

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES**

**CONFLICT-MIGRATION NEXUS IN GHANA: A CASE OF BIMBILLA  
CONFLICT IN THE NORTHERN REGION OF GHANA.**

**BY**

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**DECLARATION**

I Unusah Aziz do hereby declare that, except for references to other people's work, which I have duly acknowledged, this thesis is my own original research work, and that it has neither in part nor in whole been presented elsewhere for another degree.

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**DEDICATION**

I dedicate this study to my parents, Alhaj Aziz Adam and Hajia Zeinab Issaka for the support given to me throughout my studies.

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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

WANEP	West Africa Network for Peace-building
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WARN	West Africa Early Warning Response Network
NPC	National Peace Council
FPU	Formed Police Unit
REGSEC	Region Security Council
IEP	Institute for Economics and Peace
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
KVIP	Kumasi Ventilated-Improved Pit
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

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## ABSTRACT

The study examined the relationship between conflict and migration. Specifically, the factors that influence a person's decision to either stay or migrate during the conflict were the focus of this study. The study also analyzed the challenges and opportunities encountered by victims of the conflict and the reasons for their return to Bimbilla. Using both qualitative and quantitative research techniques, a total of 226 questionnaires were administered to persons who fled during the violence and have returned to Bimbilla, and persons who stayed during the violence. The study found that target attacks/killing, deteriorated economic activities as a result of the conflict, fear of gunshots and bullets were the main reasons for migrating. People stayed in the midst of the conflict even though circumstances of the conflict suggested they migrate. Uncertainty about challenges at destinations, the perception of not belonging to any of the conflicting factions, familial reasons such as large family size, aged relatives, and marriage were the main factors that prevented people from migrating during the conflict. The findings also suggested that interventions by the government were aimed at restoring peace without taking into account the basic needs of the affected victims. The study demonstrated that regardless of whether a person migrates and returns to post-conflict areas or stayed during a conflict, all face challenges such as economic, accommodation, and psychological trauma. Based on the findings of the study, peace campaign should be promoted in the community. It is recommended that interventions should aim at providing basic needs such as food and accommodation to victims of the conflict. Also, the government should establish a permanent security post consisting of both military and police to ensure that lives and properties are protected.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of the study

Communities have experienced conflicts from time immemorial. The definition of conflict varies among scholars. Pia and Diez (2007:2) define conflict as the struggle or contest over ideas, beliefs, needs, goals, and values between people. Mayer (2012:2) sees conflict as "... a feeling, a disagreement, a real or perceived incompatibility of interests, a product of inconsistent worldviews or a set of behaviors." Geopolitical and resource competition, economic inequalities, discrimination against minorities based on language, race, religion, and post-election violence tend to precipitate conflict in communities (Wegenast & Schneider, 2017; Hoffman 2016; Brown & Stewart, 2015; Elfversson and Brosche, 2012). Conflicts usually slow economic growth and development and also affect the stability and security of communities.

People are usually the casualties when conflict erupts. These people are usually categorized into combatants and non-combatants. The combatants are largely the youth (Ebata et al., 2005) and able-bodied whose main aim is to accomplish a peculiar goal. They adopt various strategies for achieving their goals. Some of the strategies - such as rape and sexual abuse of women and children, recruitment of child soldiers, arson, death threats and target killing of civilians - employed by these combatants during conflicts have the tendency of violating the fundamental rights of people. According to Hoffman (2016), there have been tremendous increases in fatalities among civilians compared with military combatants in a conflict in the past 25 years. It is indicated that a little over 25,000 deaths as a result of conflicts recorded in 2011 increased to approximately 70,000 deaths in 2013 (Hoffman, 2016). Usually the vulnerable population, most especially, children, women, the sick, aged and disabled are the affected group.

As a result of human rights violation and lack of physical security and safety, civilians in conflict situations adopt different mechanisms for survival. Migration tends to be one of the mechanisms used by people during conflict. Since there is migrant selectivity based on age, gender, marital status, level of education and income (Dustmann & Gorlach, 2015; Harris & Todaro, 1970), it is not everyone who desires to move even during a conflict that has the opportunity to do so. Those who have the means and capabilities usually migrate to neighboring communities and countries sometimes to join friends and kinsmen. Due to the haste and unprepared nature under which they migrate, they usually encounter numerous challenges such as hunger, diseases, injuries, traumatic stress and privation (Downes and Cochran, 2010). Some end up in uncongenial conditions at the destination.

