this desire to migrate again.

Traditionally, war and deportation have been the primal factors associated with involuntary return. Hence, in the literature, refugees or asylum seekers who have been obliged to return home have often been considered as the only category of forced return migrants (Chu et al



2008:2). Reinforcing this, Dimitrijevic et al. (2004:29) assert that return is only voluntary “when after reviewing all available information about the conditions in their country of origin, refugees decide freely to return home...decision to repatriate is based on a free and informed choice”. As stated earlier, the definition here talks about refugees, however even with this definition, the decision to return is out of free will. It may be because there have been improvement in their home community and the push factors have been reduced or removed entirely. Chu et al (2008:2) write that forced return implies physical coercion. They define forced return as “the return of persons who have not granted their consent, and who may be subject to the use of force in connection with their departure”. This definition covers an important aspect of involuntary return by looking at the nature of departure. This connotes deportation of migrants and not evacuations of migrants as a result of conflict as the case under study is.

This essay uses the term *involuntary return* to describe the peculiar case of Ghanaian migrant workers from Libya who were compelled to return home because of the political unrest there. In this research, migrant workers and not necessarily refugees who have been compelled by unfavorable conditions to return to their home countries are considered involuntary return migrants. This is because the process of “reviewing all available information about the conditions in their country of origin” does not occur but an escape back home” becomes necessary for survival (Dimitrijevic et al. 2004:29). Therefore, the bottom line indicator of successful reintegration in a case like this would be whether returnees decided to stay and make a living in their home communities

### **2.3: Rational Decision Making in Migration**

The reasons why people choose to migrate and now return have been two interesting points of study. Beginning in the early 19th century, it was noted that many people from the countryside would move to the city to make a name and a living for themselves. Rational decision-making theories were propounded from the time the rural- urban migration began to be studied in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In developing countries, the paradox of persistent poverty and inequality despite increase in Gross National Product (GNP) led to the thesis that urban unemployment will continue to increase despite the provision of employment opportunities. This was due to the influx of migrants from rural areas into urban areas because of perceived employment opportunities and higher wages. This model, the Harris-Todaro model (HT) argued, “...that, in certain

parametric ranges, an increase in urban employment may actually result in higher levels of urban unemployment and even reduced national product (the Todaro Paradox)” (Ben Jelili 1996:2-4). The model also touched on the probable reasons why migrants would move to the urban area citing perceived probability of finding a job as an important determinant in migrant decision-making. The essence of migration as an economic issue gained prominence with this model as rural urban-migration was thought to be because of the differences in employment earnings. Studies at this time, especially those using the HT model began to recognize migration as a development issue. Ben Jelili (1996:2) writes that rural-urban migration in developing countries began to be viewed as “a symptom of and a contributing factor to underdevelopment”. From the 1960s, when these paradoxes began to be studied till date. Rural-urban migration continues to present significant challenges for many developing countries although for some countries it has provided the needed labor for rapid industrialization.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the study for rural -urban migration still presents more paradoxes. Academics and professionals alike have tried to explain the pull of urban areas despite the high living costs and poor accommodation and sanitation. The growing number of migrants from rural areas settling in slums in the big cities is a concern for both environments and economists. Like the paradox of people migrating to slums and migrants choosing to work in deplorable conditions as discussed in the segmented labor market theory and illustrated with the article on sweatshops in the previous section, the decision making process of migrants has attracted a lot of attention in the literature. In the light of the challenges migrants face at their destinations it will be interesting to investigate what motivates migrants to subject themselves to such conditions and which persons have a say in migrant decision making.

## **2.4: Migrant Decision Making In Southern Contexts: The Role of and Implications for the Family**

The decision to migrate has been of great interest for migration scholars for many years and for good reason too. This is because the reasons why people migrate and how they come about such decisions affects the migration- return process. For southern countries, the economic and political motivations for migration are well studied. Economic hardships, conflict and political tensions have been traditional causes of migration. The need to understand the socio-cultural factors that affect migrant decision-making has gained prominence among sociologists of migration studies.

The family has been studied extensively and evidence from the literature indicates that family welfare serves as one major motivation for migration. In migration, remittances and return, the family plays a pivotal role in where migrants go, and what they do with their money. Migration scholars are increasingly beginning to appreciate how migration decisions are taken collectively.

Relationships and networks are critical in both migration and return. For many, the economic difficulties faced by the family become the motive for parents or children especially the male child to migrate. Income-seeking migration of one or several family members is used as an element of the household's risk diversification strategy (Jennissen 2007). Several considerations affect these decisions regarding migration: "the family's life-stage and the number and needs of underage children, age, health, and skills of individual family members, family plans (necessities and extras), and gendered employment requirements at home and opportunities abroad" (Jennissen 2007). In the south, the family normally includes the extended family. This means that unlike other cultures where migrants are the breadwinners for two to five people, migrants from the south can have many more dependants (about eight times more). This can put enormous pressure on migrants to succeed and send money home or bring them over to the destination. This also means that migrants from the south are more liable to overworking themselves or using unsafe channels to get to their destination. Thus more migrants maybe irregular in the global south than elsewhere.

The family factor is one of the considerations of the new economics of labor migration theory. The theory considers social entities such as households as incentives for migration and not just individuals. Migration is thus a means through which families protect themselves from poverty and the consequences and deprivation that comes with it. The needed extra capital is raised through remittances of family members abroad.

Admittedly, family support of migration does not necessarily translate into advantages and benefits. The impacts of absentee parenting have been shown to have negative effects on children. However, GMG (2010:12) argues that when migration is voluntarily chosen the net effect tends to be positive.

Linking individual households with their local environment, the new economics of labor migration theory assumes that families of migrants look to upgrading or changing their status quo in their communities. Thus having a family member abroad gives some prestige and respect to the family name (Morawask 2007:5-6). This last consideration implies that for communities where migration is the norm, families can put pressure on individuals to travel.

Even in cases where family members may not actively voice such desires, the circumstances individuals find themselves may be pressure enough to cause the individual to agree or to decide to migrate.

Along this line of argument, it is possible that entire communities can become a community, which survives on the migration of its young people. Similar to what occurs in rural-urban migration where whole communities are left with the aged and very young, it is plausible that international migration can become the main occupation of entire communities. Migrants expect benefits for themselves and their families and in communities where migration is a mainstay, the literature suggests that the cycle is perpetuated by all the above mentioned factors in addition to the fact that the reality of the destination may not be too far from the expectation of migrants. Even when the experiences at the destination is not as rosy as was expected, its reality is not too farfetched to be undesirable (GMG 2010:13). Hence, the choice of migration becomes no more than a job option; migration becomes a lifestyle, the rule and not the exception.

## **2.5: Migration for Development.**

*Evidence suggests migration can be a powerful driver of development for both migrants and their households. The development impacts of migration at a community or national level tend to be more tangible, both at origin and destination, when migration flows concern a large share of a community's or a country's population (GMG 2010: 12).*

Migration and development according to De Haas (2008) is anything but a new topic. There has always been a link between migration and development although it was not as recognized as it is today. Ravenstein, the father of migration studies saw migration as an “inseparable part of development” (De Haas 2008). This was because the economics background of migration suggested that people moved from less developed areas to more developed ones. In line with this, the “rural-urban” migration theory became a dominant issue in migration studies. Lewis (1954) explains that rural urban migration occurs when surplus labor in rural areas becomes the workforce for the urban industrial economy. This neo-classical migration theory was entrenched in “developmentalist” modernization theory, which interpreted development as a “linear, universal process consisting of successive stages” (Rostow 1960 in De Haas 2008). Although this view of development has changed with the recognition that development means more than just increase in material wealth and capital or rapid

industrialization as was seen in Europe in the 1800s, the rural-urban thesis is still a dominant one. This notion has evolved along with the changes in the definitions of development.

De Haas (2007b:2) asserts that the argument that war and extreme poverty in Western African countries are the drivers of migration is empirically flawed. He postulates that “the relation between migration and development is neither linear nor inversely proportional” and bases his argument on the examples of high migration flows in the Philippines, Mexico, Turkey and Morocco which are not among the Least Developed Countries (LDC) but have very high emigration figures. According to his analysis, high emigration is a compliment of development, which reduces after a threshold has been reached. After that threshold has been reached, the state then becomes a net immigration state (De Haas 2007b:49). Martin & Taylor (1996) have described this relationship in their work, referring to it as the ‘migration hump’.

### **2.5.1: Migration, a Problem or a Solution?**

As far back as 1986, Kearny wrote in his paper *From the Invisible Hand to Visible Feet: Anthropological Studies of Migration and Development* “that migration is part of the problem of underdevelopment rather than a solution to it” (Kearny 1986: 336). Twenty –six years on, this statement is still debated among migration scholars. This statement has been accepted and refuted at different points in time as there have been periods of optimism and pessimism concerning the role of migration in development and underdevelopment (De Haas 2008).

The literature is indicative of different views on migration and development along the years. Until 1973, this relationship was favorably viewed as knowledge and capital transfer would help developing countries achieve development (De Haas 2008:8). This era of optimism prevailed in both academia and policy for many decades. For host countries, migrants were an asset to development as they worked in dangerous and menial sectors of the economy that citizens increasingly refused to do.

The period 1973 to the 1990 was a period of pessimism and growing skepticism for the migration-development relationship (De Haas 2007: 8, Massey et al 1998:260). Migration was not viewed as offering any major advantages for development, there were concerns of the “brain drain” and migration was but a sign of underdevelopment in originating countries (De Haas 2007: 8, Black et al 2011). Receiving countries tried to find policy solutions to this problem, from tighter border controls to addressing “the root causes of migration – usually defined as poverty and violence in origin countries (Kearney 1986:332).

Migration was therefore recognized as a symptom of a much bigger problem, poverty. However, is there not there a possibility that this symptom can also form a part of the

solution? Some authors seem to think so. Research has shown how migrants return home with capital, skills and technology, which are needed ingredients in reducing the poverty gap between the rich and the poor. Countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, and Ivory Coast are reported to be benefiting from the “brain gain” especially in terms of technology. The brain gain and remittance argument favor migration as a solution to the problem of poverty and underdevelopment. These arguments are supported by empirical data to varying degrees but need to be explored in order to make conclusive statements.

Currently, the migration-development nexus can be said to be in a pessimistic phase for receiving countries especially in the face of globalization (De Haas 2007: 8). For host countries, influx of migrant labor has become an issue for concern and thus immigration policies became more stringent. Even in the academic circles of developed countries, migration is viewed as harmful and dysfunctional— something to be stopped (Castles 2008:2). Receiving countries in Europe and America have tried to stem the exodus of foreigners into their country. A popular solution to the migration problem in America and EU which is recommended by the IOM has been *pay-to go* migration schemes where migrants are given technical and financial assistance to go home and start new lives (Black, Coyller and Somerville 2011:1).

There are also clear indications that even within the African continent; migration can become a big problem for receiving states. Destination regions like Morocco, Algeria, Egypt and Libya have employed strict border controls as a solution to the influx of sub Saharan migrants seeking to enter the European Union through their countries.

The desire to stem the tide of immigration is also re-enforced by the local populations’ anger about the perceived loss of jobs, housing and benefits to immigrants. The upsurge in xenophobic attacks on Zimbabwean migrant workers in South Africa in 2008 showed how local populations can feel threatened by migrant workers and how violent their reaction to migrants can get (BBC online 2008). In North Africa, violent clashes between African workers and their Arab hosts have normally gone unreported or under stated. Unfortunately, such attacks on migrants have been occurring more regularly than authorities are willing to admit according to De Haas (2007b).

Sending countries have also become concerned with the exodus of trained labor which was becoming more expensive for developing states especially when it comes to the loss of highly skilled labor. Governments in developing countries such as Ghana have begun to recognize the devastating effects of the brain drain on economic and human development. The loss of health professionals in Ghana led to stringent policies in order to stem the exodus.

In 2008, government announced a penalty fine system for health professionals who seek to travel abroad (BBC Online 2008). Health professionals have to pay \$11,000 should they opt to travel to seek work abroad, after they have been trained in Ghana.

Although some authors argue that migration is a solution to the problem of lack of capital for business, the problems of access to education, skills and technology, studies show that migration has presented other social problems for sending countries. Out migration has changed the traditional life systems in originating countries. Parents have left children in the care of relatives; grandparents or aunties, uncles who may not cater for them, as they ought. Marriages have been broken; long distance parenting has challenged the roles of the sexes with migration becoming increasingly more feminized. Migration is therefore changing social structure, which may have long-term consequences for social and economic development. But, is that necessarily a bad thing? The literature is not settled on this, as there is also evidence that remittances from migrant parents when used properly ensure better education for children, good nutrition and better standards for family members (Manuh et al 2006). The effect on children and family systems cannot be quantified and its long-term consequences are relatively unknown and under researched. Only in-depth research can confirm which argument is more valid.

Nevertheless, the current tide seems to have started to shift with new arguments of the potential role of remittances in fostering development especially in developing countries. This debate has grown alongside the brain drain issue. It is becoming clear that current views on migrants' role in development are becoming more optimistic. One can also say that changing times and changes in our global village have added their own complications to the debate. One such complication has been the economic recession that began in the United States and Europe. The remittances debate however continues unabated and the next section presents some reasons why this is so.

### **2.5.2: The Remittances versus Aid Debate**

In contemporary times, there has been a surge in research on migration and development with the issue of remittances leading the way. New concepts such as the "Brain Gain" are renewing optimism in what has been described as the migration development nexus. Since 2000, there has been a remarkable, and rather sudden, renaissance of optimistic views, in particular in the policy debate, as well as a boom in empirical work on migration and development. This has coincided with the rediscovery of remittances as a "bottom up" source of development finance and the celebration of the transnational engagement of migrants with

the development of their origin societies (De Haas 2008). Thus most contemporary approaches to migration have been based on remittances.

Currently, authors agree that there is more optimism than ever due to the increasing contribution of remittances to economic development. In developing economies, remittances have become a crucial source of foreign exchange. Remittances to the global south rose from \$31.1 billion in 1990 to \$76.8 billion in 2000 and \$167.0 billion in 2005. (Kapur 2003 in De Haas 2008:1). The Ghanaian economy for instance in 2003, saw remittances constituting 13.4 % of GDP, far outstripping Official Development Assistance which constituted 4% of GDP (Manuh 2005: 126-128). Remittances are said to have a broader effect on the economies of receiving countries and so far is challenging the effectiveness of development aid. There are also indications that remittances are a more effective instrument for “income redistribution, poverty reduction and economic growth than large, bureaucratic development programmes ... Immigrants, rather than governments, are becoming the biggest provider of foreign aid” (Kapur 2003 in De Haas 2008:1, 49).

Evidence from the literature on remittance-based economy for development in the southern countries however, has cautious overtones. Noted migration researcher and author, De Haas cautions against the ‘one-sided focus on remittances and their direct economic benefits’ (2007a:1). He argues that proponents of the argument have not paid sufficient attention to the non-monetary aspects such as; health, education and social structures nor the non-remittance-related impacts of migration such as the cultural and social change in origin societies. The point raised by De Haas (2007a) is in line with the question of significance; how significant remittances are to GDP and most importantly to reducing poverty and inequality?

The World Bank (2011) seems to agree that remittance contribution is significant to developing states of the South. In an article the world body points out that the “poverty-reduction impacts of remittances is much larger if measured only for recipient households rather than for the population as a whole”. Indeed empirical evidence from Ghana, Cote d’Ivoire and the Philippines, indicate that remittances lead to increased investments in human (education, health) and physical capital. Remittances also enhance human capital accumulation, giving opportunities for education of children, and reduction of child labor. In addition, it provides the impetus for opening business and becoming self employed (World Bank 2011). In the case of remittances from Libya, it is reported that outflows from pre-crisis Libya to African countries totaled nearly USD 1 billion in 2010 (World Bank, 2011b in IOM 2012:17).



On the other hand, there are still concerns as to the sustainability of remittance-based economies. Will remittances not dwindle in the near future, as receiving countries in Europe and America experience the global economic crises and austerity measures and cutbacks become the order of the day? Is the deportation of illegal immigrants and stricter border control not going to significantly reduce the numbers of migrants and so remittances sent to originating countries?

It seems that whilst remittances have become significant for their direct economic benefits, and contribution to poverty reduction, their long-term sustainability is uncertain. However, one very significant point is that remittances have started outstripping aid and that alone is cause for further study.

## **2.6: The Role of Gender in Migration for Development**

Research on gender and migration has indicated that there are significant differences in the decision to migrate, amount of remittances sent to families and the uses to which they are put. It is important in any discussion on gender to note that gender does not only refer to females or women migrants. Many international organizations recognize that migrants, both male and female, travel for economic reasons such as better job opportunities (OSCE 2009:9). The study of gender in migration and development is particularly interesting because men and women have different experiences in destinations and each gender has unique challenges as migrants.

According to the World Bank (2011), male migration has a more negative impact on households while female migration has either positive or insignificant negative impacts. From all indications, migration in West Africa is becoming increasingly more feminised (Manuh et al 2006:36). Female migration is leading to changes in traditional gender roles with more fathers staying home to cater for the children. Conway et al (1996) supports the argument that gender is a critical issue for development asserting that traditional gender roles are changing. Female migrants seem to contribute more positively to development than males. This may be because females tend to remit money for family expenditure and education of their children, more than males (Manuh et al 2006). Fathers who cater for children may be more negligent than mothers. However, there is also evidence from both literature and observation that fathers can be excellent caretakers and stewards of children and property left behind. In some instances, fathers made more business investments with the monies sent by their spouses

On a legal front, many legal instruments are recognizing that there are more women migrating on their own. However, most conventions on migrants seem geared to protect male migrants, making women migrants more vulnerable to human rights violation, stereotyping and exploitation (OSCE 2009:10). The literature indicates that a larger percentage of international migrants are young males, with females dominating in internal migration (National Geographic 2005:3). The Kayayee phenomenon in Ghana illustrates this point clearly. Although young men from Ghana's three northern regions migrate down south in search of better economic opportunities, the bulk of migrants have been young women between the ages of 10-25 years. When it comes to international migration, it seems that the story was very different until a few years ago. In many sending countries, men were usually the first and dominating migrant group. Women would later migrate with or without their children to join, their husbands after a stable job or residency had been secured. However, the tide has shifted in Africa and Asia, especially with more young women migrating on their own (Manuh et al 2006, Anarfi, Kwankye, Ababio and Tiemoko 2003).

In many countries of the South, however it cannot be denied that female international migration is very significant. Many young female migrants from the Horn of Africa – particularly Ethiopia, Central America and the Caribbean have migrated to the USA and selected European countries. Most of these women can be found in the healthcare sector as primary health attendants in hospitals and nursing homes (a case in point are the many migrant nurses in hospitals in the UK).

## **2.7: Development Policy in the South: A look at Systematic Institutional failures and the Need for Indigenous Capacity Building Strategies**

Balogun (1997) has noted that African governments have regarded development as a commodity to be imported from outside or a formula to be copied without regard to the conditions prevailing inside a country. He writes of development in SSA:

*Development is a process in which society defines its important problems and provides an atmosphere that is congenial to the articulation of ideas for resolving these problems or the bulk of the problems, locally... the sum total of indigenous resources( or capacities) that are deployed to achieve specific ends while battling with environmental constraints and foreign competition'*

Since the attainment of independence, the declared goal of public policy in many countries in Sub Saharan Africa like Ghana has been development; specifically rural development, which was hoped, would stem the tide of the migration of rural folk into urban areas in search of non-existent jobs. These declared goals have invariably not been achieved because successive governments have not developed capacities for harnessing the human, material, financial and organizational resources that are essential for the accomplishment of the set goals. Of all the resources just mentioned, the most critical is human resource. As Harbinson (1993) noted in his answer to the question “What are human resources? Human resources constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of all nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production, human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources and build social, economic, political organizations, and carry forward national development. Unfortunately, it is this aspect of development, human resource development that has been neglected in many southern countries. Jaycox (1993), author of *Capacity building: The Missing Link with African Development* noted that...at independence, most countries [i.e. countries in SSA] had only a handful of professional people and institutions were weak. Post independence policies of state centralization coupled with personalized systems of governance, political instability and the continued deterioration of African economies forced many talented Africans to leave their countries of origin. If policy would compel natives of a nation to leave, the nation ultimately suffers for it. The post independence policies stated above included the introduction of one party rule, the integration of party with state, token devolution of powers from central to lower level authorities and the establishment of state owned enterprises generally headed by unqualified and ill-suited personnel. Major policy formulations were handed to external advisers, donor and technical co-operation agencies. Even when foreign consultants designed and installed new systems, their local counterparts were in most cases not keen on mastering the systems and procedures, which suited the consultants who were not in a hurry to leave. Again, policy makers failed to provide the conducive environment within which skills acquisition by local counter parts could take place (Mutahaba 1992). Another willful loss of capacity building opportunity was the inexplicable reluctance by some managers to deploy employees to jobs for which they have been specifically trained.

All these negative policies, which clearly hampered rather than promote national development, forced many talented Africans to leave their countries. Libya in contemporary

times became one of those attractive destinations that received African nationals who sought for a better life for themselves and their families.

## **2.8: Diversified Migration Destinations**

There is evidence that migratory flows from West African countries are directed towards their former colonial masters. Therefore, historical and economic links have helped scholars determine the destinations for migrants. The traditional destinations for many Ghanaian migrants have been the United Kingdom, United States, the Netherlands, Canada, (Manuh et al 2006). There have been a number of studies in these countries that confirm that language, similarity in political, economic and social systems due to colonial history make them ideal destinations for Ghanaian migrants (Manuh et al 2006). In recent times however, migrants from the western sub-Sahara Africa have increasingly expanded the variety of destinations to countries without historical, political or economic links (Manuh et al 2006:38). Migration patterns have expanded to include prosperous Saharan countries of the north; Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

### **2.8.1: North Africa as a Final Destination or Transit route to Europe: A look at Libya**

Prior to the violent uprising in Egypt and Libya, policy makers and the public in many West African countries had been ignorant of the number of their nationals in North Africa. For many Ghanaians, it was incomprehensible that so many of their compatriots had made Libya their home. For academics such as Hamood (2006) and De Haas (2007b) whose research work chronicles migration patterns in North Africa this probably came as no surprise. In fact, their work emphasizes the central role of Libya as a destination for migrants from East, Central, West and other Northern African States.

In relation to this issue of migration to Europe through Libya, De Haas (2007b) refutes claims of an ‘invasion’ of as the media reports. He argues that empirical studies rule out the possibility of an “exodus” of West Africans into the EU (De Haas 2007b). Rather there are indications that more sub-Saharan Africans live in North Africa than in Europe (De Haas 2007b:20). Perhaps migration to North Africa has not been given the needed attention because of the belief that remittances from within Africa are low and thus insignificant (Manuh et al 2006). It still seems that even these turn of events has done little to draw attention to Ghanaian migrant movements in these regions. After the media frenzy that kept migrants in the news died down in July 2011, the world, as it normally does, has moved on.

The question however stands: why the choice of North Africa especially Libya as a destination?

The choice of Libya may be due to many reasons that are backed by theory. The pull factors for Libya include the economic prosperity due to its oil, the rapid industrialization of Libya, the high standard of living and its welfare systems. Libya's migration policy between 1992 and early 2000, which saw Libya focusing on Pan African values also played a significant role in migration patterns of West Africans as rules for entry and stay were flexible. In Libya, the 'open door' policy for African migrant workers also led to further segmentation of Libya's labor in the construction and agriculture sectors (IOM 2012: 10). Native labor began to shun certain types of work, which became the preserve of migrants. As the segmented labor theory emphasizes, the reluctance of native labor to do certain types of jobs brings about the demand for migrant labor, thus the cycle continued, even after 2004 when Libya's migration policy changed with increased dialogue with the EU. For the EU, increased dialogue became necessary because of the threats to security (especially terrorism) of the EU especially with the 'invasion' of Libya by West African nationals who used the country as a transit destination to Europe. The result of these interactions was a change in Libya's policy as well as the signing of various treaties and agreements. One such agreement was the Treaty of Friendship signed in 2008 with the Italian government, where Libya pledged to stop irregular migration to the EU in exchange for EUR 5 billion (IOM 2012:10).

Although migration is the rule and not the exception, many Ghanaians have migrated to Northern Africa, lured by stories of a stable currency, jobs and good pay (Manuh 2005, Washington Post Foreign Service 2004). Braving the heat of the Sahara desert and the dangers of robbers, many young Ghanaian men and women find themselves in Libya as transit migrants heading for Europe. Others also make this journey to Libya to seek employment in construction firms and restaurants although some are reported to find themselves peddling goods; from clothes to second hand car parts (Washington Post Foreign Service 2004, MacDougall 2011). Some migrants choose Libya as a stepping-stone to go to Italy and the European countries, but studies do not support the popular belief that all irregular migrants are headed for the EU or that all irregular migrants on the Maghreb are from sub-Saharan countries. In fact significant numbers of North Africans also attempt crossing into the EU but this is likely to be under-reported for political reasons (De Haas 2007b).

### **2.8.2: The Political Angle of Migration to North Africa**

One of the greatest barriers to addressing the issues facing irregular migrants, such as human rights is the attitude and laxity in political circles. As already indicated in the section above, many policy makers view the phenomenon as a problem, a cancer that needs to be cut out. This negative perception is on both sides of the Mediterranean as the exodus is seen as a security problem often associated with crime syndicates of human traffickers (Lutterbeck 2006 and UNODC 2006 in De Haas 2007b :2).

In fact, the seeming lack of interest of West African states has contributed to human rights abuses that most irregular migrants experience. According to the work of De Haas (2007b), pressure from the international community on North African leaders in exchange for financial favors has exacerbated human rights abuse. On the other hand, the lack of interest and political-will in stopping irregular migration in sending countries can also be attributed to the benefits remittances received (De Haas 2007b:1).

The political angle of the migration of West African nationals is a complex one indeed. Whilst the benefits to destination and origin countries block any holistic attempts at a solution, the biases of some policy makers and enforcement agencies has led to brutal enforcement of laws which compound the problem by forcing more migrants to use unsafe underground channels. This ultimately means that migrants will continue to be treated inhumanely from both law enforcement officials and intermediaries who are paid by migrants themselves to send them to their destinations.

Human rights abuse of migrants does not end en route but continues at the destination. Most of these cases are unreported because migrants have no legal status. Although Libya had ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families in 2004, their track record for migrant rights abuse did not change as the main emphasis was on security enforcement of migration law ( IOM 2012:10). There have been a few reported incidents of violent attacks on Sub Saharan migrant workers. According to Pliez (2004a) in De Haas 2007b:16), 130 sub-Saharan migrants died in clashes with Libyan civilians in 2000, however officially, authorities denied the death toll and reported only six persons had died.

Growing resentment of black Africans in Libya is somewhat an open secret, which got progressively worse with Libya's attempts to clamp down on irregular migrants. Between

2003 and 2005, approximately 145,000 irregular migrants, mostly sub-Saharan nationals were deported as part of the “fight against illegal migration” (De Haas 2007b:15-16).

## **2.9: Return Migration for Development, a Challenge and an Opportunity.**

The literature indicates that the nexus between migration and development is well documented and researched. However, involuntary return migration, especially on low skilled workers is yet to receive in-depth attention from researchers. Currently, various studies on the role of highly skilled (return) migrants for economic development in developing countries like Ghana and Ivory Coast have shown positive impacts on small business development (Ammassari 2003, Black et al. 2003). Increasingly, there is a focus on the role of return migration for economic development (IOM 2001, Klagge et al 2007: 2) in what is being termed “migration-return-development nexus” (Ammassari 2003).

The term "return migration" originated as a description of the pattern of guest worker migration into western and northern Europe where migrant workers stayed in a host country for some years and then returned home, with savings and other less tangible effects of their sojourn (Kearney 1986: 345-346). Return is not a simple and straightforward process (Chu et al 2008:2). As described by Ghosh, (2001) ‘sustainable return is achieved when returnees are able to reintegrate in the community of return, often through a productive role as members of such communities, without immediate inducement to leave again’. Sustainable return therefore implies the successful reintegration of returnees, and perquisites the availability of the receiving community to receive and accept the returnee as well as social and physical stability in the area of return (Chu et al 2008:13, IDOS 2006 :32).

Admittedly, it can take several months and even years to determine how well adjusted an individual is upon return. This is also dependent on several factors such as savings and level of skills and networks at home. However such indicators as employment, children’s schooling, access to health care, housing, and the feeling of security, as well as the desire to leave again can be used across board to assess how integrated and adjusted a returnee is in his home community and country. In recognition of the migrants contribution to human and social capital development, international organizations such as the United Nations have underscored the importance of successful reintegration of migrant workers in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (Willoughby and Henderson 2009:2, Usher 2005).

The debate on return migration and economic development focuses on accumulated financial capital and acquired human capital. Scholars such as Manuh (2005:45) emphasize the returnees’ ability to set up businesses or invest in the home country. Returnees are expected

to have acquired capital and savings, which will be invested to promote development (Kearney 1986: 346,101). It is also popularly asserted that returnees are “bearers of innovation” and have been exposed to training and experience that have given them skills, qualifications and experiences relevant to the labor market (King 1986: 18). In this vein, ‘sustainability’ and ‘development’ have become increasingly popular terms that have been used in connection with return migration. Authors such as Van Houte and De Konning (2008: 5) have contested the “sustainability” of return in contributing directly to development. Kearney argues that there is hardly any positive link. He writes “...in almost all such cases anthropologists have found that the developmental impact of return migration is negative or at best neutral” (Kearney 1986: 346). Ghanem (2003:21) has also questioned the positive association between return and sustainable development arguing that returnees cannot be assumed to make a positive impact in their home lands if the “very reason they left were that they did not feel ‘at home’.

Others also express that the reality is much more complicated for returnees. The problem of identity and changes that their home communities have undergone presents a significant challenge for reintegration (Koser and Black 1999, Cassarino 2004). Long absence means that returnees are out of touch with the realities at home. As Van Houte and De Konning (2008: 5) put it, returnees are not aware about the ‘way things are done’ any more.

Perhaps the level of skills acquired by returnees determines the level of contribution return has for development. High skilled return migrants are said to have high a positive impact on regional development and are more likely to stay long-term (Klagge et al 2007: 4, King 1986). Many authors agree returnees acquire skills abroad that they may not have acquired at home which they contend, present many benefits and leads to development. Willoughby and Henderson (2009:7) expounds some of these. High skilled migrants cause an incremental increase in human capital, brings greater returns to capital, which can lead to increased long-term growth and “attract foreign direct investment as investors seek to utilize relatively cheaper, yet highly skilled, labor in origin countries”. Lastly, there is an increase in revenue due to taxation of skilled labor (Willoughby and Henderson 2009:7). Low skilled return migrants on the other hand, are said to have little savings and spend on consumer and housing needs. Productive investment is said to be relatively rare, though some invest in small, but mostly non-innovative businesses (Klagge et al 2007:5).

With such an emphasis on the return of high skilled returnees, it is important to understand that the return of skilled professionals is not automatically beneficial for development. The benefits depend on whether the returnees are used in productive capacities. This is more than



“merely finding job placements that align with the qualifications of the returnee, but is a matter of assessing the institutional capacity for change and willingness to implement the innovations and suggestions the returnee brings” (Willoughby and Henderson 2009:7). For some authors, the few skills learnt may not be applicable because the industries do not exist or because returnees want to be independent (Castles & Kosack 1973). In addition, automation in many industrial jobs means that workers acquire very little innovative skills.

### **2.9.1: Return Migration for Holistic Development**

*To date, migrant reintegration has mostly been studied in the context of limited, specific categories of voluntary returns, such as for irregular migrants or others unable/unwilling to remain in the host country. These have not been linked to labor market considerations, a key determinant for return/reintegration in the context of circular migration, nor has there been much connection between reintegration assistance offered to returning migrants by host countries and development planning in their home country.*

*GFMD (2009:2)*

The above quote taken from the GFMD (2009) report sums up the main argument in this thesis: that there is a strong link between the reasons for migration, the circumstances of return and reintegration assistance in fostering or hampering development in the countries of origin. The dynamics of involuntary return presents a challenge for returnees and their home communities. There is a greater need for support systems for returnees in order to reintegrate successfully. Considering the “instability” of involuntary returnees, unsuitable conditions back home will only fuel the desire to migrate again in search of better conditions elsewhere (Haour-Knipe and Davies 2008:14).

In the light of the circumstances, surrounding the return of involuntary returnees’ reintegration assistance becomes even more necessary. The importance of institutions and social relations has also been acknowledged in more recent research on return migration and economic development. In contrast to voluntary return migrants, forced or involuntary returnees require greater support from formal (governments and other institutions) and informal (family and social relations) institutions. For many regions like West Africa and Latin America (net exporters of human labor) family ties and support systems serves as a cushion for returnees (Nurse, 2004). The informal social networks according to Van Houte and De Konning are effective and some help returnees get back on their feet (2008:3).

Laczko (2005) in Manuh (2005:180) emphasizes the importance of institutional capacity in ensuring that the benefits of return migration are accrued by local economies. He further asserts that reintegration assistance given by governments to returnees have proved to be “durable”. He however admits that it has been difficult to assess the overall effects of return on local development because of a lack of data concerning the characteristics and implications of the return of migrant workers (in Manuh 2005:180). Unfortunately, reintegration support systems are absent in many parts of the world where they needed the most. In many West African countries, institutional capacity to manage migratory flows, formulate and implement policy is weak (Manuh et al 2006: 50). GFMD (2009:3) reports that many developing countries rarely have reintegration policies or programs for return migrants, and even where they exist, they are not designed with development goals in mind but rather as a reaction to emergencies Ammassari (2003) therefore concludes that the return migrants capacity to “apply resources gained is dependent on local characteristics such as bureaucracy, work culture and infrastructure”.

### **2.9.2 Reintegration Assistance for Returnees**

The literature on reintegration has focused on return of refugees and asylum seekers. generally, the main aspects of reintegration has been initial reception assistance, legal reintegration, transport upon arrival, temporary accommodation, access to civil services and documentation, access to health care, employment, education and social welfare, housing and property (Chu et al 2008: 16).

Migrants need assistance in finding jobs at home and so it is important to have organizations that will take stock of migrants’ skills and competencies and then help place them in appropriate job positions. This kind of assistance will ensure that the acquired skills and knowledge are not wasted in other inappropriate professions. The work by Ochi (2005) shows how reintegration be successively fostered through synergistic collaboration between government, non-government agencies and social groups. An example cited by Ochi (2005) is the collaboration between the Philippine Department of Labor and employment, the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency, the Overseas Workers and Welfare Administration and the Technical Education and Skills Authority (Ochi 2005:5) to provide assistive services for returnees. Giving returnees training in entrepreneurship so they can establish their own business with their acquired capital is also a good way of assisting them to settle and reintegrate into society. Livelihood programs, which provide loans for start-ups, have proved to be beneficial for reintegration. They can however be very challenging for the state as

illustrated by the Philippine governments' difficulty as shown by Ochi (2005). Their Expanded Livelihood program which started in 1987 collapsed in 1995 (Ochi 2005:6-7). For all classes of migrants especially those who have experienced traumatic conditions at their destinations, counseling services become very important not only for them but also for their immediate family.

### **2.9.3: Theoretical Framework**

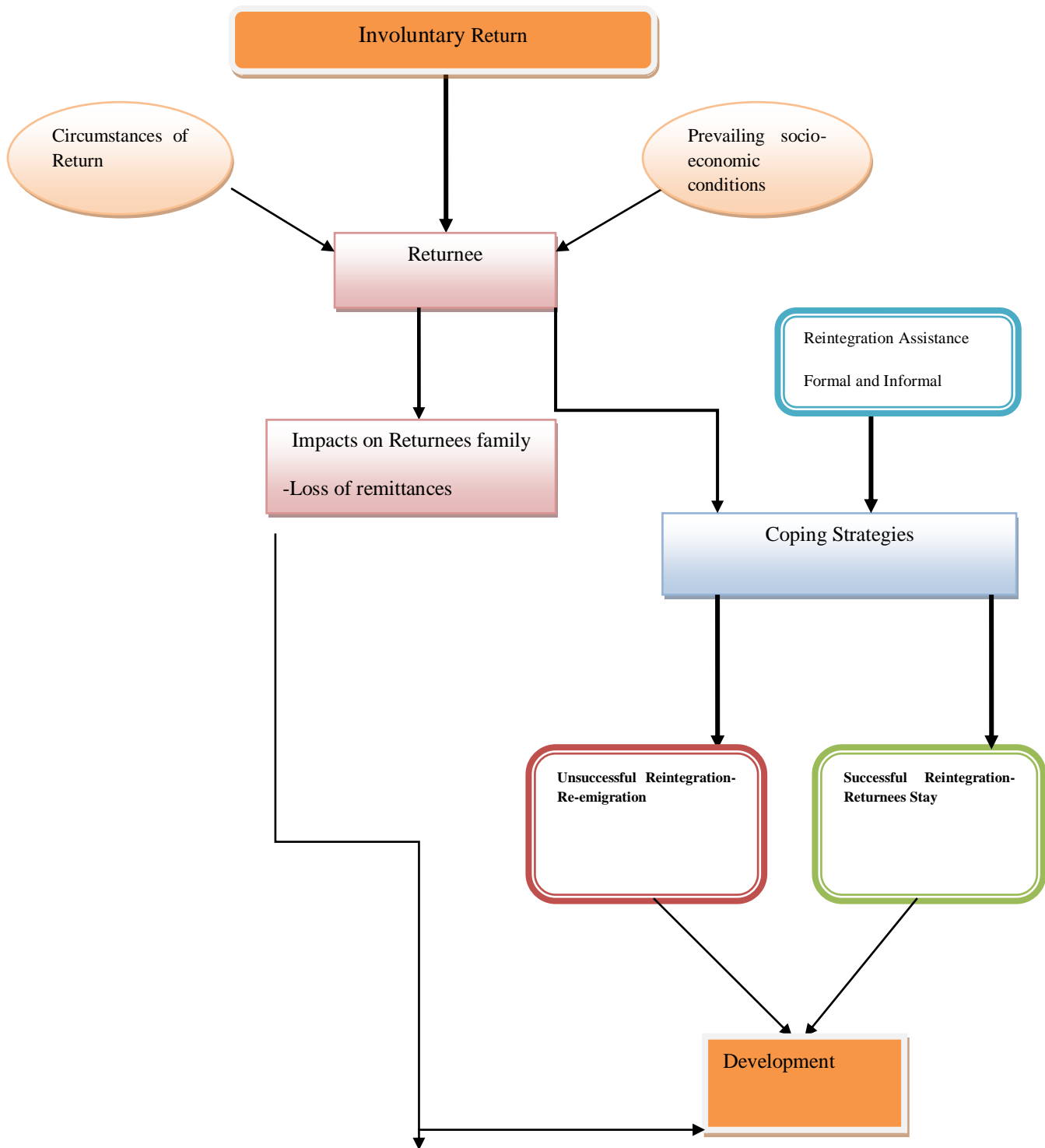
The literature provides a springboard from which a theoretical framework can be drawn. Figure 2.1 presents a framework that is informed by the literature review. Returnees from Libya are going to affect and be affected by the prevailing socio-economic conditions in Ghana such as the high unemployment rate. Considering the types of jobs migrants in Libya are known for, it is possible that returnees may be low skilled and have low accumulated savings due to the circumstances of their departure. This however does not rule out the possibilities of high skilled labor or accumulated savings and investments in Ghana.