Furthermore, victims of conflicts are also likely to face animosity from indigenes in the destination. They are sometimes denied access to basic services such as jobs, health, and education most likely when the movement involves crossing international borders. It is observed that the migrations of the affluent during conflict are usually well organized with little or no challenge at all since they are able to fund their movement (Shakur, Mehanna and Hopkins, 2005). The affluent migrate to their preferred destination mostly the cities where conflict has not occurred.

On the other hand, those who are unable to migrate during conflicts are usually displaced internally. Coupled with the likelihood of encountering constant attacks from combatants, internally displaced persons are also prone to deprivation, post-traumatic stress, diseases, and starvation. Certainly, conflicts have produced forced migrants such as refugees, asylum seekers, and internally displaced persons. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees reported that at the end of 2016, a total of 65.6 million people were forcibly displaced worldwide due to

conflict-related issues including persecution, violence and human right violation (UNHCR, 2017). The Report further reveals that among the top ten major sources of refugees, two sub-Saharan African countries – South Sudan and Somalia which have all been engulfed with Civil War produced over 2.4 million refugees by the end of 2016 (UNHCR, 2017). Most of these people normally move to neighboring countries.

Since the early 1990s, Ghana has become a destination for victims of conflict from neighboring countries especially Cote d'Ivoire, Togo, Liberia, Central African Republic, and Sudan. This is attributed to relative peace the country has experienced in the past decades. A 2017 Report by Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) on Global Peace Index reveals that out of 163 countries used for a survey, Ghana is ranked 43<sup>rd</sup> as the most peaceful country in the world. However, some parts of the country still experience sporadic communal conflicts. Several studies conducted in Ghana reveal that the most prevalent form of conflict that characterizes the country is communal conflicts (Debrah, Alidu and Owusu-Mensah 2016; Asamoah, 2014; Jonsson, 2009). Notably, communal conflicts in Ghana include Konkomba and Gonja, Nkonya and Alavanyo, Peki and Tsito, Effiduase and Asokore, and Kusasi and Mamprusi (Osei, 2010; Pul, 2015; Tsikata and Seini, 2004).

Bimbilla is one of the communities in the Northern part of Ghana that has been experiencing sporadic communal conflict in the past decades (Tonah and Anamzoya, 2016). The community comprises several ethnic groups such as Nanumba, Konkomba, Dagomba, Basare, Chamba, and Kotokoli. Several studies have been conducted to understand the various dimensions of the Bimbilla intra-ethnic conflict such as the causes, its effects on the livelihood of the people and development (Anamzoya, 2014; Anamzoya and Tonah, 2012; Anamzoya, 2010). Although the triggers of violent clashes between the various factions vary within time, it is widely

acknowledged that the root cause of the conflict hinges on competition over chieftaincy (Anamzoya, 2014; Field reports). The chieftaincy title of Bimbilla has been rotational among the Bangyili and Gbugmayili gates<sup>1</sup> (Anamzoya, 2010:51). However, this chieftaincy conflict has been in existence between two royal members and their respective supporters within the same Gbugmayili gate. Considering the sensitive nature of the conflict, any small disagreements between these factions if not well managed usually led to violent clashes with dire consequences.

There have been a series of violent clashes in Bimbilla. The first outbreak of violent clashes was reported in 1994 between Konkomba and Nanumba (Bogner, 2000). Subsequently, violent clashes also erupted in the early 2000s in Bimbilla between the Bangyili and the Gbugmayili gates. Following the murder of Naa Dasana Andani in 2013, Bimbilla was plunged into another turmoil for which curfew was imposed on the town (Daily Graphic, February 11, 2017). Furthermore, there have been recent outbreaks of violence in Bimbilla which have recorded about ten deaths which consist of children, women, and men aged between four and eighty-five years (Samuel, 2017).

The effects of these clashes are alarming. Apart from retarding development in Bimbila, there have been reports of target killing, destruction of properties such as houses and farms sometimes through arson. These tend to increase poverty and economic hardship on the populace. Consequently, people tend to migrate to neighboring communities and regions. This study, therefore, is undertaken to highlight how ethnic conflicts shape the migration decision-making processes—the preferred destination of the victims during the rise of the conflict, the challenges and opportunities they encounter as migrants in the destination, the forms of migration and the factors that have influenced their decision to return to Bimbila.

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<sup>1</sup> Gates – These refers to the various group of people who are entitled to the chieftaincy position.

## 1.2 Problem Statement

As stated earlier, Ghana has been relatively peaceful in the past few decades. This has made it a destination for people fleeing from conflict from neighboring countries. However, this stability is being threatened due to pockets of communal conflicts reported across some parts of the country (UNDP, 2012; Awedoba, 2010). It is apparent that the effects of conflicts are not usually confined to the perpetrators of the conflicts. Surprisingly, the larger population mostly women, children, and the aged tend to suffer more. Consequently, these people flee to nearby communities and regions to join friends, families and sometimes settle permanently. Several studies have shown that the impact of conflict on migration is usually considered at the macro-level where the victims of conflict are mostly considered as a homogeneous group when they decide to migrate (O'Reilly, 2014; Moore & Shellman, 2004; Davenport, Moore and Poe, 2003). However, the individual decision is also important regarding migration-decision making during conflict since the experiences of conflict vary especially by sex, age, among other factors. But how conflict affects the migration-decision of individuals has received little attention. Lindley (2009:6) argues that:

"Much attention has been paid to the causes of conflict and its processes ... and to the impact of conflict-related migration on the lives of people involved and the new environments in which they find themselves. But the interface between conflict and migratory processes has been less closely scrutinized".

Lindley's statement requires that we should attend to individual decision making in conflict situation. Using the Bimbilla intra-ethnic conflict in Ghana and how the conflict shapes the migration process of the individual, the study explores the factors that led an individual in a conflict situation to migrate or not, where to migrate to, the challenges and opportunities they encounter as migrants, and the motivations for their return.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The research, therefore, sought to investigate the following specific questions:

- i. How do the people of Bimbilla perceive the conflict in terms of its causes, effects and possible remedies?
- ii. How does conflict determine the migration decisions of people?
- iii. To what extent do some people stay even in a conflict situation?
- iv. What conditions and interventions has the government and other stakeholders implemented to entice people to return to Bimbilla?

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The general objective of the study is to examine the factors that shape the migratory decisions of individuals in Bimbilla. The specific research objectives were:

1. To examine the perceptions of Bimbilla indigenes about the Bimbilla conflict.
2. To find out how the conflict influences their decision to migrate.
3. To describe the conditions under which they migrate during the conflicts.
4. To identify the challenges and opportunities they encounter as migrants at their destinations.
5. To examine the conditions that influence their decision to return to Bimbilla.

### **1.5 Rationale of the study**

Communal conflicts in Ghana are caused by competition over land, chieftaincy disputes and religious differences (Bukari, 2016; Mbowura, 2014; Aning & Abdallah, 2013). Apart from communal conflicts affecting economic activities and slowing development of communities, they also cause people to migrate to neighboring communities. These people at times migrate to join

friends, relatives and kinsmen in the new destinations. Despite migrating to join their networks, they are likely to encounter challenges en route to and also at the destination. However, it is not everyone who migrates during the conflict, and persons deciding to stay in conflict areas are liable to also face some difficulties. This study is therefore undertaken to understand the individual decision-making to either stay or migrate in conflict areas. The findings of this study will help ascertain the effect of communal conflict on the migratory processes. This will enable government and non-governmental organizations draft policies aimed at improving the livelihood of victims of the conflict. Lastly, the study intends to contribute to the academic discourse by filling knowledge gaps that currently exist in the field of communal conflict and migration.

### **1.6 Organization of work**

Chapter one gives a general background of the study. The problem statement, research questions, and objectives, and the rationale are all elaborated in Chapter One.

Relevant works of literature that are related to the study are presented in Chapter Two. The chapter contains literature on the causes and dynamics of conflict, how conflict induces forced migration, the challenges and opportunities these forced migrants encounter at the destination, and the reasons why they return to their respective origins. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks are all presented in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three also contains the study area and methodology. The type of data and how the data were collected, the sampling technique and analysis are all presented in this chapter. The ethical issues that were observed throughout the study are represented in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four starts with the findings of the study. This chapter, however, focuses on the general overview – causes, effects, government interventions, and possible remedies of the conflict.

Chapter Five is devoted to data on return migrants. Their socio-demographic characteristics, the reasons for migrating, the challenges and opportunities for migrating and the reasons for returning to Bimbilla are presented in Chapter Five.

Chapter Six also captures data on non-migrants. The socio-demographic characteristics, the motivations for not migrating, the challenges and opportunities encountered for not migrating, and their future migration intentions are all presented in this chapter.