The framework highlights the importance of governmental and non-governmental agencies in ensuring successful reintegration. There is agreement in the literature on the importance of social networks for successful reintegration (Black et al 2003, Ammassari 2003), fortunately, the Ghanaian society already has inbuilt support structures which implies that the role of formal institutions may be a bigger determining factor in the case of the Libyan returnees.

As indicated in this chapter, the family plays a significant role in migration and return. Therefore, successful reintegration of returnees must not only concern returnees themselves but their families as well. It is theorized that the loss of remittances will affect family expenditure and standard of living. Guzan et al (2008) argue that remittances generally enable access to better health, education and nutrition especially for children (Guzan et al 2008:125,148) and this loss will have implications for these families as well as the general development of the country considering the substantial inflows of foreign exchange from remittances.

Returnees would need to develop coping strategies in order to make a more meaningful life for themselves and those who depend on them. These strategies in addition to formal and informal assistance will help determine whether their return will be sustainable and thus beneficial for development or not, in which case re-emigration will occur.

**Figure 2.1 Theoretical Framework of Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration**



From the literature reviewed, it can be concluded that return migration, even in the case of involuntary return has development potential, which can be harnessed effectively depending on the social, economic and political circumstances in the home country. Formal assistance and migration management policy of government greatly affects the success or failure of

returnees and this has implications for the development of the country of origin. However it is important to note that with the current level of knowledge on the this particular case of returnees, it will take a bit of time to measure the long term effects of this scale of return on Ghana's development.

## Chapter Three: Research Methodology

### Introduction

This section examines the methods and techniques used in the data collection process of this study. Every research has different epistemological and ontological considerations, which influences the choice of strategy. These considerations and the subsequent research methods and techniques are discussed as well as the practical challenges faced during the data collection phase of this research.

### 3.1: Research Strategy: Qualitative, Quantitative or Mixed?

The age-long, debate between the superiority of qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods over each other continues unabated and therefore is addressed in every academic document. It is interesting that many textbooks on research methods such as those written by Olsen (2004) Bryman (2008:588), Howe (1988) and Dey (1993) caution that differences between the traditional quantitative and qualitative methods based on ontological and epistemological may be overblown. The advent of mixed methods as a better option of the two traditional methods is yet to sit well with most expert researchers. The scores of literature on these methods, which discuss their differences, similarities, strengths, is an indication of the important role research methodology plays in the outcome of any research.

According to Bryman (2008), quantitative research strategy is based on the ideals of natural science and has a positivist orientation. This means that the approaches used are more or less like a science experiment where information is collected and tested as a hypothesis that can be confirmed or refuted. For quantitative researchers, the world is made of up of clearly defined units which can be objectively studied and measured (Glesne & Peshkin 1992: 6). This is the main ontological standpoint of quantitative research strategy; that subjects can and must be studied objectively.

Qualitative researchers on the other hand perceive reality as a product of social construction (Bryman 2008). Here constructivism as opposed to positivist is the core ideal of qualitative research strategy. For qualitative researchers, the notion of objectivity is a utopian ideal that is impossible to achieve in the study of social phenomena. Qualitative researchers share the opinion that both the researcher and the subject can generate mutual knowledge (Charmaz 2000: 510). Such is the epistemological stance of qualitative research; qualitative researchers therefore believe in constructivism and interpretivism. Social scientists who prefer the

constructivist paradigm argue that reality can be best understood as explained from the ‘horses own mouth’ as it were. One of the strongest points of the qualitative paradigm is that takes cognizance of the “contextual conditions that shape and embed the perspectives of those they seek to study” (Brannen 2005:7). The advantage here is that the research is enriched by the knowledge and perceptions of the subject under study.

In recent times, the mixed methods research strategy has become very popular in many academic circles. The method is said to capitalize on the strengths of qualitative and quantitative methods, thus making it a more rigorous method. According to authors like Tashakkori and Teddlie, this is a third paradigm altogether. Although this idea is much debated, especially on the point of how the methods are combined, mixed methods have found wide usage in social science research. It however has its unique challenges. For example, using different data collection methods like survey and interviewing can present a problem at the research design and analysis phase. The almost foggy line between what constitutes mixed methods also adds to the confusion for first time users.

The difference, similarities and strengths of the different methods of the different research strategies present unique advantages and disadvantages for any study. However, it is quite clear, in the light of these advantages and disadvantages that it is better not to choose one method over the other based on any assumptions of superiority of one over the other. In Bazeley’s opinion, the different research strategies should be thought of as a continuum; with the emphasis on numbers or texts increasing or decreasing along a continuum. In this way, there is an appreciation of each strategy on the same scale. He sums it up appropriately when he writes: *Perhaps our inability to clearly specify what all of us have a general sense of is indicative of the lack of a clear distinction—that what we are talking about is a continuum...If one uses numbers, interpretation is still involved. If one’s data are texts, counting may still be appropriate* (2002: 2).

In this study of migration and involuntary return, qualitative methods were used in generating and presenting the data. However like Bazeley says, counting was still appropriate for this study especially in the presentation of the findings. Qualitative methods were used because of the nature of the topic and the sensitivity of the issues it deals with. The underlying paradigm for this study is thus *interpretivism*, which means that the focal point of this research will be reality as perceived by the entities under study (Bryman 2008). This choice of methodology was based on the desire of the researcher to study and explain the phenomena from the

perspective of those directly involved. It is important for any research study to have a methodology that is appropriate for achieving its theoretical goals as well as answer its research questions. Qualitative methods are most suited for an exploratory study like this one, which investigates people's motivation, choices and experiences. In choosing qualitative methodology, the adequacy of the method was also a point of reflection. There were other practical considerations in the field that also helped to shape the choice of methods. For instance, the structure, composition and availability of the population to be studied can orient the study in a particular direction. The type of information needed to answer the research questions as well as the availability of time and resources also played a role in determining which techniques were most appropriate and efficient. This means that as much as ontological and epistemological differences matter, one of the most important determinants in a choice of methodology should be based on suitability and effectiveness of an approach. Thus, the purpose of the research largely determines the methods and approaches to use (Dey 1993: 1).

### **3.1.2: Triangulation within Qualitative Methods**

Reliability, measurability, credibility and validity in research methods are treasured parameters that every researcher hopes to satisfy. Triangulation, the use of more than one method is one means of achieving these in research. Triangulation can be thought of as “the combination of two or more data sources, investigators, methodological approaches, theoretical perspectives (Denzin 1970), or analytical methods within the same study” (Thurmond 2001). It is a useful method in soliciting a variety of views on the same issue by enabling a study of the different aspects of the same phenomenon. As a result, it does not only give the researcher a means of achieving results but it also boosts confidence in the end result (Thurmond 2001: 254). Proponents of triangulation argue that using triangulation even within one research strategy (quantitative or qualitative) is beneficial because the different strengths and weakness of each technique complement each other. From a philosophical point of view, triangulation can be said to lie between the traditions of constructionism, empiricism and realism (Olsen 2004:12). According to Olsen (2004:3) and Bryman (n.d:1-2), triangulation became popular with the work of Webb et al (1966) *Unobtrusive Method* and became more refined with Denzins' (1970) expansion of the idea to research methods and designs. Thurmond (2001) describes four forms of triangulation as follows:



1. **Data triangulation:** entails gathering data through several sampling strategies, so that slices of data at different times and social situations, as well as on a variety of people, are gathered. Thurmond (2001) seems to break down the data triangulation into two, data-analysis triangulation and data sources triangulation.

2. **Investigator triangulation:** refers to the use of more than one researcher in the field to gather and interpret data.

3. **Theoretical triangulation:** refers to the use of more than one theoretical position in interpreting data.

4. **Methodological triangulation:** refers to the use of more than one method for gathering data. This method, as used in this study is discussed in the next section.

### **3.1.3: Methodological Triangulation**

Methodological triangulation has been likened to mixed methods by authors such as Alan Bryman and Veronica Thurmond. It can refer to a combination of qualitative methods, quantitative methods or qualitative and quantitative methods (Thurmond 2001, Mikkelsen 2005). According to Thurmond (2001:255), it has the advantage of “exposing unique differences or meaningful information that may have remained undiscovered with the use of only one approach”.

This study combined different qualitative data collection methods which has been described as the Within method type of methodological triangulation (Mikkelsen 1995). The study like that of Anderson (1997) employed semi-structured interview, field notes and non-participant observations in addition to informal conversations and secondary sources (Thurmond 2001: 254). The advantage in using this kind of triangulation this according in the words of Anderson (1997) is that it helps to “validate interpretations of findings, because the observations reinforced the data obtained from the interviews” (Thurmond (2001: 254).

Using of this kind of triangulation however presents its own challenges. One major challenge can be as a result of inexperience in the use of such a method. Thurmond describes this method as a relatively new and ‘trendy’ method to which many researchers are drawn. However without the proper technical expertise. It can therefore be difficult to determine how to analyze and make meaning data collected with such combinations. Thurmond (2001: 256) also indicates that epistemological differences can cause conflict about the research design especially where qualitative and quantitative methods are combined.

In spite of these possible difficulties, the Within -method triangulation, makes for a more rigorous approach in social science research and can prove to be very rewarding for any study. Many empirical works have been accomplished in various fields in the social sciences such as the work of Wilson and Hutchison (1991) (who argued for the use of two qualitative approaches), Connelly et al (1997), Floyd (1993), all in Thurmond (2001). These examples confirm the advantage of methodological triangulation ensuring greater validity, reliability and credibility of any research study. Triangulation incorporates a sense of richness and depth, thus the preference for this method for this study.

### **3.2: Case Study Research Design**

Case study involves narrowing the research to one specific locality or group. The case here is the reintegration of return migrants (Bryman 2008). The case study design in this research studies the *typical case* as this provides “a suitable context” from which the research questions can be answered (Bryman 2008:56). A case study design was chosen to investigate the impact of involuntary return and role of reintegration in a specific socio-economic setting of the Zongo communities. Such a design also presented the advantage of better understanding the various perspectives of the different actors involved in the communities and responsible agencies. The study involves four principal actors: Ghanaian migrants from Libya, their families, members of their communities as well as a governmental organization, NADMO and a non- governmental organization, IOM.

### **3.3: Data Collection Methods**

The main data collection tools are qualitative semi-structured interviews. This was in addition to overt observation. Relevant texts and documents were also be used to solicit data as secondary sources of data.

#### **3.3.1: Snow ball and Convenience sampling**

The study employed the survey method and used snowballing, a technique in purposive sampling to select only relevant respondents for the research. Return migration is not a common characteristic of the entire population and so this was a more suitable method to use. The ‘Arab spring’ affected a number of countries in North Africa. This included Libya, a popular destination for many sub Saharan migrant workers. In the heat of the conflict, the Ghanaian media reported that about 7000 migrant workers had returned from Libya (GNA 2011). By January 2012, about 9 months after the conflict had started, NADMO, one of the

key agencies in charge of the evacuations reported that 18,115 people had been evacuated since 26<sup>th</sup> February 2011 (see appendix IV). For a qualitative study such as this one, the main emphasis is not on statistical representation. Hence, the 63 returnees used in the study were deemed adequate for the purpose of this study. Most of them had returned in 2011 when the crises began in Libya and others had been compelled to remain in Ghana because of the conflict. A few of them had been home for more than a year, as such not all the information in such interviews were applicable for providing answers for all the research questions.

After identifying one returnee in Adum, Kumasi, I was able to identify a community, which had a large migrant population in Tafo, a suburb of Kumasi. After contact was established with the named community, snowballing was used to identify 30 returnees in Tafo. These gave information about returnees in other communities in Kumasi: three from Asawase, one each from Aboabo, Yelewa Zongo, Sperbolkiro and Suame. From there, respondents helped to identify other respondents in other regions.

Theoretical sampling was used as new ideas and questions began to emerge, as a result, non-migrants in the Tafo community were interviewed. I had noticed that all the returnees were male and Muslim, I therefore sought to find females and non-Muslim males and females but I was unsuccessful in the Tafo community, I however interviewed one woman in the Tafo community who had lived with her husband in Libya, but had returned years ago. As Tafo had the highest concentration of migrants, non-migrants in their community as well as community leaders were interviewed. Some of the non-migrants interviewed were family members of some returnees and so were able to information on the impacts of the return on their own lives and that of their family. Other returnees were identified and interviewed in different areas, four in Sekondi-Takoradi, nine in Agona Swedru and 11 in Techiman. Samples were difficult to obtain because returnees are scattered throughout the country. Convenience sampling was used to gather data from three returnee households/family heads through semi-structured interviews.

It is important to note that while convenience sampling may be criticised for a lack of “rigour”, it is useful for studying units that are not homogenous in a population (Horton et al 2004). According to Bryman this kind of sampling unpopular as it may seem, is used in a lot of social research without the proper recognition (2008:183).

### **3.3.2: Qualitative Semi-structured Interviews**

Qualitative semi-structured interviews allowed the research questions to be addressed in detail and helped get in depth information from the returnees (Bryman 2008:439). This study primarily used semi structured interviews. Open-ended interviews were also used on a few occasions. The interview process was informed by an interview guide, which allowed the interview process stay on point. This allowed the respondents to provide information they thought was important whilst enabling the interviewer to probe responses (Bryman 2008:446).The guide was flexible and respondents were allowed to speak freely and at length. Many had a lot to say because they had not been given such a chance before. A few respondents were reluctant to speak freely and had to be encouraged by the interviewer.

Both open ended and structured interviews were also used on spouses of migrants. Most of them would not grant the interview and the few who did, had their husbands present throughout. They were understandably reluctant to answer some questions and the researcher had to do a lot of probing to obtain responses.

As a result of repeat visits to the communities especially in Tafo and in Takoradi, many informal conversations occurred which gave better insight on the topic under study. The repeat visits have been a good way of ensuring greater validity, reliability and credibility of collected data. Returnees became more familiar and therefore more open about their experiences. Many of such conversations took place in their homes or among their friends.

The third group of respondents that were interviewed were officials from National Disaster Management Organization (NADMO) and International Organization for Migration (IOM) who work with the returnees These two organizations were the official authorities in charge of the evacuation of Ghanaian nationals during the crises. Although the interview was structured, a lot of follow up and probing questions were used as the interview progressed. With the IOM official, this was done twice as new information became known. Because these set of interviews were conducted after most of the returnees had been interviewed, it was easy to ask questions based on the concerns raised by returnees.

### **3.3.3: Focus group discussions**

Focus group discussions are a popular method in social research especially when people's perception and behaviour need to be investigated. This method is used when one wants to 'emphasize a specific topic that is to be explored in depth' and is a "less artificial method as it gleans information in a more natural setting (Bryman 2008:473-487). This method was used

on three different occasions in this research. This was not initially part of the data collection methods, however the nature of and the circumstances in the field necessitated its use.

In Tafo, a group of non- migrant males in the Tafo community were chosen randomly for the discussion. The discussion took the structure of a conversation about the phenomenon of migration in their community. The interaction was useful in understanding the perceptions of young males in the community. Although all the participants spoke easily and freely because they were close in age, one of the participants was more confident and vocal than the other four, which was interesting because he, unlike the others had an appreciable level of formal education and did not intended to take the trip to Libya like his peers wanted. This discussion lasted approximately an hour.

The other two focus group discussions, which revealed very useful information about migrants themselves, were in Sekondi-Takoradi and Agona Swedru. In both Sekondi-Takoradi and Agona Swedru, the group was made up of three returnees each. The discussions provided an uninhibited and lively debate on issues that were of great concern to them. In the Sekondi-Takoradi group, two of the three returnees shared the same profession. One returnee was very vocal and the others I observed would back up what he would say or nod in agreement. These observations of the interaction of respondents were as important as the content of the discussions themselves. The focus group discussions were more than merely means of getting what people think and feel about a subject, they also gave the chance to witness the interaction between participants as well as their body language, which provided more subtle details on issues discussed.

#### **3.3.4: Observation**

When using observation as a data collection tool, the observer “immerses him or herself in a group for an extended period of time, observing behavior, listening to what is said in conversations both between others... and asking questions” (Bryman 2008: 402). In this study, the researcher assumed the role of an “observer-as-participant” in which she was mainly an interviewer (Bryman, 2008: 410). Because of the type of sampling technique used (convenience), long hours were spent in the field especially in the Tafo Community. This gave the opportunity to observe the community and how they went about their daily activities. As a result of repeat visits, respondents whom I had previously interviewed allowed me into their homes and families and occasionally I would take part in activities such as going to the pharmacy to buy medication, or watching over children. I also had the chance to sit in groups of returnees and non-migrants at their meetings place referred to as spots and

the interactions I witnessed there have richly informed the analysis. Things that struck me or things I expected that were absent were quickly documented. In the interviews, body language of respondents was keenly observed as well.

### 3.3.5: Analysis of texts and documents

The research used up-to-date texts and documents that address return migration, reintegration and development. Statistics on the return migrants, as well as national statistics on remittances, migration as well as reports and publications written by NADMO and IOM were the main sources of secondary data. The information from these trustworthy sources was extremely beneficial and useful. Most of the official statistics quoted in this work are from these two sources, which served as the main intervention organizations during the evacuation and subsequent reintegration programs. The documents consisted of reports on the evacuation exercise including texts on the number of nationals brought home (see appendix IV). Assessment reports and data on the ongoing reintegration workshops for returnees from the Brong Ahafo region were provided by IOM.