Lastly, the conclusion, summary of the study, and recommendations based on the findings of the study are outlined in Chapter Seven.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Since the end of the Cold War, conflicts have generally been transformed from inter-state to intra-state. Whereas Western countries such as United States of America, Russia, France, *inter alia* in recent times are concerned with Islamic fundamentalism and geopolitical differences (Wike & Grim, 2010; Roy, 2007), parts of Africa are largely experiencing communal conflicts (Ramsbotham, 2011; Lake & Rothchild, 1998). Communal conflicts constitute disagreements capable of engendering violent clashes between Non-state groups along ethnic, racial and linguistic identity (Balestri & Maggioni, 2017). Several studies conducted in Africa attribute the sources of communal conflicts to competition over natural resources such as land, chieftaincy disputes, ethnic diversity, religious differences, and post-election violence (McPeak & Little, 2018; Boone, 2017; Wegenast & Schneider, 2017; Oyeniya, 2011).

In West Africa, Eck (2014) probes why some countries are more likely than others to experience communal land conflicts. The findings show that communal conflicts, most especially land disputes, in West Africa are likely to occur in countries where the authority of customary institutions is contested by respective countries' legal institutions. The author claims that once traditional leaders perceive that their powers, such as control over land and ability in managing disputes, are being undermined. They tend to mobilize people along ethnic lines to maintain their power. Consequently, resolving conflict through state institutions usually becomes difficult (Eck, 2014). People resort to using unorthodox means such as extrajudicial attacks against perceived opponents. On the other hand, countries with a single institution that is mandated to manage land and settle disputes rarely experience communal conflicts. The policy implication of the study

shows that states should focus on promoting a single legal institutional system since this arrangement has the propensity of lowering communal conflicts (Eck, 2014).

Drawing lessons from the Horn of Africa, Mengistu (2015) investigates the sources of conflict using secondary data and qualitative research technique. According to the author, although there has been a tremendous decline of inter-state conflicts within the Horn of Africa, tension still looms between countries (Kenya and Sudan, Ethiopia and Sudan, Uganda and Kenya). The sources of the tension mentioned by the author are largely due to the contestation of borders, and activities of radical Islamist groups such as al-Shebab. Again, the major form of conflicts in the region according to the author is communal and intra-state conflicts. Mengistu identifies competition over and mismanagement of resources like land for agriculture and grazing, water bodies like the Red Sea, Indian Ocean and River Nile as the major sources of conflict. Furthermore, oppressive regimes, lack of transparency in governance system, religious and ethnic differences has all contributed to the eruption of violent conflicts in the Horn of Africa. To eliminate the root causes of these conflicts, the author recommends that state institutions need to be empowered, early warning systems should be established to pick signals of potential violence and regional, sub-regional bodies and states need to collaborate in facilitating and negotiating conflicts settlements.

A study by Basedau (2017) has shown that religious armed conflict has, apparently, become a trend and source of insecurity in sub-Saharan Africa. The author categorizes religious armed conflicts across sub-Saharan Africa into interreligious as in the case of Ethiopia, Central African Republic, and Cote d'Ivoire; and theological in Nigeria, Sudan, Mali, and Somalia. As stated by the author, religious armed conflicts, most especially theological conflicts, easily spread to neighboring countries. Basedau makes a cautionary note of not oversimplifying religious

differences as the main source of conflict, but, non-religious factors such as weak state institutions, ethnic marginalization, and inadequate economic and development opportunities are intertwined in most of the religious armed conflicts across sub-Saharan Africa. Violent conflicts associated with religion are caused by both religious and non-religious factors. Therefore, policies should aim at addressing both religious and non-religious causes. Although Western and international actors' support is most at times needed in resolving religious armed conflicts, the author recommends that the assistance should usually be done through African governments rather than directly intervening (Kappel, 2017).

In Eastern Nigeria, Okeke, Ibenwa, and Okeke (2017) use qualitative research method in a study to understand various dimensions of conflict between African traditional religion and Christianity and how this conflict has transformed the community. The study finds that social, moral, and ideological differences between traditionalists and Christians cause the conflict in Eastern Nigeria. Specifically, the authors identify naming and marriage ceremonies, funeral ceremonies, and means of treating ill-health, and form of worship as grounds that give rise to violence. The conflict has led to the loss of properties and destruction of sacred groves. It has also brought about syncretism of faiths among the people. To resolve religious differences, the authors recommend dialogue, especially, with the religious leaders, and to ensure that the various faiths are respected.