**Table 1.0: Breakdown of the different data collection methods**

Method	Actor	Code	Sample size
Semi Structured Interview	Involuntary Returnees	A1-A54	48
	Voluntary Returnees	B1-B4	5
	Returnees(non Libyan)	D1-D2	2
	Family members	F1-F3	3
	Involuntary Returnees in (IOM/NADMO) reintegration programme	N1-N10	10
Open interview	Non migrants	C1-C6	6
	Community leaders	L1-L3	3
	NADMO Official	E1	1
	IOM Official	E2	1
Focus Groups	Non migrants	G1-G4	4
	Returnees	A42-A44	2
	Returnees	A51-A53	3
Secondary data	NADMO		
	IOM		
<b>Total</b>			<b>89</b>

### **3.6: Analysis of Data**

The conceptual framework as shown in 2.1 establishes possible linkages between involuntary return, level of skills and role of governmental agencies in ensuring successful reintegration. The analysis began with transcribing recorded interviews. This process was a long and tedious one but worthwhile as it made me more connected and familiar with the information. Collected data was coded and analysed into themes using the NVivo 9 software. As a novice to qualitative research and analysis, this option was taken because of its great reviews in Bryman (2008). However this was after most of the transcription had taken place. Nevertheless, its usefulness has been immense and has made the analysis clearer and more organised.

### **3.7: Limitations and Challenges of the study**

This study investigates a rather sensitive issue that holds many painful memories for those affected. As a result there were initial difficulties in getting the respondents to fully open up and give important details to the researcher. Most of the interviews were conducted during the day when most people had left for work or other engagements; it was therefore particularly difficult to interview the women who were mostly traders. The few who were available for interview would only do so in the presence of their husbands. This may have limited the openness with which they would have otherwise spoken.

Despite the considerations taken by the researcher, there were a number of challenges. The biggest challenge was in locating returnees. It was very difficult to find returnees or people who knew persons who had just returned from Libya. When contact had been established the returnees were skeptical to speak to me, most of them thought I was a journalist and I had to convince many that even though I would ask to record the discussion I was not a journalist working for the state or any media house. Others also thought I was a representative of an organization and sought help from me. Many would ask, 'are you bringing us money?' For respondents in the Tafo area, assurance by community leaders and other previously interviewed migrants helped to establish my identity.

#### **3.7.1: Ethical Considerations**

Following the counsel of Bryman (2008:121), the consent of respondents as well as their family members whom I intended to interview were sought and the purpose of the research was well explained to them. Consent sought was mostly verbal. In order to make respondents

comfortable, interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in familiar settings of respondents own choosing.



## **Chapter Four: Findings and Analysis**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter, the empirical findings of this study are discussed in the light of the research questions. Part one discusses relevant characteristics of returnees prior to migration such as their dependency ratios, prior trips and professions before and during their migration. The second part addresses research questions 1 and 2. It discusses in detail the motivating factors for migration. Part three deals with research question 3 and examines the experiences of migrants at the destination. Parts four and five answer research questions 4 to 8 and discuss issues of involuntary return, its challenges and consequences for returnees, their families and communities. The last section, part six, analyzes reintegration efforts by IOM and NADMO.

### **Part One: Pre Migration**

#### **4.1: Returnee Characteristics**

As mentioned earlier in chapter one, respondents came from three Zongo communities and one town: Tafo in Ashanti (58.7%), Agona Swedru (in the Central Region 17.5%), Sekondi-Takoradi (Western region 6.3%) and Techiman (17.5%) in the Brong Ahafo region.

In total, 63 returnees were interviewed, 48 of them had returned during the Libyan crises of February 2011. Returnees' interviewed in this study were male; the youngest was 20 and the oldest 68 years. The majority of returnees were between ages 20-25 years with (49.2%) being single, (44.4%) of them being married and (4.8%) being divorced either as a direct or indirect result of their trip to Libya. Most of those who were married asserted that raising enough money to get married was one of the benefits of their trip to Libya and this was confirmed in a focus group discussion where some single returnees cited marriage as a motivation for making the trip. According to them, it is even difficult to be taken seriously as a suitor in their respective communities if they had stayed in Ghana and done "small" jobs that earn very little. Respondents from the Zongo community were all Muslim (83%). In Techiman however, respondents were predominately Christian (17%).

##### **4.1.1: Dependency Ratio**

Returnees were persons who supported children and other relatives irrespective of their marital status. However, persons in the single group had more cases of not having any dependants at all than married persons, which could be because there were more single respondents, 31 persons (49.2%) than married ones. The dependency ratio was an average of

one returnee to three dependants. This normally included parents, siblings especially sisters and children.

#### **4.1.2: Level of Formal Education Attained prior to Migration**

The level of education of most of the returnees was basic. The majority of them (56.5%) had dropped out of school at the basic primary and junior high school levels. In the Zongo communities, some returnees (17.7%) had only been through the Makaranta/Islamic school system and had no other form of schooling. This was in addition to two persons who had no form of formal or informal (Makaranta) education at all. Seven persons (11.3%) had gone through the senior high school system with three persons (4.8%) having tertiary level education. These were older returnees, from ages 32-55 years. This age group also had those who had O-levels as their highest educational qualification.

#### **4.1.3: Duration of Stay in Libya**

The average number of years spent in Libya was 3.4 years. Most of the respondents who had stayed for longer periods at longer intervals of time were married. Those who had divorced had spent more than 10 years in Libya. When asked if they thought, their long stay was the cause of their divorce, [A31], who had never been home for 12 years, replied:

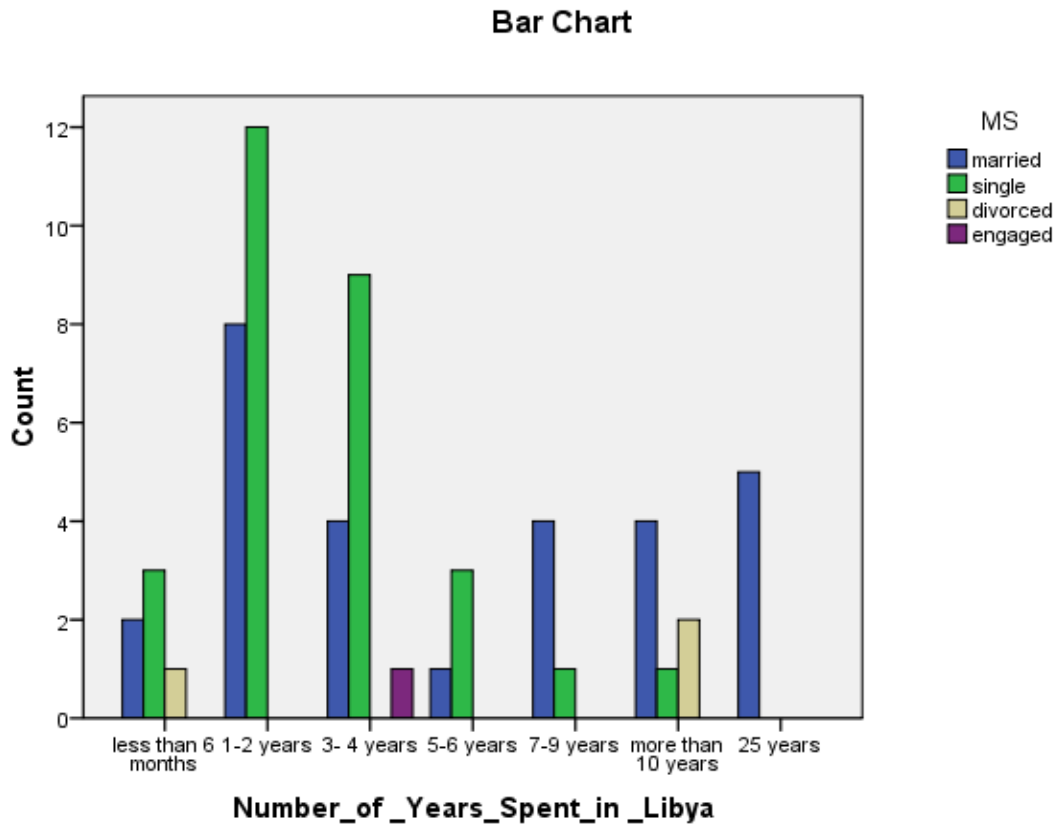
*“I am divorced today but I was initially married to two women, the first one didn’t love me and the second left because she said I had stayed too long in Libya.*

Those who had company jobs normally were assisted by the company to acquire proper documentation such as work permits, which changed their status from irregular to regular migrants. In such cases, they were able to travel back home for vacation:

*I got residence so every 2 years I come home. I went there after one such vacation then this conflict started [A40, 42 years].*

This returnee had been in Libya since 1993 but was still happily married with three children.

**Figure 4.0: Number of Years Spent by Current Marital Status (MS)**



**Source: Field Data, 2011**

#### **4.1.4: Profession and Occupation of Returnees**

The commonest profession among returnees was tailoring followed by farming; auto mechanic and taxi driving. Most of these jobs were not salaried jobs with many being self-employed or in business with family or friends. These job skills were mostly acquired before migrants travelled to Libya and in some cases, specialised skills such as tailoring, auto mechanic and electrical repairs, helped migrants to get jobs easily at their destination.

**Table 4.0 Places and Kinds of Work done in Libya**

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Electricity Company	5	7.9
Road And Building Construction Company	13	20.1
Water Works Company	2	3.2
Installation Company	1	1.6
Mason(Malaga)	18	28.5
Other Jobs(shop attendant, cleansers, domestic workers, hospital workers)	11	17.4
Mechanic Shop	4	6.3
Factory	1	1.6
Self Employed Painter	1	1.6
Fashion Designer	6	9.5
Total	63	100.0

**Source: Field Data, 2011**

Whilst in Libya, the commonest occupations migrants had been in were in the building and construction industries as ‘Malagas’ (masons). According to the Training Report submitted to IOM, this was the main occupation with ‘little occupational variation’, however returnees interviewed in this study indicated having moved on to other jobs. It seems that the Malaga work was the initial work most migrants did on arrival and in-between jobs:

*As for the Malaga jobs, I did that for 8 months. Malaga jobs bring money because the more jobs you do the more money you get [A23, 4 years in Libya].*

**Figure 4.1: Cold Drilling Machine used at the workplace of a Returnee.**



**Source: Respondent B2, 2011**

The longer one spent, the more opportunities one got to change jobs acquire new skills and ultimately make more money: *I changed jobs often. That is how the life there is like; you always look for better paying jobs* [A11].

One returnee said he worked in a metal furniture shop as a sprayer, meat shop and then worked in a company where he was in charge of operating an excavator [A11, 11 years in Libya]. A lot of the migrants who had trained to be mechanics prior to their trip improved upon their skills whilst in Libya. They learnt to repair and operate heavy-duty machinery such as the one shown in Figure 4.1 above. This returnee worked for a cement-making factory, Al Sahary Company as a mechanic. He said he could operate the machine as well. Another returnee, a farmer who had spent nine years at the destination had changed jobs about three times: *I was a cleaner first, then later I got work as a Tailor then I worked in a Greek company for a while I learnt how to operate bulldozers* [ A42 , 9 years in Libya].

A returnee with a good educational background and qualification got a job in multinational construction company as an English-Arabic translator: *I was a coordinator, I had my own office and I enjoyed everything, I was not paying for accommodation, I had free access to food three times a day at the company restaurant. I could earn \$550 a month plus in allowances alone* [A34, Diploma holder, 12 years in Libya]

Majority of respondents (16.1%) indicated that they were currently unemployed in Ghana although they possessed employable skills. In the Tafo community, many mechanics

considered themselves unemployed because they complained they were earning next to nothing on their jobs as patronage of their services had reduced drastically with the advent of auto diagnostics tools in vehicle maintenance and repair.

#### **4.1.5 Prior Trips**

Many returnees had travelled to other places besides Libya. Those with previous travelling experiences were mostly tailors who had gone to Nigeria to work and better their craft in the 1980s' and 1990s'. They had heard about Libya whilst there:

*I went to Nigeria to polish my tailoring and then from there started my travels to Libya [A37, 43 years];*

*I heard about Libya travelling whilst I was in Nigeria that was in 1995 [A35, 48 years].*

One respondent, a footballer also moved to Nigeria with similar idea of playing professionally:

*Before I left Nigeria for Libya, I was a footballer, I left Ghana to Nigeria to go and play professional football. After 1 and half years in Nigeria, I left for Libya. [...] I left Nigeria because as you know, professional football in Africa does not pay much. I was hoping I would get to Europe through Libya maybe the opportunity to play in Europe [A36, 47 years].*

In all, sixteen persons (25.8%) had travelled to Nigeria prior to their trip to Libya. Others (2 persons) had also gone to both Abidjan and Liberia. Mali and Gabon were also prior destinations for two returnees. In addition to improving upon their craft, these trips were motivated by the dissatisfaction respondents felt with their living conditions at home.

#### **4.1.6: Summary**

The literature indicates and the findings confirm that migration tends to be cyclical with migrants being unstable persons who can easily move from one destination to the other and also changing status from being irregular to regular as they stayed and worked for long periods. This was easier for those who worked with companies than for those working in the private informal sector. King (1986) argues that improved skills, innovation and training are benefits of return. The findings as discussed in this section confirm this, and indicate that migration has impacts on social structure and institutions such as marriage. However only in a few cases has this been negative. It would seem that prolonged stay abroad with little communication were the only causes of divorced among migrants. It can be implied that

those who had achieved the status as regular migrants, working for companies with paid vacation had stable marriages despite long absences.

## **Part Two: Pre Migration**

### **4.2 Motivation for Migration**

The motivation for making the trip is dynamic and multi-factorial. These include the circumstances of one's family, the knowledge of and exposure to wealth and affluence of previous returnees, financial security and the change in status and identity.

#### **4.2.1 The Circumstances of their Family**

For many returnees, family is influential in the choices concerning travelling abroad. The desire to help their families have a better life was paramount for most returnees. This showed in how the remittances were used, i.e. for house upkeep and for schooling.

*At the time my father had died, my siblings needed to go to school, my family needed money, school fees and my mother was not working [A13, 26years, Tafo].*

*My daddy had died so I had no one so I decided to go upon advice from a colleague [A40, 42 years, Takoradi].*

*I left because I was the first son and I had siblings after me who needed to be taken care of. We were poor so we needed financial help so I decided to go to Libya [A7, 33 years, Tafo].*

Family members indicated that life was better for them when their loved one was in Libya and was able to send them money. A look at some responses demonstrates this point: *...concerning our food, he would send home money for our upkeep. His work was good there so he was remitting for school fees, food etc and we were okay [F3, Wife of A40].*

According to one non-migrant who had four brothers resident in Libya at a point. According to him, their sojourn in Libya was important for him and his family to survive. He says of his brothers: *They are the breadwinners in the family. I am the last-born and my brothers were massively supporting my education [C4, 26 years, Senior High School Student].* It is interesting that although the family was cited as a reason for making the trip, many choose not to inform their loved ones, especially their parents and in some cases their spouses of their intentions because they feared they would be stopped from doing so.

*The first time I left for Libya my wife was pregnant and I did not tell her I was travelling, she would have stopped me. I told her I was going to Niger to buy cattle, for a month she did not hear from me until I reached and then phoned her. She cried on the phone [A14].*

The norm for them was to get there first and then phone home to inform them that they had left and were in Libya.

*My father was very angry and asked me “How did you end up where you are, you said you were going to Burkina, how did you end up on the road to Libya?” I never tell them when I travel ... [A43, 28 years, Takoradi],*

*I never tell them when I travel because that is the norm, as a man ... [A43, 28 years, Takoradi].*

When asked why they did that one returnee replied:

*You see, my mother has high blood pressure and I did not want her to panic. When I finally reached, I called her that I was in Libya [A21, 25 years, Tafo].*

For those who sought consent or help from their families before travelling, permission was given reluctantly because parents were aware of the dangers but in most cases felt as though they didn't have a choice.

*My father helped me raise the funds. They encouraged me to go because if I did not go, I would have had to resort to armed robbery [A8, 33 years, Tafo];*

*My mother knew I was travelling, but even though she didn't like the idea, she let me go because she couldn't take care of me, she had 11 children and I was the first born [ A40,42 years, Takoradi];*

*[..] My friends persuaded me to go actually. You can go with C200 GH. When I left, I realized it was not easy like I thought. My parents were aware of my plans to go but they did not dissuade me, I had to go, my father was old, and he could not take care of me anymore [A25, 24 years, Tafo].*

In a few cases, parents managed to stop their teenage children from going on the grounds of their education. [...] *I had started making my plans since 1995 to go but my family would not let me because I was in school [A7, 33 years, Tafo].*



Permission was willingly granted in cases where migrants had secured jobs before leaving, and were flying to their destination as opposed to going on foot through the desert route.

*[...] and my family was supportive about the whole thing. I sent my passport and the company sent me a visa and a ticket [A6, 28 years, Takoradi].*

#### **4.2.2: Peer and Community Pressure**

The fear of being stopped by parents and the reluctance in granting their children permission to make such a dangerous journey raises doubts as to whether families (parents) force their children to make the journey as suggested by one community leader in the Tafo community. It seems that the pressure to also be seen as having ‘made it’; comes from their respective communities and from peers. Taking the trip and ‘coming home with money’ has become a way of asserting one’s self as a responsible man who is able to provide for his family.

*“...you realize that the kind of things they can do when they come back, we (non-migrants) cannot afford to do. That motivated me because am also a man “[A42, 33 years, Takoradi].*

*Now they (returnees) are ahead of us, more of them, even those who came during this conflict time have sent monies home to build houses, some have bought cars...[C1, 25 years, cobbler].*

*Many travel and are able to buy houses, cars, so those we are left behind feel pressured to travel [C.L 2, Tafo].*

Non-migrants confirmed that community placed more emphasis on those who had taken the trip than those who had even stayed and worked in Ghana and were equally successful. Perhaps that has to do with the element of danger that migrants have to overcome en route and at the destination:

*Those who travel to Libya are more respected especially if they go and return with money. They see that you are a man! [C3, 33years, Blacksmith].*

Although community leaders, returnees, non-migrants admit that there is immense pressure on young men to travel, some returnees felt that it was a pressure that was not supposed to affect non-migrants uniformly. The trip according to them is not for everyone:

*Some people do not have any cause to travel to Libya but they do so because they follow the crowd (peer pressure) and that is bad [A42, 33 years, Takoradi].*

One returnee noted that although there were advantages to travelling to Libya to work because one could save better there, peer pressure forced people to go more than anything else. He believed it was possible to succeed in Ghana:

*First I realise most of us are not serious about working in Ghana. Most of us feel that we will only make it if we travel abroad, meanwhile the jobs we do there, if they ask us to do here, we will not do it [A49, 31 years, Agona Swedru].*

#### **4.2.3 Financial Security**

It is interesting that the inability to save money for starting a business or to act as a retirement fund pushed many migrants to decide to leave the country. One of the major complaints was that before they left, they were dissatisfied with their living conditions; food was expensive and so they spent all their money on food and other necessities such as water, electricity and school fees. There was no money left over for projects or businesses.

*I was spending a lot on food; it was difficult to save even after working for 5 years [A14, 24 Years]*

The ability to save money and raise funds is very critical in the life of the any migrant before, during and after their trip. Prior to the trip, many returnees managed to save some amount of money, an average of GHC 300\*. These monies according to them were savings from their jobs, or sale of property belonging to their family. Typically, one had to save for a number of years, between two to five years depending on the kind of job you had or support one got from family and friends. Returnees refuted the claim that they took bank loans to finance their trip. They relied on their own resources or borrowed from friends. In a few cases, another returnee financed their trip.

In Libya, most migrants were able to make enough money and then save the rest. Food, water, electricity was free and majority of the returnees who worked for the various companies had their accommodation provided by the company for which they worked. A few others had rented their own accommodations, whilst most of the new comers stayed with friends. Those who worked for companies received food rations, which were very important in reducing their expenditure. This was in contrast to the life they were experiencing in Ghana where they had so many bills to pay: *I did not have to buy food; there was nothing like electricity and water bill so you could save all your earnings [A14, 24 Years].*

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\*GHC- Ghanaian currency. \$ 1USD is equivalent to 1.8717 GHC see ForexTicket.co.uk

*Ask any of those you will interview if they know where the electricity corporation of Libya is, or the water company, they won't know because they didn't need to know, we were not paying any bills like that [ A9, 33 years] .*

Currently their savings from their sojourn abroad is what a lot of them depend on, but that cannot last forever. Inadvertently returnees would seek to go back in order to restore the status quo at home especially for the care of their children.

*Right now, I have a family, a wife and children; if I stay here, I will become a disgrace because I will not be able to take care of them. In Libya, I could feed myself, send money home and still save, not in Ghana [A14, 24 years].*

#### **4.2.4: A Matter of Identity and Status.**

Migrants kept referring to their journeys as being in the *'hustle field'* and identified themselves as *'hustlers'*. The term *Hustler* was used with pride and connoted that they belonged to a different class in the community. Being in this class of people was the highest achievement some returnees had attained. Becoming a successful person as a result of their hustling in Libya was the defining moment in their lives as men. In all the study areas especially the Zongos, returnees were proud to show the projects they had undertaken in because of their new status. Most of them believed they were more respected in their community because of this status they had achieved. One such person remarked, *"People here want to be like us"* [A16, 28 years, Tafo].

This sense of pride about their status in the community was very high in younger males (20-38 year-olds) who had spent between 2-5 years abroad. This was the case in all the study areas except in Techiman. Older males between ages 45-68 years who had stayed 8-15 years in Libya felt that although they were respected in the community they were not respected more than others who had made a good living for themselves here in Ghana. They felt that what was better in the long run to make a living at home as much as possible.

In almost all the communities visited, returnees, non-migrants and community leaders agreed that apart from the material success returnees had achieved, another benefit of the trip was the sense of growth and maturity. Those who took the trip as *'unserious'* and *'aimless'* young men came back more mature and disciplined. Most young migrants recounted how their experiences en route and at their destination changed their outlook on life. They talked about becoming more time conscious because some of them were paid according to how much

work they were able to complete in a day. Others talked about becoming better planners because their salaries were given at particular points in the month and so they had to make do until then; becoming conscious of spending because there were people at home depending on what they would send home.

In the Techiman district, three out of the ten returnees interviewed felt that they had lost the respect and status they previously had as Libyan ‘borgas’ because they had come back empty handed. One of them had lost his wife as a result. This difference in the perception of returnees in Techiman might be due to its long history of migration as well as its saturation of successful migrants from Libya and Europe.

The importance of status and image was not as important to the spouses of returnees in as it was to the returnees themselves. The spouses of returnees were not worried about changes in their status in the community because their husbands have had to return empty-handed. They however admitted that during the time their husbands were abroad, they were perceived differently because of the status of their husbands as “Libyan Borgas”:

*They see me, well dressed, my husband being a “borga” and they think we are rich but we look at our pockets and it has not true [F9, wife of A9].*

The women regarded travelling by their husbands as some kind of a job that took them away; they did not like it but felt they had no choice considering the economic hardship they were facing. Most of them were used to the idea. One young wife with two toddlers had moved out of their original house to her in-laws community because she would feel lonely when her husband left. To her, people only saw the glamorous part of being the wife of a Libyan ‘borga’, but had no idea the sacrifices that went along with it.

In relation to the issue of status, it was observed in the focus group discussion with non-migrant males in the Tafo community that each of them knew at least one Libyan ‘borga’ (because they were so many in their community), however, those who had very close relationships with returnees (usually brothers or friends) were more likely to take the trip. They also took more pride in the status of being related to a ‘borga’. This was perhaps because they had witnessed the ‘transformation’ of those returnees personally.

#### **4.2.5: Poverty in their Background**

De Haas (2007b) argues that irregular migrants are not at all at the bottom of the poverty well, but are citizens who may have acquired a taste of good living and aspire to such living

standards. In the interactions with the communities visited, it was apparent that material poverty did play an important role in the decision to travel to Libya. The idea of success and escape from poverty prior to the travel largely centered around the idea of migration to Europe and America as a first choice and then Libya as an affordable, low risk and accessible destination.

In all three interviews with community leaders, the exodus of young men was a preferred option to poverty. As [C.L 1] put it *‘Many of the young men who travel from this community to Libya are from poor homes, they have poverty in their background.’*

The cause of poverty according to [C.L 2] and [C.L 3] is the loss of employment (mechanics and electrician) and the difficulty in finding well-paid jobs:

*“...imagine if they stay here and stay at Magazine\*, those days the men here would go train to become mechanics, but now the job is not like it used to be, now when people have a problem with their car they buy replacement.... There is no alteration for us to do, which is our job Getting job in Ghana is hard, so when the young men get a little money they would want to travel abroad. When the children travel, they get capital to start business. That’s why they go [C.L 2 Interview]*

The expected benefits and ultimate success resulting from the trip has however proved not to be widespread. Migrants and non-migrants alike agreed that although the trip opened up opportunities for improving their living standards and that of their family, there were those cases where returnees’ lot did not improve.

There is also a problem of orientation, although returnees, mostly those who were self employed with smaller dependency ratios would indicate life was not too bad, they did not hesitate to say they would travel again in order to make more money. It would seem that the exposure to the higher standards of living in Libya has given them a taste for standard of living they find difficult to achieve in Ghana.

#### **4.2.6: Summary**

The findings underscore the role of the family in migration although unlike what the literature suggests, decision to do so is more on a personal than collective level. There was no indication that migrants were coerced by their families to travel. Unspoken peer and community pressure as opposed to family pressure was what motivated some migrants. Image, status and prestige as a migrant as indicated by (Morawask 2007) is an important motivating element. Family members especially males were proud to be associated with the

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\*Magazine- a popular area in Suame, Kumasi known for vehicle repairs and sale of vehicle spare parts .It is the work place for auto-mechanics and cars spare parts dealers

migrants whilst the women folk were more subdued and realistic about the migration of their returnees. The different sexes seem to have different perceptions about the prestige of migration and return. The involuntary return and its consequences affected the community's perception of returnees but rarely that of the family.

### **Part 3: Per Migration**

#### **4.3: The Choice of Libya as a Destination**

These were some of the responses when returnees were asked about their choice of destination; why had they chosen Libya?

*I choose Libya is an easy place because there are a lot of Ghanaians there already and because Libya going is about your pocket and what you can afford. You do not need a visa before you go, I do not have to buy a plane ticket I can go on foot [A21],*

*Because there you can easily survive. Everything is cheap there, transport, food everything. You can make enough and send some home [A36],*

*Well Libya is a place for making quick money. If I compared Libya to other African countries, I realised it was much easier to make money in Libya...Libya is good for me. When am there I do not have the urge to go anywhere else not to Italy or Europe [A35],*

*I could not go to America; Libya was the closest and most affordable option [A8].*

It is interesting to note that the Zongo areas had the highest population of returnees in the Ashanti, Western and Central regions. These communities were predominately Muslim and as inducted in the literature review are mainly inhabited by migrants from the three northern regions. One of the popular languages spoken in the north and subsequently the Zongo communities is Hausa, a language also spoken in Niger, the major transit route to Libya. As an Islamic country, Arabic, a language also taught in Islamic schools (Makaranta) gives Muslim migrants an added advantage. These factors have made Libya more accessible to Muslims and Hausa speaking people. There are therefore three reasons why Libya is a preferred destination: Accessibility in terms of Distance, Religion and Language. According to the IOM official however, there was no religious dimension to the choice of Libya in the Brong Ahafo region, which had the highest concentration of evacuated nationals. For this region, accessibility in terms of distance and a history of migration is a more suitable explanation for the high numbers irregular migrants.

Libya was chosen as a destination because of its accessibility and low cost of living. The findings show that although some returnees (31.7%) attempted to cross over to Italy, this was not the sole aim of most of the migrants.

**Table 4.1 Crossover to Italy**

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Had Plans to cross to Italy	6	9.5
Had No Plans	33	52.4
Tried but failed to crossover to Italy	20	31.7
Never seriously considered it	3	4.8
No response	1	1.6
Total	63	100.0

**Source: Field Data, 2011**

The majority of returnees (52.4%) had chosen Libya as a final destination and so had not attempted to cross over into Italy or the EU. Six persons (9.5%) left home with Italy in mind as their final destination and 20 of them who had tried and failed to cross over. For them, Libya was a transit destination. The 20 (31.7%) who had tried and failed had lost most of their earnings this way. The passage to Italy cost between \$1000 and \$2500. Such persons tried multiple times and as a result, by the time they were forced to return, they had no savings left: *I tried to use the boat to cross over in to Italy each try costing \$1500 and I tried many times and each time I was arrested and so I had to pay my way out of being imprisoned and deported many times [A36, 46 years].* According to this returnee, who now lives in a shack in Kumasi, life could not be more difficult than it is now. He was struggling to survive. He had returned with only GH C900 from his savings. He could not invest in any property or business in Ghana because of his lifestyle and now was unemployed and dependent on his mother and sisters. His other compatriots in Tafo and Agona Swedru who had not spent monies on the crossing lived in better housing, some even had air conditioners and tiled apartments.



Migrants who had lived in Europe before preferred Libya because they could get the same quality of goods in Libya without the taxes or bills. *I decided to stay in Libya not to go to Europe anymore because in Europe you pay bills, in Libya there are no bills* [A27].

**Figure 4. 2: Transportation across the desert**



**Source: Respondent B2, 2011**

#### **4.3.1 The Journey to and Stay in Libya**

*I went by vehicle and then on foot through the Sahara desert. The things I saw in the desert I really do not want to talk about* [B2]

After choosing their destination and braving the harsh conditions of the desert, migrants arrive in Libya in different conditions. Many are weak, dehydrated and very ill upon arrival in the border towns. The normal practice from there was to be hosted by the middlemen (who they pay) and given a change of clothes so that they look ‘normal’ and do not stand out. Many recounted having to do unspeakable things to survive the desert: [...] *there was a point we had no water, the Nigerians said no one should urinate and throw away, I did not understand not knowing they were keeping it to drink later on, I was so revolted but there, in the desert you will do anything...*[ A11].



Others recounted drinking water mixed with petrol in order to survive. Majority of returnees had a similar story as this first timer:

*....when your supplies are finished you have to buy from the drivers so I paid about 2000 CFA for a very small cup of water. The driver went into a nearby town to buy it when he came, I saw him pour something into the water, he shook it all together and poured me my share, and I could see and smell the petrol on top of it... [A 11]*

Migrants recounted how the vehicle drivers would drive around in circles in the desert until their supplies were finished so that they would buy food items from them at outrageous prices. As a result, it was easy to become stranded because if you did not have money, you could not get 'pushed'. The journey was not as eventful for every migrant, veterans boasted of knowing 'all the tricks' and so evading some of the hardships en route. Others who had initially gone on foot once they got company jobs achieved acquired work permits that allowed them to use normal channels of entry by road or by air. Some travelers had never used the desert route because they went through company listing.

When one finally manages to reach the destination, there are other challenges that are faced. You had to be careful not to be arrested because 'there is no way you can win any case against a Libyan'. Because of this, some migrants would not receive their wages after working but could not do anything about it.

*The Libyans were not easy to live with, they used to rob us of our earning after work, once, I after working for 8 months in a bakery, I asked for my pay. The manger said to come back the following day. When I reported to work, he had issued a letter to say he had so sacked me, I was not paid. He even brought a policeman. When I protested and told him that I had left him in the hands of Allah, he said, I was black and he was white, he did not care. This was job I had to take three different cars to reach [B2].*

Living as an illegal migrant was not easy. One had to be extremely careful not to attract any attention for a bad reason. Moving around at night was not safe. According to some returnees, the one of the worst situations you could find yourself in as to be caught in a raid at a brothel. Apparently, because they had no 'access' to women, there were brothel houses which provided prostitutes. According to all those interviewed, there were no Ghanaian women in the brothel houses, but rather Nigerian women who had been deceived by middlemen who promised them to get them to Italy. These were at secret locations but every now and then the

Police would get a hint and go on a swoop, all those caught faced imprisonment and deportation. It was thought to be extremely foolish to find yourself in such a situation.

Depending on how conservative their locations were, migrants faced varying degrees of abuse. Those who lived in the urban cosmopolitan areas such as Tripoli and worked with multinational companies had relatively less abuse at work in the form of discrimination, stigmatization and assault. There were instances where migrants were able to take collective action in a company when they felt they were not being paid their due.

Those living and working in rural and more conservative areas and worked with local firms had a lot more difficulty. In one instance, returnees recounted how one Ghanaian migrant was almost stoned to death because one young girl complained that she dreamt he had abused her. Because of that, they had to go into hiding for a while for the story to blow over because the people in the community became incensed against all the Africans. They did not feel safe at all in that community and some ended up leaving for other cities [A51-A54 Focus Group Discussion].

Even a little child could insult you or hurt you but you had no right to respond in anyway. A returnee in Agona Swedru recounted being called 'satan' by a group of children on his way to work, another recounted being pelted with stones and called names by children as their mother looked on. There were experiences of physical assault, *'your mobile phone or your money would be taken from you and you could do nothing about it'*. One respondent had a scar to show for his attack: *I was walking home from work one day by myself, it was not something I normally did, walking alone, but I thought it was not dark so I would be ok, ...I met these two young boys, they said I should give them my phone, I refused and they attacked me, they cut me...* [A1]

These experiences however were taken in their stride and did not deter them because they felt it was a secondary matter, their primary aim was to make money and that was that.

*As a black man in Libya, I did not enjoy the basic freedoms I had at home because in Libya, blacks were easy targets for pickpockets and robbers. Any Arab could take your money or possession from you and you could not go to the police because they will not only extort you but also imprison you also* [A1]

*Libyans can be very kind to people. But there are also some who just do not like you. Some of their young women cover their noses when they pass by us [A2].*

*As migrants there, we had no human rights even if you report to the police because there is no way you will win a case with an Arab, they will be partial to him. Even their laws and court systems discriminate against us [A35].*

It was not all bad though; Ghanaians were known for their hard work and so were liked for their industry. It was therefore relatively easy to get a job. Many had risen to respectable positions in the companies they worked for, others who worked for private companies stayed there for years. Whilst in Ghana, returnees remained in touch with their employers who they said, were eager for them to return.

#### **4.3.2 Summary**

This section has discussed some of the challenges migrants face en route as well as on arrival at their destination. As illegal migrants, they have no human rights and suffer many abuses that they are unable to report. From taunts, to beatings, robbery and cheating from employers. Labour laws, conventions and treaties on migrant rights are ineffective in such a context. Migrants dealt with such issues as a matter of course and handled such issues carefully in order not to be deported. The psyche of a migrant therefore is groomed to withstand a high degree of pain and injustice. In their view, such experiences were a part of their life style as *hustlers*. The findings do indicate that migrants with proper documentation had a slightly better life especially when it came to receiving their earnings as opposed to those who worked in the informal private sector. However, outside the work place their status were the same as those who were illegal. The findings underscore the point that migrants cannot be put under one category shown by how migrants have different experiences even when using the same channels or routes to their destination.

### **Part 4: Post Migration**

#### **4.4: Critical Success Factors for Life as a Migrant**

The life of an irregular migrant can be unpredictable at best. The lack of uncertainty and stability means that migrants require a lot of support and as it were, life support systems on which they can fall. The study found that migrants who had strong support from family and friends had a better chance for achieving their goals at the destination and on their return home.

#### 4.4.1: Support from Social Networks

In the decision to travel to Libya and to return, friends and family play a critical role in the decision making process of migrants. The change in the lives of peers upon return from their trip motivated many of the migrants to also go and seek their fortune.

*I had a brother there before, when he returned home, he was looking better, he was different his life had changed so I was encouraged to go that if I go I will also become a better person [ A10, 36 years, Tafo].*

For many returnees their sojourn would not have been successful without the help of such friends and family. Social networks played a significant role in acquiring jobs, finding accommodation and having a sense of belonging in a strange land.

*I met one other Ghanaian who became my travel companion [A2, 41 years, Tafo],*

*In Tripoli, I went to stay with the Ghanaian community there...when one of us is in trouble, we contribute and help, we receive Ghanaians, I was received by a Ghanaian whom I didn't know and I also received countless others so we help each other over there [ A41, 21 years, Tafo],*

*I became a boss, recruiting other Ghanaians [A54, 20 years, Agona Swedru],*

*Yes I knew people who were there, uncountable people, my brothers were also there ....I got a job with my brother , Malaga, mason I did that for 8 months [ A23, 28 years, Tafo].*

In other cases, family members and friends had to send ransom monies in order for their loved ones to get to their destination. This arrangement was talked about by most of the migrants who recounted stories of being captured and held captive for days by those who they had paid to convey them to Libya.