Boone (2017) employs sons-of-the-soil conflict framework to examine whether rural migration and land scarcity contribute to ethnic conflicts in Africa. The author argues that the tendency of rural migration and land scarcity in causing conflicts within Africa depends on the land tenure regime in place. There is an archetype of violent conflicts between indigenes and migrants in part of Africa such as Democratic Republic of Congo, Northern Uganda, and Southwestern Cote

d'Ivoire over access to land. However, Boone (2017) asserts that the son-of-the-soil model cannot be used to largely explain ethnic conflicts in Africa. Because, state support to neo-customary institutions in managing land within most parts of Africa has made it possible for indigenous population not to feel threatened by migrants. Hence, although few clashes have been recorded in that regard, it is not usually on a large scale and it is mostly at the local level. The author concludes that institutional change such as reducing the powers of local authorities by state institutions in land ownership has the tendency of causing conflict between the indigenes and migrants.

Verweigen (2015) studied the Mai-Mai in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo and discovers that mobilization along ethnic identity is a potent strategy used by the indigenes to legitimize violent actions against people perceived to belong to a different ethnic group. Apart from the claim that indigenous people's reason for forming groups is to share their sense of belongingness, Verweigen contends that mobilization among the Mai-Mai people is a way of consolidating power. Consequently, minority residents who settled in Fizi, a suburb of Eastern part of Congo were marginalized by the Mai-Mai.

Similarly, Abegunde (2011) uses quantitative research method to investigate the role of land in an inter-communal conflict that characterizes Southwestern Nigeria. Most of the communal conflicts that occur in Southwest Nigeria are due to competition over land and land related issues. According to the author, the economic, socio-cultural and religious significance attached to land are enough reasons for people to compete sometimes resulting in violent clashes. Since land in Southwestern Nigeria is largely owned by the indigenes like the most part in Africa (Wily, 2011), Abegunde (2011) suggests that Nigerian lawmakers ought to enact regulatory

frameworks that enhance access, acquisition, ownership, and transfer of land among the populace.

The chieftaincy institution in Ghana has been a source of violent conflicts in the past decades (Bukari, 2016; Campion & Acheampong, 2014). Owusu-Mensah, Asante, and Osew (2015) interrogate the role of Queen Mothers in Akan ethnic conflicts in Ghana. The authors argue that Queen Mothers' perform an important role in the selection of chiefs among Akan communities. But, Queen Mothers' inability to perform their duties through opposition from other traditional actors such as kingmakers has given rise to many conflicts in Akan communities (Owusu-Mensah et al., 2015). The authors maintain that in some communities where Queen Mother's traditional rights were accorded, conflicts still exist due to the negligence of their duties such as selecting a wrong person to become the chief. Accordingly, it was recommended that Queen Mothers should be empowered through public education, seminars, and workshops on the importance of their responsibilities. Also, Queen Mothers need to be resourced financially by allocating them some royalties from the communities to perform their duties effectively.

Also, Fjelde and Ostby (2014) quantitatively conducted a study to find out how socioeconomic inequalities contribute to communal conflicts across sub-Saharan Africa. Whereas two hypothesis of the study were confirmed by the findings, one was rejected. The study reveals that sub-Sahara African communities characterized by unequal distribution of socioeconomic opportunities such as access to education, fertile lands, and jobs between individuals are susceptible to communal conflicts. The authors claim that horizontal inequality by which larger ethnic groups are marginalized by minority due to the unequal control of power has been a major source of conflict to several communities in sub-Sahara Africa. It was also revealed that communities where large ethnic groups control power over the minority, communal conflicts

rarely occur although the hypothesis stated otherwise. The authors recommend that policies towards averting communal conflict in sub-Saharan Africa should consider inclusion of all ethnic groups as well as sustainable growth for all.

Burbach (2016) argues that there has been a tremendous decline in conflicts in Africa in the past decade. Using data from Center for Systematic Peace (CSP), the author observes that there have been declines in the number of "battle deaths" of 1000 per annum from an average of 12 in the late 1990s to an average of 3.5 within 2010 to 2013. The study shows that changes in geopolitical environment, security assistance and peacekeeping by some developed countries have helped in reducing conflicts in Africa (Burbach, 2016:06). According to the author, the campaign to end the sales of arms and purchase of minerals, which directly fuel conflicts in Africa, economic growth, and good governance also accounted for the decline in conflicts within Africa. To promote further decline of conflict in Africa, Burbach suggests that external agencies ought to collaborate with the African Union to foster peace in the continent. Also, the author indicates that embargo on the sales of arms to volatile nations can help reduce the rate at which violence occurs, therefore, should be promoted.