*... the next thing my family heard, I had been taken and needed money to pay my debt before being released. My father was very angry ...they did not send me money.... Eventually I called my younger brother in Italy and he spoke to my captors and he sent money for my release [A43, 28 years, Takoradi],*

*They would pick us, and take us to where there are people of your nationality then if you cannot pay; they take the money from your contact person in the Ghanaian community [A2, 41 years, Tafo].*

*At Agadez, I was sold and brought finally to a Ghanaian group this was after I had already paid for the journey. When it happens, you have to call home, [A42, 25 years, Takoradi].*

These middlemen were nationals of Niger, Mali and Libya who worked closely with middlemen who were Ghanaians:

*We got to Kwame Dirkou, a man from Bono (i.e. Brong Ahafo region), he took 50,000 CFA to push you... We reached Gattron and then were pushed by Ghanaian middlemen to Sebha. The Arab driver and his Ghanaian counterpart asked us to pay 40 Dinars\* again, but we were angry and refused but he said it was from the Ghanaian so he called him and the Ghanaian told us 'if we value our lives we should pay the money'. This Joe had a camp where he kept people hostage because they owed him for passage [A7, 33 years, Tafo].*

#### **4.4.2: Family Support as Coping Mechanisms: Support of the Women**

Most of these women worked in the informal sector as petty traders or seamstresses or were stay-at-home wives. They were supportive of their husbands because *'they know what their husbands are capable of when they travel'*. Many returnees attributed the stability of their homes to the role their wives played when they were away and upon their return. According to a four time veteran traveler from Tafo, life was still difficult after his second trip to Libya:

*On my return, life was still hard, luckily for me, my wife was a patient woman, and she was a good woman she stayed with me although we had nothing.*

Others depended on their mothers and sisters to whom they were sending money to when they were abroad. These women were providing food and emotional support for them, and in some cases, their children as well:

*Since I came, I wouldn't have survived but for my mother, she takes care of my two children as well, if I wasn't sending her money when I was there do you think she would have received me till now? [A32, 25 years in Libya]*

This was not the case for all returnees, a few returnees complained that their families had deserted them; two of these returnees were from the migration endemic region of Brong Ahafo. One complained that his wife had left him because he lost everything. Another asserted that he would never suffer for his family again seeing as they had forgotten all that he did for them when he was abroad [N10 and N1, Techiman]. Interestingly, these two were

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\*Dinar (LYD) - Libyan currency. 1.00 LYD is equivalent to 0.796 USD

determined to succeed in the reintegration workshop and had absolutely no wish to travel back to Libya.

#### **4.5: Actual and Perceived Benefits of the Trip**

In interacting with young non-migrants, it was obvious that they were interested in also becoming ‘borgas’ because of some expected benefits. However, whilst some expressed genuine reasons for their aspirations, others had utopian views on the life as an irregular migrant. The section below discusses the reasons for their interest and non-interest in migrating to Libya.

##### **4.5.1: Interest in Travelling to Libya**

*My dream is to travel to the USA and work and get a better life, but I do not think it will be possible because I cannot go on foot, so I prefer Libya because I can go on foot [C1, 25 years, Cobbler].*

Such was the general sentiment among most young non-migrants. For many of them, the difficulties they have seen others face or are already facing about employment opportunities was enough motive to start making plans for migration. As expressed by returnees, Libya’s relative accessibility, religion and language for those in the Muslim community made it the most preferred destination or transit route as they case may be.

A few respondents were not interested in going to Libya as many in the community. This was not because they did not understand the reason why others did so or did not support such a move. One such respondent said:

*I am a footballer. I plan to become a professional so am not interested in going to Libya and I certainly do not have plans of going there on foot ... I know people who have not made the trip but have succeeded in life, there a lot of people who have migrated to the USA who are suffering and we pray that God gives us money here in Ghana, then we won’t travel [C6, 20 years, Junior High School student].*

Another respondent shared his sentiments and cited his access to education as the reason he was not interested in travelling to Libya or to Europe at the time of the interview:

*I think it is my education that has made me not obsessed with travelling because I think with my certificates; I will have better opportunities for employment [C2, 22years, Senior High School leaver].*

Others were also interested in the trip and had made plans to do so but according to them, the crises had interrupted their plans:

*I had wanted to go to Libya, in-fact I had planned to stop school and go when connection\* came but then the conflict started, all my plans had to be put on hold. Libya would have ended my education but now Libya spoil so I have to continue my education [C5, 21years, Senior High School student]*

When asked why they were interested, these were some of the responses: *I hear in Libya no bills even no painted taxis like Ghana, they are all private cars.... Most of my friends have gone and continued on to Holland, Belgium or Spain [C5, 21years, Senior High School student].*

For many, the motivation to also try the hazardous journey comes from seeing what returnees have been able to do for themselves and their families:

*People here when they travel they work hard and they force and get capital. They are able to stand on their feet especially this my brother( points to a returnee) since he has returned he has become more diligent, he has bought a taxi and he is more hard working now[C3, 33 years, Blacksmith].*

When this respondent was asked about the dangers of travelling to Libya on foot, he admitted that it was indeed treacherous, but had this to say:

*well its true, we know because we talk to others who have made the journey before and we know people from here who have died, there is a family here, their brother made it to Libya but died on the water trying to get to Italy yet still all his other brothers made the journey to Libya [C3, 33years, Blacksmith].*

The death of migrants en route was accepted as part of the risk of travelling to Libya. Migrants and non-migrants alike believed that it was a matter of faith and destiny. If it was your time to die, you would, be it on the desert or at home, thus they were not afraid of dying on the desert. They preferred to die trying than live as a 'disgrace' in their community.

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\*connection- this refers to those men to whom would be migrants go to for information, travel papers etc. They knew the best times to go and in some cases helped with job listings in Libya.

It is interesting to note that despite the knowledge of the current crises in Libya, some non-migrants still nursed hopes of making the trip:

*[...]but I still want to go because I know they are now rebuilding the country so I am waiting* [C5, 21years, Senior High School student].

#### **4.5.2: Benefit for the Community: Reduction in Criminal Activity**

According to one of the community leaders [C.L 1] violent crimes, armed robbery, petty thefts and social discord in the community has been significantly reduced since the exodus started and only until their recent return have crime rates began to pick up again.

*Before, when most of them were here, there was a lot of criminal activity in this area. Theft, assault and it would always be us community leaders who would be called everyday to go and solve the issue, we were hearing complaints of theft, assault all the time, so in terms of the reduction in criminal activity the trip has been very beneficial to this community. Even recently, when many returned because of the crises in Libya criminal activity went up again* [Interview C.L 1]

For the returnees themselves, the trip to Libya offers them the hope of a better future and the possibility of a crime free life. In an interview, [A8] commented:

*They encouraged me to go because if I did not go, I would have had to resort to armed robbery.*

This confirmed the earlier assertion made by the community leader about crime rates in the community prior to the trip to Libya. Others also felt that the wages for those same menial tasks that earned them hundreds of dollars in Libya fetched them very little in Ghana. According to [A8], unless one was dishonest in his work, one would never make ends meet.

#### **4.5.3: Benefit for Families: Remittances as Contribution to Family Income**

Remittances were a major part of life for returnees and their families and in most cases critical for the financial survival of their families. Monies were sent home depending on the need at home and when migrants were paid. Those who were the sole breadwinners arranged for relatives to borrow monies from people in their communities who they could trust. The returnee would then pay these people when he was paid. This way, the family members had access to financial assistance whenever they need it,



*I was sending money home, my family will tell you honestly but it was not monthly, I would send them when they called and told me something that is reasonable, tangible and I would send them. The only regular one was for Ramadan; I would send money for buying the animal for the sacrifice for the feast they need not ask about that [A10, 36 years].*

Those working in companies were paid either monthly or every three months. For those who were working as masons and as casual laborers, jobs were not constant even though they could earn twice as much as salaried workers.

*The job there too, it's like it comes, months to months, its seasonal, sometimes, you will not get work for a while, but when the job comes, in one month or two weeks you can make GH C800-GH C1000. I was saving that money in an account here in Ghana. It is this money that I have used to buy this car am driving, so I can say that the trip has helped me [N8, Taxi Driver, Techiman]*

*If I compare the farming I was doing to the Malaga, the Malaga was much harder than the farming. I could finish a job and I would not be paid, but I could earn GH C800 or C GH 900 a day, so the pay was good [N2, Techiman]*

The amounts sent home ranged from \$100 to \$500: *I used to send them 400 Dinar's that is almost GH C 500 a month. It was chop money for the house. I saved the rest of my money in an account. [A12, 33years];*

*I was making about \$300 and sending home \$200 [N3, 32 years];*

*My company was paying me GH C 800. I would send GH C100 home. After working one and a half months then this crisis started [A44];*

*I was sending money home every two-three months to my relatives, I could send between \$400-\$500 as chop-money\*. I sent money home to buy land. It was good because I wanted to build three rooms for my mother [A8].*

The purpose of sending money home was for upkeep of family, for investment of business or acquisition of property.

*I used to send my family a monthly allowance for school fees and upkeep. They would put the reminder in my account. If I got GH C 800. I would send them GH C700. The GH C100 was enough for me for even 2 months there [A13, 26 years].*

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\*Chop-money- Up keep money for the home for everyday expenses such as feeding, maintenance and purchase of other consumables.

Others also choose to save their monies in an account for future investments.

*I was sending money home because there were problems at home, I had an account I was saving into I couldn't buy any properties, just my savings and that is what is keeping me till now [ N8, Techiman]*

The most common acquisition made was the purchase of land for the construction of houses. Eighty percent (80%) of returnees had purchased land with many reaching various stages in the construction of their homes. This was one achievement that migrants and non migrants alike perceived to be very important in one's life as a man, to be able to provide shelter for your family: *I would save and send money and ask that they should use part of the money to buy a land and then to start cutting blocks to start building a house [N3].*

For others, remittances were the major source of income especially for people with elderly parents and unmarried sisters. In such instances, remittances were sent regularly to family members:

*There was a financial problem at home so I would send them money every month; I would send them through Agricultural Development Bank (ADB) about GH C300 a month [N2]*

Sending money home was not always problem free, in two cases, returnees had sent money for the acquisition of property but upon returning home, they came to find that their monies had been misappropriated or business mismanaged. For these two it has been a bitter experience, which has created a rift in their families.

*Yes, I sent money home for rearing goats, sheep, and cattle. However, on my return I realized that monies had been mismanaged. I was angry with my family; I do not trust them anymore [A1, 25 years].*

#### **4.5.4: Trip to Libya: Beneficial For All?**

The majority of returnees were convinced that making the trip to Libya marked a positive turning point in their lives. In some interviews however, returnees expressed initial remorse and disappointment because they found that it was not as they had anticipated it:

*[...] initially I was still sorry I had left home because my expectation was that I would make money immediately but it was not so [A43].*

*...the money I was getting was not like what I had been told and was expecting. It was not too different from what I was doing before in Ghana, In Ghana, I was self-employed but there I worked for somebody and there was not much difference in the money [A6].*

There was an initial feeling of regret or sadness for some returnees the first few months of their arrival in Libya. This was because of the hardship they had endured on en route and because it was difficult to for some to adjust to the restrictions of staying in a strict Islamic country as an illegal immigrant, they missed the freedom that they had in Ghana.

*I got there and I was so sorry I had ever left Ghana, I was sad. But for God, if I had gotten back the money I put into the trip, I would have come right back home... but there is no freedom, we had no access to women. So it was very different, but later on things were okay so much so I wanted to become a Libyan! [A43].*

*When I first started working and living in Libya, I was sorry I had made the trip. I could not go anywhere because it was not safe for me. [A1].*

*[..] when I was on the road it got to a point, I was so sorry I had even left home...but after all that, the trip is good, because me after what I have been through, I will not use my hard earned money to do unnecessary things [N10].*

For a few others, their trip cost them a lot more than they gained. For [A6], it was a decision he regretted ever taking:

*By the time, I came back; I have lost all my customers. It was hard for me initially but I still have managed. I think my life before I left Ghana was better. My wife and I are managing but it is not easy. I have not decided if I will go again...I tried to get a loan, I did not get, and they said it is only for government workers. My trip has not helped me at all! [A6, less than 6 months in Libya].*

#### **4.5.5 Summary**

Social networks are critical in the life of a migrant as the literature and the findings indicate. The findings show that for involuntary return, having a strong network and support base is even more essential for survival. There is also, what seems to be indirect remittance, where family members are able to take loans from members of the community who were later reimbursed by the migrant. This way, family members always had access to money for

emergencies or as the need arose. These remittance figures are unrecorded and so may account for the low figures of remittances reported by the Banks which have give the impression that remittances from within the African continent are low (Manuh 2005:129). Another interesting finding is the growing popularity of local savings cooperatives, (Susu savings) as channels through which money is remitted.

## **Part 5: Post Migration**

### **4.6.0: Effect of Involuntary Return on Families**

The result of returnees arriving without adequate financial preparation before coming home has posed a number of difficulties for their families. One such non-migrant who had a returnee brother return noted;

*Since they have been back, things are different. They used to send us money whenever we asked. I would ask for money for school and my family also. They still provide for the family but it is less than what they used to send [C4, 26 years].*

*...he works at magazine...Since his return, it has been more difficult, our finances are much tighter because he had to come home unexpectedly [F9, wife of A9].*

For the spouses interviewed, the return of their husbands is bittersweet because of the sudden nature and turn of events. On one hand they were happy to have their husbands at home to help with the children and other things in the home, they felt relieved and happy to see their husbands more often. On the other hand, they were worried about how they were going to cope without their remittances because their husbands were jobless or earning half of what they were earning in Libya. According to [F3]: *Since he came things are not as they used to be because you realize in Ghana, things are much harder [Wife of A40]*

*My return has really worried my family. Now instead of giving my father money, I go to him instead for money. The maximum amount I get in a day is GHC 5 [A8].*

The major effect of the return on the family has been the reduction in the family finances. Families with children of school going age were the most affected. In some households, children had to be withdrawn from parents preferred schools to a cheaper alternative.

On the changes that they have had to make, [F3] had this to say:

*...if there is no money then perhaps the children will have to move to a public school or drop out. He used to send us school fees every month, then we never owed fees, now, we cannot pay full school fees at one time, so we pay bit by bit...*

One parent said he had let his child repeat her class for another year in a public school because he could not afford fees for a senior high school. This situation is exacerbated by the inability of most returnees to get jobs. One returnee remarked that because of the changes in his family because of his return, his mother and wife have asked him to go back to Libya as soon as possible. This returnee had spent all his adult life in Libya and knew no other life [A27].

#### **4.6.1: Effect of the Circumstance of Return on Returnees**

When asked what changes they had seen in their husbands since their return, this is what one wife said :[...] *he himself he is mostly the same except that sometimes I see him sitting down quietly, thinking, because he worries about us, our finances and that worries me a lot* [F9, wife of A9].

Another expressed that: *my husband is the same but now he worries more, much more than he should because now he has to start all over again, he has three children to look after and one is on the way* [F3, wife of A40].

It was obvious that the returnees had experienced events that had traumatized them either en route to their destination, during their stay and on their return. Returnees on their return had lost possessions that they toiled for:

*[...] I bought three suitcases full of clothes for my wife and kids by the time I got home I didn't even have even one article of clothing for any of my children. I was lucky to come with three pairs of trousers because I wore them* [A24]

*We were told by the head military man not to take anything that would give us problems, no cameras, knives, phones. We met many barriers some we were searched, about 42 barriers in all. Our memory chips, pen drives, medication etc were destroyed. I hid my memory so it was not taken* [A9]. The following extract is one returnee's account of the conflict and evacuation home.

We were in more danger because there were reports that President Ghadffi had come for African mercenaries. We couldn't move out, our food supplies got finished, it got to a time we were only taking tea , black, no sugar, or milk, no bread, we were desperate, calling the embassy for help. On 8<sup>th</sup> March, the soldiers decided to release us because they had investigated and realized we were not mercenaries. We could not take the normal route through Tripoli or we would be killed so we went towards Algeria border town... The rebels beat us, even my own brother, 4th born after me, was beaten so badly he almost died. Luckily, after 41 days after the tensions got serious. We got a flight organized by the government of Ghana we came home and were taken to El Wak stadium for a while. I was given GH ₵25 by NADMO for transport. I used GH ₵ 5 for taxi to the station, and then took a bus to Kumasi with the rest of the money.

[Interview A10]

For many of them, no one outside their immediate family had spoken to them about their experiences. During interviews, they would sigh and say, *“madam, we have gone through a lot”*, at certain points in the interviews, they would break off and for instance, say *“...as for this part I cannot tell you”* or *“if I go on you will weep for me”*.

They talked about the fear and anxiety during the conflict, hearing gunshots and shelling all night, shortage of food and water and in a few cases abandonment by their company officials. Most returnees however acknowledged being protected by the companies they worked for especially at the beginning of the conflict:

*My company brought us military protection and a carrier to send us to Turkey and then to Ghana... the plane was so small that we could not take our properties except our small valuables* [A3, Tafo].

*[...] but we had no food, drink and we could not even get a bath for three weeks. I lost all my equipment and machines and clothes, at the airport, all our material belongs save the clothes on our backs were taken from us* [A1, Tafo]

With the exception of a few of those in the first batch of evacuations, all other returnees reported losing all their material possessions at the various checkpoints and at the airports, both in Libya and in Ghana.

Apart from those who had bought equipment and machines, the next group of people who were most affected were those who had spent less than two years in Libya. The returnees felt they had made double losses because they had invested all their money into the trip and returned empty handed. Some had sold land, houses; others had leased properties such as houses and shops.

*Just when I had adjusted, about 7 months in my stay then the conflict started. We left home and run to the desert. I slept in the cold for a month. I could not take my things because of the chaos there, some were able to bring things, but I was very disturbed because I had not achieved my aim [A43, Takoradi].*

*I had just started work so I did not have much. You see, many remained especially the new ones, because we had not achieved anything. I was so torn up about whether to stay or come home... [A44, Takoradi].*

The accounts of the returnees suggest that there may be more returnees than the 18,115 given by the authorities. There are a number of returnees who came after the no fly zone had been imposed on Libya by NATO forces. These returnees had to use the desert route back home and so they were in more danger. Those who came back on foot described human rights violations from rebels, soldiers and even civilians.

#### **4.6.2: The Role of Formal Education and Certification**

It seemed that education to a certain degree affected the interest in making the journey to Libya. Non-migrants who had no interest in taking the Sahara trip to Libya had at least attained senior high school education. However when asked if they thought education was the solution to the loss of youth through migration, [C2], had this to say:

*No its money and not education, which is the solution... He went on to give an example in his own family to illustrate his point: My brother knows money; he was introduced at a young age so in school, he did not respect his teachers. If I get money right now, I will not go back to school. Education is a slow process, a slow way of making money [C2, 22years, and Senior High School leaver].*

Formal education and certification also had consequences for reintegration. Migrants complained that they were unable to use their acquired skills and competencies because their job experience and qualifications were not recognized in Ghana. They were frustrated that companies in Ghana have not given them the chance of proving themselves. To them this was one major difference between Ghana and Libya:

*One major difference in Libya and Ghana is that in Libya when they are recruiting for jobs, they do not look at your education, once they can train you they take you. Even if you have not been to school before, they can train you to become a plumber, electrician like my brother here! Even I now with my experience at the hospital I can do blood test etc but I have not learnt it in school. Returnees get the opportunity to get so many skills in Libya. Not so in Ghana! [A44, Takoradi].*

*I have the experience and technical ability because I worked in the water company in Libya and I can handle all the machines but here in Ghana if you do not have a school certificate to prove that, there is a problem for you [A32, Aboabo].*

This was one point on which they preferred working in Libya. They said companies would hire and train them as in the case of [A40] who said he had undergone extensive training in their companies and so had stayed there during his entire stay in Libya: *I was trained to become a heavy-duty mechanic. I learnt how to operate hydraulic machines, and I was under training 3 years.... and promoted to become the workshop foreman [A40, Takoradi].*

#### **4.6.3: Challenges faced by Returnees at Home**

Returnees face a huge dilemma on their return home. For most of them the situation they ran away from is the same situation, they have been plunged back into and what is worse, that which they went to seek to help them cope, they have also lost. Most of the returnees were interviewed 8-9 months after their arrival but it was obvious that they were still in shock and disbelief about the rapid change that occurred in their lives, this alone presented significant challenges for them in starting life all over in Ghana.