Using both qualitative and quantitative research techniques, Wig and Kromrey (2017) investigate the impact of customary institutions on the occurrence of communal conflict among ethnic groups in Africa. Two major findings were identified in the study. Firstly, the study reveals that traditional political institutions in Africa with more inclusion of ethnic members in decision-making rarely experience communal conflicts. Secondly, the authors argue that African communities where there are highly organized and formalized customary institutions like chiefs, the house of chiefs, and traditional councils are less prone to communal conflicts. These institutions usually intervene and soothe groups anytime violence is about to flare-up (Wig &

Kromrey, 2017). Based on the findings of the study, Wig and Kromrey (2017) recommend that customary institutions should be empowered and involved in mediating conflicts.

## **2.1 Forced Migration Due to Conflict and Its Effects on Migrant**

The incidents of forced migration usually occur due to natural disasters and violent armed conflict (Lori and Boyle, 2015). The quest by nation-states to achieve meaningful development cannot be realized without addressing the problem of forced migration (Turk and Garlick, 2016). Birchall (2016:1) defines forced migration as "the movement of people under circumstances of coercion, typically involving threats to life and livelihood". Rwamatwara (2005) conducts a study to find out the negative effects of forced population displacement in sub-Saharan Africa. Forced migration affects the socio-cultural cohesion, the economic and political systems of several countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Rwamatwara further argues that forced migrants activities such as cutting down of trees in search of firewood and water pollution affect the environment of host communities. Consequently, these create unnecessary insecurity in the host communities, which usually causes conflicts between forced migrants and the indigenes.

Haaß, Kurtenbach, and Strasheim (2016) uses both qualitative and quantitative research techniques to investigate determinants of emigration in post-war societies using Nepal and El Salvador as a case study. The authors hypothesize that varied forms of outward migration emerge after a war due to the quality of peace, economic livelihood and political institutions of a country. The study reveals that physical insecurity and violence such as torture, kidnapping, rape, and reprisal attacks are common in most post-conflict societies. Therefore, civilians tend to migrate to other places for safety. According to the authors, lack of viable economic opportunities, state repression which leads to inequalities and the inability of political institutions to provide security serve as major causes of emigration from both Nepal and El Salvador. Based

on their findings, the authors recommend that “... it is not enough to provide a minimum of security... rather, the reduction of post-war state violence and non-state violence, as well as institutional reforms that ensure a peace dividend in the form of economic and political opportunities for the broader population ...should be the aim” (Haaß et al., 2016:27).

Several studies focus on the negative effects of forced migration, and the determinants of emigration from post-conflict societies (Haaß et al., 2016; Rwamatwara, 2005). However, little is known about the individual experiences, challenges, and survival strategies they employ as forced migrants in the host communities. Without full understanding of the experiences and challenges of forced migrants, it may be difficult for policymakers, humanitarian organizations and respective governments to provide the necessary assistance forced migrants may need.

Lindley (2009) explores the causes and forms of migration due to conflict among Somalis mainly in Mogadishu. Using qualitative research design, Lindley identifies three major causes of forced migration from Mogadishu to neighboring countries during Somalia civil war. Firstly, loss of human capabilities – the killing of one’s immediate relatives during the violence, target arrests, and direct assaults such as rape, beating and amputation of limbs influence individual's decision to leave Mogadishu. People were financially burdened during violence due to confiscation and deliberate destruction of properties that forced them to migrate. Finally, Lindley notices that lack of socio-political protection also precipitated migration from Mogadishu to new destinations. Lindley (2009) notices some mixed feelings among Somalis decision to migrate during violence although some tend to delay their migration.

Idemudia, Williams, and Wyatt (2013) used qualitative research method and identify poverty, unemployment, famine, and homelessness as factors that cause Zimbabweans to migrate to South

Africa. Apart from economic challenges, the authors also lay emphasis on the significant role torture and imprisonment play in causing Zimbabweans to migrate. While threats and physical violence were common among both genders, sexual violation was only reported by women during their migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa (Idemudia et al., 2013). The authors further observe that Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa were denied basic necessities such as food, water, and accommodation and, they were being coerced and exploited during their stay in South Africa.