Migrants' greatest difficulty in settling and reintegrating back into mainstream society has been the difficulty of finding jobs in Ghana to make a decent living,

*Since I came back, I can go and sit at work the whole day no customer comes, I can even sleep there until I hear the call to prayer that the only time I get up. My biggest problem is*



*that I cannot support all 18 people who depend on me. I do not earn much, let alone save* [A22, 35 years, Tafo].

For this particular returnee, his status as a ‘borga’ had earned him many dependants, which he was now struggling to take care of. It seems that although his extended family was aware of his situation none had taken any initiative to relieve him of some of his dependants.

Returnees were unemployed not for a lack of trying or lack of skill. Many had tried to find jobs but without the formal certification, it was very difficult. As some were illegal, they had no documentation to support any claims of technical competencies. The few who had acquired some sort of documentation had lost them in the destination.

*In Libya, I learnt how to operate a roller machine but since I came back, I have tried to find such work but to no avail. No company like that wants to hire me* [A22, Primary school dropout]

*I have been to Ghana Water Works Regional office but they have not gotten back to me* [A32, No formal schooling]

They complained that they had lost with important social and professional contacts and so it was more difficult to establish networks that could help them with employment:

*Now to get a job in Ghana it is who you know unless you know somebody you can't get it. Bribery and corruption everywhere, some of us have been away so long we do not know anybody, we do not know where to pass. I have come to Ghana I want to continue to paint but where do I get contracts?* [A36].

For this returnee, finding a job that suits his professional experience abroad will be difficult because in Ghana, painting alone or plastering alone are not viable skills. The large-scale construction, which gave them jobs in Libya, is nonexistent in Ghana. This statement highlights one of the loopholes in the argument that migrants return with skills and expertise that lead to accumulation and skills. This means that some returnees who have only one skill, which falls in a similar category have to learn new skills that will enable them, become more competitive. It also means that formal reintegration assistance should provide avenues for learning new skills that are more applicable in Ghana

The literature also indicates that returnees have accumulated savings and expertise that can help them establish business in their home countries. The circumstances of return in this case

have made it difficult for returnees to start businesses because they had lost the capital they needed to do so:

*In Ghana, if you want to open a workshop you will need money for a container, which costs between 20 -50 million\* (old cedis), where will I get that money? [A33, 10 years in Libya, Aboabo].*

Twenty returnees (33%) indicated that they had started or were continuing a business venture since they arrived home. The majority of them had had gone into business partnerships with family or friends. Unfortunately most of these business (15.6%) were struggling, four (6.3%) had already collapsed at the time of the interview. Most of with successful business had returned before the conflict began.

**Table 4.2 Establishment of a Business in Ghana**

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Successful Business	7	11.1
Collapsed Business	4	6.3
Struggling Business	10	15.9
No Business	42	66.7
Total	63	100.0

**Source: Field Data, 2011**

The popular ventures undertaken include sale of general goods, motorcycles, aluminium spare parts, and cattle rearing. Others had opened shops for sale and repair of DVDS and other electronics and others had purchased vehicles for commercial purposes. This group of returnees faced the challenge of getting credit facilities and business management skills to support their business.

#### **4.6.4: Coping Strategies: Migrant Savings and Investments**

Since their return, many migrants have become dependent on their savings and investments back home. Others are also depending on relatives to whom they sent monies when they were away. These included mothers, siblings and friends. Returnees in some cases stayed with

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\*The Cedi was re denominated in July 2007, One Ghana Cedi (GhC) = 10,000 old Cedis (C). Returnees however still quoted in the old currency.

these relatives as dependants without jobs. In fact, some refused to work in Ghana saying that the pay was not enough considering their work experience in Libya.

Currently, it was their ‘susu’ savings, a form of co-operative banking, and other accounts, which they were using to take care of their families.

*... I could save between GH C500 and GH C600 a month in an account in Ghana. It was a Susu savings. I would send the money to my wife who would send it to the Susu house [N5, Farmer, and Techiman].*

*Since my return, my siblings continue to be in school because they saved some of the money [A13, 26 years].*

This is how many of them have survived months in Ghana without any income. Others have also used their savings to buy tools for their business. Three returnees had purchased vehicles for use as taxis. Others had gone into business like scrap dealing, whilst others opened shops:

*I sent money home to be saved for me; I came home to meet it I did not buy any assets when I was in Libya. Since I returned, I started this trade in motorcycles I used my savings from Libya to do that business, I work with my brother [A21].*

*I was saving that money in an account here in Ghana. It is this money that I have used to buy this car am driving, so I can say that the trip has helped me [N7, self-employed taxi driver, Techiman].*

*When I was here, there was no way I could have been able to afford this car but despite all the problems I experienced in Libya, I was still able to buy this car [A40].*

For the bulk of them that were not working at all, their long term plan was to find a way back to Libya or another destination where they felt it they would be paid well enough to be able to save, acquire property and educate their children. This group of returnees saw their stay as temporary because they had no faith in the economy or governance and felt that poverty and disgrace would be their only reward if they stayed.

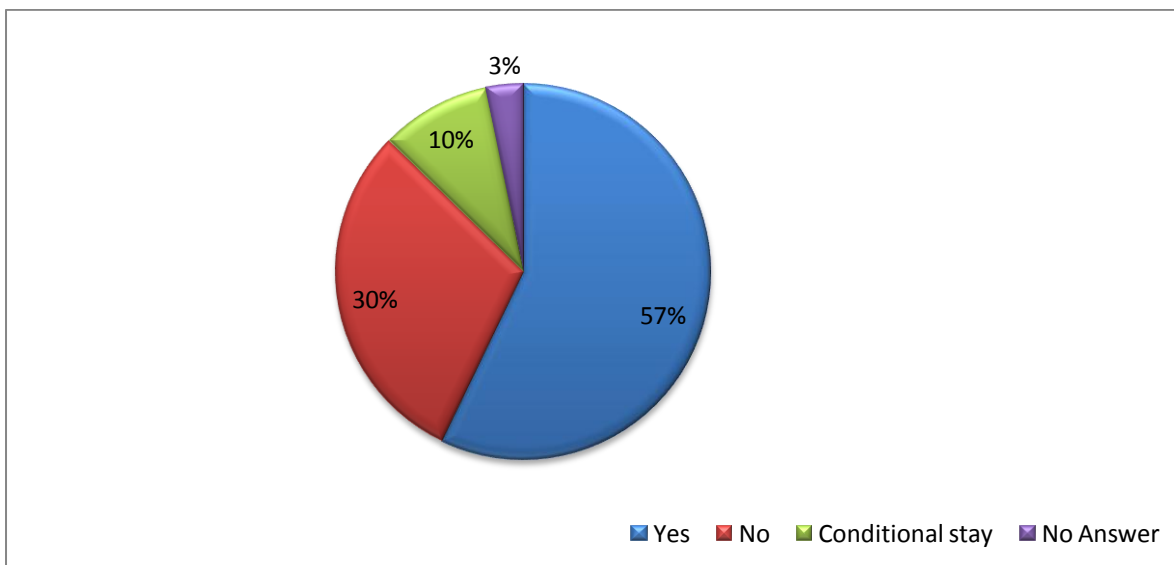
#### **4.6.5: Instability of Returnees at Home**

Many returnees were happy they were alive and well. To them the fact that they had escaped with their lives was reason enough to be grateful. From observation, many returnees were

shaken by their experiences and for some; this had significantly diminished their interest in migrating again. However, many expressed that the circumstances under which they left Libya and the circumstances they have come to meet at home is pushing them to return back to Libya when the crisis subsides. According to one returnee, it was going to be difficult for any returnee from Libya to want to stay:

*There is no one who will come from Libya and meet this situation and stay here, they will all want to go back [A36].*

**Figure 4.3: Plans to Re-emigrate**



**Source: Field Data, 2011**

The majority of returnees, 36 out of 63 (57.1%) had decided to re-emigrate because of the unfavorable economic conditions at home. Many of them had made concrete plans to return to Libya at the time of the interview. A few returnees 19 persons (30.2%) were confident that they could stay and work in Ghana, whilst six returnees (9.5%) said they would stay if they found good jobs and made a decent living but would re-emigrate if that did not happen.

The following were some responses when returnees were asked if they would return to Libya: *Yes, I want to return to Libya even if now, they call me, I will go, because things are hard. My passport is even in my pocket now, at all times! If I meet someone who can take me there I won't even go home to change, I will go with the person [A9]*

*...in Ghana all my work is just chop money, if things cool down, in just three months I will go back [A43].*

*Right now I do not agree with anyone who says they are going back at this time, because things are not the same, you have to wait till after the elections, even after elections you will have to wait a while to make sure things start getting normal first before you go. If I get the chance then, I will go [A42]*

For those respondents who stated that they would return if they had the chance, 60% of them were working in electricity, mining and construction companies:

*I returned because of the conflict but if the company calls for me, I will go again [A22, 35 years, Tafo]. This was true for even those in the reintegration program: Now I will travel again if I get a company job and I leave with that [N11, 30 years, Techiman].*

*Right now my mind has changed because it is even harder here than before; my company has called us back, so within a month's time I will go back. I would have loved to stay but circumstances are forcing me to go [A11, 33 years, Tafo].*

Returnees complained that their companies owed them their salaries, which would only be paid if they went and claimed their monies in person. This re-enforced their desire to go back to Libya:

*I was not paid monthly; it was every two-three months. As I sit here, the company owes me around \$7000 but I had to run home so I left it. I have even been calling them but they say unless I come there myself they will not give it me [A10, 36 years, Tafo].*

*..my company owes me \$3500 because we vowed not to come because we had not received our money so we waited till all the planes had left but they didn't pay and we were getting afraid for our lives so we decided to return like that by foot [A10, 36 years, Tafo].*

Even when returnees could not say explicitly that they would re-emigrate, the language used when describing their plans indicated that it was a matter of course to go back to Libya. For instance, they would say 'when I go back' as opposed to saying 'if I go back'.

Most of the returnees we felt they could make a life for themselves in Ghana were participants of the IOM training workshop in Techiman. Some of them had temporarily made

the decision to stay pending the reintegration assistance that they were going to receive. These were some of the reasons why they felt they did not have to re-emigrate:

*[...] now I have a foundation on which to build my life and I think I can manage things here* [N9, Techiman].

*Now, I have decided not to travel again. I have tried twice and nothing significant... the first one helped but the second trip caused me to lose all the benefits of the first trip. I have acquired some knowledge especially on how to do business, and I think that will help me* [N4]

*But if the help doesn't come, then you know, life will not be good, living will continue to be very hard, so we would have to turn our eyes elsewhere maybe not to Libya, maybe to Europe, because even the first time Europe was the main target* [N7]

Others had plans to re-emigrate elsewhere as the conflict in Libya had made that destination no longer a safe option:

*I want to travel again. The company I worked for also is in Kazakhstan so I plan to apply and go there to go and work* [A3]

*I have actually planned to go to South America to trade in Tobacco* [A31]

Although only 11 participants of the IOM led reintegration program were interviewed, it is clear that reintegration assistance from formal institutions make a difference in returnees' perception of their chances for success in Ghana despite the difficulties they are sure to encounter. This is discussed further in section 4.7.0.

Unfortunately, the rest of the 53 returnees had no such experience. Most of them had already initiated their re-emigration at the time of the interview. One such returnee went back to Libya and phoned to confirm his arrival in November 2011. By April 2012, most of the returnees in the Tafo Zongo had left for Libya. There were reports of more respondents going back to Libya but I could not verify all of them. I was reliably informed that A27, A21, A11 had gone back. B2 was also set to return. His employers Al Sahary Co.Ltd, had sent him his visa and air ticket in May 2012, and he was happy to go back because according to him, during his stay at home he had not even managed to earn GHC 50 a day. It was his best option he said especially as his wife had just had a new baby. Others such as [A9] who had earlier indicated an intention to travel again was still in Ghana due to ill health but had

decided that Libya was no longer a viable destination for him; he was still in search of a better job though and was not happy with his current standard of living. In Agona Swedru [A54] confirmed via phone call that he was planning to stay. A popular football team had scouted him and he was happy to start his professional football career again in Ghana. These two cases however, were the exceptions and not the rule as most of them had re-emigrated.

**Figure 4.4 Returnee with his family**



**Source: Author (2012)**

#### **4.6.6: Summary**

This section discusses the difficulties migrants face upon return and how these difficulties are inducing them to leave again. It is clear that without the necessary assistance return cannot be sustainable as described by Ghosh, (2001). The benefits of return as discussed in the literature which border on enhanced human resource is lost on the migrant communities because there are no avenues created for tapping that resource. The data testifies to the failure of policy and government machinery in absorbing returnees into the labour force. The findings also give an indication of the kind of assistance returnees require in relation to self-employment, entrepreneurship, marketing, generation of capital and general business management skills.

### **Part 6.0: Formal Reintegration Assistance**

#### **4.7.0: IOM Reintegration Program in Techiman**

In all four study areas, returnees were uncertain about their future in Ghana. Even those in

reintegration programs seemed uncertain of their long-term stay. However, it was apparent that those in the reintegration program felt more positive about their chances of making a meaningful life in Ghana than those who were not. In almost all cases, their stay depended on events in Libya and so some had not gone all out to look for jobs in Ghana because they were hoping to return to Libya.

IOM's reintegration program in the Brong Ahafo region has targeted migration pockets in the region. Three main areas in the region were selected for the first phase of reintegration assistance. In Kintampo, 30 out of 781 registered returnees were selected, 40 out of 791 in Nkoranza South and 35 in Techiman. In total 95 returnees, 15 members of the three communities and five representatives from Scholars in Transit a local NGO took part in the training programs (Pentax Management Consultancy services, 2012). This implies that in a region with an estimated 9,388 returnees, only 1.0% of returnees had received reintegration assistance. The structure of IOM's reintegration program is as follows:

- a. Identify returnees with interest in long term stay
- b. Provide business skills and training for returnees
- c. Group formation: Divide returnees into groups according to their occupations
- d. Train the groups to be autonomous, self regulated and motivated
- e. Have each group bring forth their needs in terms of equipment and funding
- f. Look for funding to provide tools and financial assistance for the various groups.

For those in the reintegration program, there had to be a reorientation as they all thought they were going to be given money for their work. In fact, it was that notion that got them interested in the training. Although they expressed initial disappointment, all ten (10) returnees interviewed under the program said they had received skills training on how to start, maintain and run their own business and were eagerly looking forward to the tools they were going to receive at the end of the program. To ensure greater commitment, each group had two members of the local community, as participants in the training workshops and cooperative groups.

According to the IOM official, this program was the first of many, the only problem had to do with funding. Programs such as these require financial backing that IOM and NADMO cannot afford for all 18,115 returnees nationwide. So far, only 0.6% of returnees evacuated had received any form of reintegration assistance.



It is indeed too early to assess the success of the program, however it is the only effort made to assist returnees so far and it is a model that can be replicated in other migration hubs. This model follows best practice in reintegration as specified by the European Commission report on long-term reintegration. It recommends local community involvement in reintegration programs. The model works on the principle of collective responsibility as members of a group or network. As part of a group, returnees become a check on each other because of collective responsibility; for instance if they guarantee a loan, they each have to pay their part before they can access another loan. Again should a member of the cooperative run away, the rest of those in the group are liable for making any default payment. This inbuilt check has proved beneficial in ensuring commitment of group members.

#### **4.8.0: The Role of Government Agency, NADMO**

The National Disaster Management Organisation, NADMO has the mandate to manage emergencies and disasters as well as prevent or mitigate such situations. An Act of Parliament, 517, set up the organisation in 1996 (NADMO 2005). The organisation is known for its role during the perennial flooding in Northern Ghana. The organisation also has a mandate to conduct post disaster rehabilitation, reconstruction and resettlement of affected individuals during natural and man-made disasters.

During the recent evacuation of Ghanaian nationals from Libya, NADMO was the main government agency responsible for taking data on the returnees as well as providing transportation for them home. NADMO is also a minor partner in the current IOM led reintegration workshops in the Brong Ahafo region.

#### **4.8.1: Government Fatigue**

According to the official at NADMO, the recent evacuation of irregular migrants has occurred more times than has been reported:

*In 1998, 5200 citizens were evacuated from Libyan prisons. In no time, they organized themselves and returned to Libya and this cycle is repeating itself with the current set of evacuees [NADMO official].*

In his opinion, the provision of monies upon return was not helping the situation at all; in fact, it was providing an incentive for them to make the trip and was bad for reintegration:

*We have not concluded the operation yet, but in my report, I would recommend that they should not be given any money when they come, it's pampering, we pamper them and some*

*have come and gone more than two times [NADMO Official].*

The above statement reflects the frustration of officials dealing with this situation. Clearly, the evacuation and deportation of irregular migrants' needs more attention than it is receiving now. There is an urgent need for a more integrated and holistic approach. It seems that its' implications for development have been lost on government agencies that are increasingly getting tired of using old methods, which are ineffective. The scale of the evacuations that occurred is unprecedented; the timing and urgency of the event meant that government had to cough up emergency funding and logistics that was difficult to acquire in a developing economy like Ghana. These factors put enormous strain on the state and its agencies and this has contributed to the government fatigue in dealing with the situation.

It is indeed a precarious situation as there is an ever-widening gap between the returnees and the few agencies that are in charge of reintegrating them. All the returnees interviewed were grateful that government intervened and brought them home and they also felt that since then they had been abandoned. According to them, they filled forms on arrival and were promised of job placement but these were yet to materialize. Those who were actively looking for jobs were even more aggrieved because they felt that because they didn't have any 'connections' there had very little chance of obtaining jobs.

All these difficulties on both sides (government and returnees) are not allowing the nation derive any benefits from migration. This also reinforces the notion that it is better to travel and catalyses the decision to migrate again. If this gap is not bridged, then crises of even much greater proportions are likely to occur in the near future.

#### **4.9.0 The Significance of Formal Reintegration Assistance**

The returnees in this training program indicated a greater hope and willingness to stay in Ghana. The table 4.4 shows how formal assistance affects returnees' re-emigration plans.

**Table 4.4: Impact of Formal Reintegration Assistance, Informal Support and Savings and Investments on Re-emigration.**

Formal Assistance	Savings and Investments			Plans to Re emigrate				Total	
				Yes	No	Condition al stay	No Answer		
None	Savings only	Support	Emotional	12	5		1	18	
			Emotional and Financial Support	0	1		0	1	
			No Support From Family	1	0		0	1	
			No Answer	0	1		0	1	
		Total		13	7		1	21	
	No Savings	Support	Emotional	1				1	
		Total		1				1	
	Investment in Property Only	Support	Emotional	5	2	3		10	
		Total		5	2	3		10	
	Both Savings and Investments	Support	Emotional	11	2	1		14	
		Total		11	2	1		14	
	Neither Savings nor Investments	Support	Emotional	5				5	
		Total		5				5	
	No Answer	Support	No Answer				1	1	
		Total					1	1	
	Yes	Savings only	Support	Emotional		3	1		4
			Total			3	1		4
		Investment in Property only	Support	Emotional		3	1		4
			Total			3	1		4
		Neither Savings nor Investments	Support	Emotional and Financial Support	0	1			1
				No Support From Family	1	1			2
Total				1	2			3	

Source: Field Data, 2011

The majority of returnees (12 out of 52) who depended on their savings and had emotional support from their family and friends had plans of re-emigration. As indicated earlier in the literature and in this chapter, returnees generally have varying degrees of emotional support from family and friends. Financial support however was rare from family and friends. 11 out of the 52 who had no reintegration assistance, but had savings, investment and emotional support also desired to re-emigrate. This was the same for those who relied on their investments (5 out of 52). It is interesting that the only returnees who indicated that they had neither savings, investments nor support from family and friends had no plans to re-emigrate. These persons were enrolled in the IOM led reintegration-training workshop in Techiman. Although the ratio of returnees receiving assistance to those not receiving any assistance is too low to make any conclusive statements, it can be inferred that formal reintegration assistance makes a difference in whether returnees stay or leave.

For southern countries like Ghana, emotional support (informal) is not as determinant a factor as formal assistance. This is clear from the literature and the data collected in this study. Formal reintegration assistance has greater implications for sustainable return of involuntary returnees.

#### **4.9.1: The Challenge to Reintegration Effort: Lack of Confidence in the State, its Policies and Agencies**

This was one of the themes captured in both the interviews and in the report on the IOM led training workshop organized in the Brong Ahafo region. The following quote describes one of the outcomes of discussions with 46 returnees in the Brong Ahafo region:

*Participants did not have confidence in the Municipal Assembly to be in charge of the distribution of the support... because of their experience with government officials.*

Concerning the reintegration workshop, returnees feared that “*the project will be interfered with politics or discrimination from local authorities*”

In all four study areas, this theme always came up and returnees were very passionate about this: There was a general feeling of disappointment in the state and its agencies:

*It really pains me what we have to go through, I really wish that some of our leaders' children would go through the desert, and have our experiences; it will really make the rule and govern properly [A44, Takoradi].*

Many of them expressed lack of confidence in the state and its leaders, and attributed their lack of interest in staying and working in Ghana to bad governance and leadership by successive governments. Many felt that the political and governance mechanisms had let them and indeed all Ghanaians down. This lack of confidence fueled their desire to find solutions elsewhere in other countries.

When asked if they thought it was possible to stay, work and succeed in Ghana [A27] replied: *[...] I do not believe in our leaders so I cannot stay here and succeed.*

*Our leaders are not correct because considering our resources we should not be suffering like that [A44, Barber].*

As a result of these sentiments, returnees have not taken advantage of existing socio-economic policies that have been put in place for the benefit of all Ghanaians. This mistrust and lack of confidence reflected in their answers to questions about government agencies and programs such the National Youth Employment Program (NYEP) and the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS). Most returnees dismissed the possibility of the NYEP helping them to get jobs. One remarked that he would not even try because he could afford to pay for it: *[...] even if you pay them GH C100, someone will come and pay them even more, and my money will not reach'.*

They refused to believe that they did not have to pay to be enlisted under the NYEP, which will help them with job placements. The two returnees who said they had contacted the organization complained that they were not getting any positive response; they had filled in forms and even paid monies but still were not placed.

Clearly, there is a credibility gap between the state and its agencies and returnees, which need to be bridged in order to create synergistic relationships that will achieve results. Reintegration efforts should also be geared at educating returnees on new national policies that can be beneficial to them and helping them cut the long bureaucratic process by perhaps having a separate desk for them in such organizations to handle peculiar issues that may arise in dealing with migrants.

#### **4.9.2: Summary**

The findings highlight the importance of formal reintegration assistance in ensuring sustainable return as postulated in the theoretical framework. Returnees who found the jobs they liked preferred to stay. Returnees indeed have a greater spatial mobility than non-

migrants partly because of their experiences and because of those who depend on them. It is interesting that after spending so many years abroad, some returnees still had not achieved their aim or considered retiring. This may be because their sojourn has enabled a certain form of dependency of family members on remittances, which will ultimately have, negative consequences for development. For some others, migration is the only livelihood they know and so re-emigration is inevitable. This will present significant challenges for reintegration. The import of all these different implications on reintegration is that it should be designed to be holistic and consider many factors, both the obvious and subtle.

## **Chapter Five: Recommendations and Conclusion**

### **5.0: Implications of Findings for the Formulation of Government Policy and Future Research**

The findings in this study have shown the many sides of involuntary return migration. It is obvious that this group of returnees from Libya are facing many challenges upon their return due to their circumstance of return and the level of needs in their home communities. It is also obvious that majority of returnees have not reintegrated into their home community and largely because of absence of formal reintegration assistance. There is therefore a great need for holistic reintegration efforts to stem the tide. This section addresses the issue of reintegration for involuntary return migrants.

#### **5.1: Successful Reintegration as a Disaster Prevention tool**

The study shows that most returnees are second, third time deportees from Libya, many of whom were caught trying to get into Libya or enter Italy through Libya illegally. From all indications, successful reintegration of these migrants prior to the 2011 crisis would have reduced the number of people affected by the crises and subsequently made it easier to manage the situation. It is clear that the state has so far taken a reactive approach to the issue of irregular migration and deportations. A proactive approach is needed as a preventive measure. This can begin with well-designed and carefully implemented reintegration assistance for deportees. There is also a need to build a network between receiving agencies. So far, there seems to be an already established partnership between the NADMO, the major governmental agency in charge of such of managing such occurrences and IOM. The next step would be to build on this partnership and give it a more proactive mandate. This means that these agencies especially the government departments need to be trained and sensitized on the importance of managing issues of migration for development.

#### **5.2: Counselling and Reorientation as Reintegration Tools**

Returnees who were brought home through government efforts were given food and drinks on arrival as well as money for transportation home. Except for the few in Brong Ahafo who are undergoing training, this has been all the reintegration assistance they have received. This is not enough as the findings indicate that most of them have either thought of going back, or have tried to go back despite the unstable political climate there. Clearly, returnees need counseling and re-orientation in addition to training and financial assistance. As much as

possible there ought to be counseling of returnees as individuals and as a group. Because success as a migrant is very important for their psyche, the issue of identity and status need to be addressed by counselors. The feeling that they had ‘failed as men’ has been a huge obstacle in the minds of returnees. The attachment of identity and status to their migration also calls for tactical handling of issues in the counseling of returnees.

Admittedly, considering the number of returnees and the lack of human and financial resources, this can be a very daunting task for NADMO and IOM alone. However, if a system of collaboration and division of labor that works on the community levels can make this achievable. Community members can be given training in order to counsel returnees and their families. Currently the family seems to be ignored in the reintegration efforts as resource persons and as people who need counseling themselves. Family members can be very good resource persons whose knowledge of returnees can be beneficial in understanding their needs. Sustainable return for this group of involuntary returnees should start with a change in perception and attitude about the opportunities at home.

### **5.3: Reintegration by the Community**

One major finding of this study is the role of peer and community pressure on young males in migrant prone communities. As the saying goes, it takes an entire village to raise a child; similarly, it will take an entire community to ensure successful reintegration. Reintegration programs must not be top-down but *bottom up* approach. This means that reintegration programs ought to be designed in partnership with returnees themselves. They must have a sense of ownership of the programs that can motivate them to stay. In communities where migration to particular destinations is the “main occupations”, returnees from Libya felt that they were failures because they had returned with nothing. In such areas, traditional and religious leaders, as well as local government authorities need to be involved in reintegration efforts.

Unfortunately, irregular migration is not even on local government authorities’ agenda even in migration hubs. Community leaders feel incapacitated and unable to do anything to help their youth. They felt they could not help with the job situation that was pushing them away. Clearly, there is a gap between them and the local government authorities and this has not helped the situation. Such neglect by local authorities has not helped in the management of migration and return. Community and peer pressure can be turned into an effective tool for



advocacy if leaders in the community, together with local government and relief agencies such as NADMO and IOM join their expertise and resources.

#### **5.4: Tailor-Made Reintegration Assistance**

Chapter 2 of this thesis raised a point about migrants being unique individuals with different needs. Reintegration efforts also ought to take into cognizance such indicators as gender, age, health, circumstances of return, accumulated savings, level of skills, number of dependents and job availability in the home community. This means returnees characteristics should determine the kind of assistance they receive. This is a target specific type of approach to reintegration that requires a more personal interaction with returnees as well as close monitoring for several months. The European Commission report on reintegration recommends that provisions of reintegration assistance and monitoring should go on for more than 12 months (2012:11).

##### **5.4.1: Job Placements as a Reintegration Step**

Many of returnees had acquired skills such as the use of heavy-duty machines, roller and compressor machines operation, acquired technical knowledge in mining, building and road construction and worked with reputable international companies such as Bell Finger and Burger in various supervisory capacities. They do not lack the skills or experience Ghana needs as a developing country especially with the new oil industry (a good number of these returnees have worked in the oil industry in Libya). In their own words, the best way to help them settle in Ghana is to assist them to get jobs or help them start a business.

IOM's effort in the Brong Ahafo Region responds to the latter. So far, returnees have been given assistance establish farms and various artisan shops. However, there are those returnees who do not fall into those areas who also have knowledge and skills that can be used in other fields. Many returnees are aggrieved that although they possess these specialized skills through experience, their lack of formal schooling makes it impossible to get any jobs in Ghana. Programs and interventions such as the National Youth Employment Program should be part of the collaborative efforts in job placements, not only for this batch of returnees, but also for all deportees who come back home. This will address the issues of job related financial insecurity and ensure that returnees stay.

## 5.5: Reintegration and Development

As indicated in Chapter 4, migration and return has had consequences for the communities of origin. On one hand, migrants have extensively supported education of children. Remittances sent in by migrants are significant enough to warrant their protection. On the other hand, the return of these migrants and the difficulties in getting jobs is leading to frustration, which can manifest in social vices, crime and ultimately re-emigration via unsafe channels. All these inadvertently affect development in the long term.

Perhaps the greatest danger for Ghana is that there is yet to be recognition of reintegration of migrants as a serious development issue. The lack of a policy on reintegration makes it difficult for any concrete steps to be taken in migrant endemic communities. The benefits of the 'brain gain' is not seen because policy makers themselves are either unaware or take for granted the skills and experiences that migrants have received abroad. There is need for a more holistic approach, which should take cognizance of the following facts:

1. That the economic conditions in Ghana, as other developing countries are indeed difficult especially for persons with basic education and little or no skills.
2. Irregular migration as the literature has shown in developing countries is inevitable and will continue until Ghana becomes a developed economy. Until then, management of irregular migration is crucial.
3. That irregular migrants choose their life style as a survival strategy for themselves and their families and so must not be treated as mindless people who do not have any aim
4. Returnees have gained experiences and technical expertise in various industries that can be harnessed for the development of local industries.
5. That returnees bring in significant amounts of money into local economies which many families depend on for survival
6. Irregular migrants deserve the protection of the state as Ghanaian citizens

For the migration endemic areas, there is an urgent need for a public-private community based approach. The role of academia in cannot be ignored here. There is still a lot that needs to be studied and researched into. Local government officials need training and sensitization on the issues affecting such communities in order to be able to work with community leaders and the returnees themselves to find solution to the unemployment problems that drive many of them out.

## **5.6: The Management of Migration and Reintegration: The Need for Policy and Legislation on Migration, Return and Reintegration**

There are two things that are clear from the findings of this thesis: one, that irregular migration and its attached consequences such as involuntary return are inevitable; two that the absence of policy on the planning and management of returnees with respect to reintegration perpetuates the cycle of irregular migration. There is therefore an urgent need for developing management options. It is unfortunate that a country that relies so much on remittances has no concrete migration policy. The absence of such a policy has repercussions for the economy as has been illustrated in the response to reintegration of involuntary migrants from Libya. According to IOM (2009:16), an explicit national migration policy is critical in mainstreaming migration into development planning. Such a policy would enhance the benefits derived from migration whilst minimizing its risks.

One positive outcome of the 2011 migrant crisis is that it has brought up the urgency in formulating a researched-informed National Policy and legislation on migration and reintegration. The individual experiences of migrants before, during and after return are critical factors that cannot be ignored in policy formulation and reintegration assistance. As a starting point, policy makers can use the experience of NADMO and IOM during the 2011 evacuations and subsequent reintegration programs as starting points. Research carried out during this period, such as this thesis can also be of use in this regard.

## **5.7: Conclusion**

This study has identified key factors that motivates migration, coping mechanisms of involuntary returnees as well critical success factors of successful returnees among others. It finds that although returnees have skills and expertise that can be beneficial for development, the absence of reintegration assistance and the low perception about returnees has not made this possible for this to be realised.

Returnees' greatest challenge at home is the difficulty in getting employment and making a decent living for themselves and their families, whose financial security depend almost entirely on remittances. Currently, social informal networks have provided to varying degrees emotional and in a few instances financial support for returnees. A lot more is needed in terms of formal assistance to ensure successful and sustainable reintegration. The absence of reintegration assistance has led to mass re-emigration of returnees back to Libya and other countries. There is therefore an urgent need for migration and reintegration issues to be taken

seriously by the state. Proactive measures, such as formulation of appropriate policy should be taken. Such a policy needs to be informed by research and take into cognisance individual characteristics of returnees and their circumstances as opposed to a 'one size fits all' approach.

Indeed the issues arising from this study has shown that issues of migration, return and development are interlinked in a complex relationship that binds developing and developed countries. Migration and involuntary return is indeed complex and can be a double-edged sword in terms of its impact on development. Management approaches are therefore critical in ensuring that the maximum benefits are derived for returnees, their communities and the state. It is also clear that there is still a lot more that needs to be researched into, for instance the long-term impacts of this return. It is hoped that this study will spur on further investigation these issues.

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## Appendices

### Appendix I

#### Interview guide<sup>1</sup>

Date of Interview \_\_\_\_\_

Start time of interview: \_\_\_\_\_ End time of interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Location of interview \_\_\_\_\_

Respondent's serial number \_\_\_\_\_

Additional notes \_\_\_\_\_

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<sup>1</sup> Some items in this guide were influenced by those used in the research project *Intercontinental Mobility and Return of Highly Qualified Nationals to Ghana and Côte D'ivoire* co-ordinated by The University of Sussex (UK) in collaboration with ISSER, University of Ghana and ENSEA, Côte d'Ivoire.

#### Returnee Information

Age: Sex: Marital Status: Number of Dependants:

Hometown: Current residence: Occupational: Date of arrival in Libya:

Number of years in Libya: Religion: Date of arrival in Ghana

#### Pre-migration

1. How were you making a living in Ghana before you travelled?
2. Were you satisfied with your living standard in Ghana?
3. What was your highest educational qualification and professional background then?
3. Why did you travel to Libya? (motivating factors)
4. Did the decision to travel come from you alone or you discussed with other people, family?  
What information led you (and your family, friends) to decide on Libya?
5. How did you make the trip (mode of transport)? How old were you then and with whom did you travel.
6. Can you tell me about the route you took? How many days did it take you to get there?
7. How much did it cost you? Did pay with your own resources or you had help? From whom did you borrow?
8. How long did you stay in Libya and with whom? Where did you stay?
9. Did you plan to spend that number of years there? If not, can you please tell me why?



10. What were your plans for yourself in Libya concerning work, education, your family?
11. Did you help anyone else to make the trip whilst you were there? Can tell me about that?

#### Per migration

1. What are the skills and qualifications that you learned abroad, if any?
2. How would you describe your lifestyle abroad? To what extent did this lifestyle differ from the one you had before in Ghana?
3. Which ties did you keep with your home country during your stay abroad?
4. If you had a nuclear family, who was taking care of them in your absence? Were your children in school?
5. Is there anything you were able to do for your family because you were abroad? Please tell me about that.
6. How often and how much money were you able remit on a regular basis?
7. For what purpose were you remitting?
8. Did you invest in a business or property in Ghana whilst in Libya? How has your investments in Ghana helped you to re-integrate into society?
9. How often did you visit your home country while abroad, and for what reasons?
10. Whilst abroad, what was your attitude towards return?

#### The decision to return

1. Why did you return home?
  - a) What were the main reasons why you returned?
2. Did you plan to return home? Was it spontaneous or circumstances forced you to return?
3. How did you manage to return? How were you transported? Did you receive any help from government? Whom did you come with?
4. How dangerous was your journey? What were some of the difficulties you encountered in your journey?

#### Post migration

1. The first few days in Ghana, where did you stay? What was your condition physically and mentally, emotionally?
2. How did your family react to your arrival? Were they happy, sad, and indifferent?

3. Have you noticed any changes in the way your parents, spouse, family leaders treat you, address you. Was it like before or has anything changed? Do you like these changes?
4. How have members of your community reacted to your arrival?
5. How do you think they perceive you now as an individual? As a man? Have you had any incidents that you can share with me?
6. How has your arrival affected your family's spending patterns, life style?
7. What has happened since you have come back home? How adjusted are you to the conditions in Ghana?
8. How has the skills and experiences abroad helped you in your current work/business?
  - a. Have you encountered any obstacles in utilising what you have learned abroad? If so, please tell me about these the obstacles?
9. What difficulties have you encountered upon return?
10. Are you getting any form of support from your family, community, government or any organisation?
11. What forms of help have you received so far?
12. When you made the decision to return, were you aware of any incentive (facilitating) programs or policies issued by the Government or other institutions?
13. Have you experienced any of these incentives/programs or policies since your return?
14. What changes in Ghana have you found useful since you returned?
15. In your view, what is the difference between someone who has never moved and someone like you who has spent some time abroad?
16. What do you miss most among the things you had whilst abroad?
17. What do you appreciate most among the things you found back home?
18. What are your plans and prospects for the future?
19. How permanent or temporary do you consider your return? Will you travel again? In addition, to which country would you like to go and why?
20. If you could go back, would you make the same decision to travel to Libya? If no, why?
21. How have you benefited your community since you returned?





## Appendix IV

### Summary of Evacuated Ghanaian Nationals by Region

REGION	26.02.11- 12.03. 11	13- 24.03.11	25.04.- 14.04.11	21.04.- 30.05	13th June-	TOTAL	Fares given (GH )
BRONG AHAFO	1,925	6,180	522	646	115	9,388	30
ASHANTI	946	1,072	153	117	52	2,340	25
NORTHERN	687	855	125	95	32	1,794	35
UPPER EAST	353	582	84	35	25	1,079	40
WESTERN	273	496	38	16	10	833	25
UPPER WEST	126	496	62	53	24	761	40
GREATER ACCRA	312	245	40	38	22	657	15
VOLTA	141	169	35	8	6	359	20
EASTERN	190	300	30	21	14	555	20
CENTRAL REGION	168	145	22	10	4	349	20

Source NADMO (2011)