In a study to understand determinants of forced migration among Syrian refugees, Bryne (2016) argues that people's decision to migrate varies based on the intensity of violence in Syria. The study finds that shootings during violence in Syria produce high migration flows; however, the use of chemical weapons produces low migration flows. According to the author, it was safer to flee during shooting as compared to when chemical weapons were being used. In addition, deteriorated economic conditions in Syria caused high migration flows among Syrian refugees. However, the study further reveals that the economic conditions of the destination countries and cultural networks play an insignificant role in forcing Syrians to migrate during their civil war.

Calderon, Gafaro, and Ibanez (2011) used quantitative research approach to examine female participation in the labor market. This was to find out how their participation enhances their bargaining power within the household in Colombia during violent conflict. People that are forcibly displaced usually migrate from rural to urban centers. Women are in a better position to participate in the labor market during displacement. This is because skills of most men from these rural areas are agriculturally related, which are rarely needed in the urban centers. The authors further argue that despite women contribution to maintaining the household and sometimes serving as the main source of income, their status in terms of decision making in the

household does not change. Also, the study reveals that women, especially married women encounter domestic violence from their husbands due to frustrations their husbands hold as a result of the displacement. The authors suggest that governments and stakeholders should target both genders in their policy formulation to reduce the violence that usually characterized displaced households.

Raeymaekers (2011) analyzes how youth that had been forcibly displaced due to armed conflict access the labor market in the post-conflict Democratic Republic of Congo. He interviewed 348 respondents along with four focus group discussions and found that youth displaced by conflict found it very difficult to stay in one place. Hence, they tend to engage in what Conway (1980:02) describes as “step-wise migration”. The study reveals that more than half (54%) of the youth that migrated to urban areas depend on family and kin ties for food and accommodation. In order for the displaced youth to compensate for the support they receive from the host relatives in the urban areas, they help in household chores and engage in the informal sector to generate income. The author concludes that there is going to be a future shift of professions from traditional agriculture to commerce, services, and administrative jobs among the displaced youth in cities.

Ibanez and Moya (2010) investigated changes in the welfare of rural households affected by conflict and the coping strategies they adopt in the destination. The study was conducted in Colombia using a quantitative approach with a sample size of 2,322. The study reveals that households affected by conflict find it difficult to generate income and this sometimes leads to chronic poverty among the displaced population in the destination. Consequently, their consumption is mostly affected usually leading to a loss in body size, health deterioration, and drops in nutritional outcomes. In order to overcome these challenges, the authors assert that displaced persons employ strategies such as truncating the education of older children to

participate in the labour market to augment income of the household and selling of family assets. Also, family's sometimes split for some members to return to the origin community to protect the family assets such as land, houses, inter alia. Based on their findings, the authors recommend that policies should be drafted towards implementing income-generating programs, protecting assets of victims of conflicts, and providing microcredit and seed capital to the displaced population.

Ruiz, Siegel, and Vargas-Silva (2015) explored how forced migration affects the social status of refugee returnees in Burundi. The study also looked at how gender roles are reshaped due to forced migration. Data collected on Burundian refugees who were repatriated from neighboring countries was quantitatively analyzed. The study found no significant relationship between migration and the social status of the returnees; implying that neither their migration experience improves their livelihood nor their ability to make major contribution to the development of the community. The findings show that returnees who stayed longer in the various destinations feel isolated within the community and the households in Burundi.

Using longitudinal data from Colombia, Ibanez, Moya, and Arteaga (2017) examine how conflict shapes internal migration and the dynamics of sending and receiving remittances among forced migrants. The study found that rural households that were directly attacked during violent clashes have a higher tendency of migrating than households that were not directly attacked. The study further reveals that forced migrants in the destination tend to send remittances to augment the households' income in the conflicted areas. On the other hand, the study reveals that remittances were sent from households in origin areas to forced migrants in the destination areas to aid them in meeting their financial demands.

Blanchet-Cohen, Denov, Franser, and Bilotta (2017) conducted a study that focused on the educational experiences of youth affected by conflict who have been resettled in Quebec, Canada. The study adopted qualitative research method in which in-depth and focus group discussions were carried out on 22 respondents. They found that youth that resettled due to the conflict in the quest to further their education faced difficulties in the educational system of Quebec. The authors argued that pre-migratory and post-migratory experiences such as post-traumatic stresses from conflict, racism experienced at school, disparities in learning styles between the origin and host countries, and lack of psychosocial support are some factors that make it difficult for resettled youth to adapt in Quebec. Due to the absence of formal support, the authors suggested that youth creates their own personal support networks through peers, surrogate families, and communities to overcome the challenges that Quebec society pose to them.

Jacobsen (2002) studies reveal that providing arable land for farming activities, cash, information, and granting victims of conflict opportunity to work in the host country in order to earn an income will most likely lead to their independence and reduce the chances of depending on external support. As stated by Hansen, (2001:9) “Access to land and common resources is thus a key component of refugee livelihoods, and of their economic productivity.” Similar studies conducted by Kibreab (2002) show that refugees in host communities are mostly denied access to some fundamental social benefits such as access to education, property rights, fair trial and the right to engage in economic activity, therefore, always increasing the plight of refugees in the host country.

## **2.2 Nature and Dynamics of Return Migration to Post-Conflict Communities**

O'Reilly (2015) examines the impact of recovery from displacement due to conflict on the consumption of households in Northern Uganda. The study employs the quantitative research approach. The findings indicate that displaced population, upon returning to their home community after a conflict, in the short period experienced hardship in the form of lower consumption. The author highlighted the inability of displaced population to access land upon returning (Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2013); forgoing consumption to re-accumulate assets lost or damaged and slow process of rebuilding social capital as the reasons for experiencing economic hardship at the initial stage. However, after staying for longer periods, displaced population usually catch up with growth and other economic activities. The author observed that from 2006 to 2010, displaced households experienced a lower growth rate of consumption as compared to non-displaced households. However, the pattern changes from 2010 to 2012 in which the same level of consumption pattern was observed across both displaced and non-displaced population. Although the study illuminates the understanding of the economic well-being of displaced population using quantitative research approach, the research approach is not robust enough to comment on many important aspects of displacement. O'Reilly (2015:203) vividly stated that "Quantitative analysis of displacement can complement the more qualitative sociological and anthropological research to better understand this complex issue." It is, therefore, important to employ both qualitative and quantitative research methods in a single study to understand the complex nature of displacement caused by conflicts.

Walraet (2011) carried out a study on Internally Displaced Persons and refugees of South Sudan that have experienced conflict in the past. The author sought to understand why IDPs and refugees prefer to resettle in different communities than returning to their origin communities.

The author identified the inability of IDPs and refugees to access land and formal jobs as challenges they encounter in the resettled communities. To mitigate these challenges, the author highlighted that Sudanese IDPs and refugees from affected communities and refugee camps tend to rely on their social networks in the resettled areas. Accommodation and source of livelihood were the most significant assistance relatives and kinsmen provided for IDPs and refugees in the places of resettlement. Similarly, contributions in the form of food items and money from relatives and kinsmen were given to IDPs and refugees during events such as naming and marriage ceremonies in the new destination. Walraet (2011) recommended that state policies should be drafted to ensure that IDPs and refugees have an equal chance of accessing resources in the new destination.

Uganda has had its share of violent conflict from the 1980s to 2006 (Kiwuwa, 2016). Immanuel (2010) conducted a study that focused on the challenges of Internally Displaced Persons, specifically women, upon returning to Uganda. Also, steps government and stakeholders can adapt to guarantee women's land rights were investigated. The study was undertaken in the northern region of Uganda and data were collected using a qualitative method. The author noted during interviews in the various IDPs camps that some women especially widows and divorced, and orphans could not return to their origins due to their inability to access land. Those who managed to return faced challenges in reclaiming and using land as a result of their long stay in the camps, and the ineffectiveness of land tenure systems. According to Immanuel (2010), most of these women were into agriculture. However, as they were denied access to their source of livelihood, it rendered most of them homeless and some became domestic servants and sex workers. In order to overcome these challenges, the author highlighted the need to empower

women through granting them direct access to land at both camps and the origin, credit facilities, and skills training that will enable them to generate income.

Fransen, Ruiz, and Vargas-Silva (2017) assessed the economic activities between return migrant households and non-migrant households to see if there were any differences. Using panel data from Burundi, their findings show that the return migrant households reported lower numbers of livestock and fragile economic well-being as compared to the non-migrant household in Burundi. The authors attributed these discrepancies to the legal and practical restrictions of respective governments in the destination, which tend to prevent Burundian refugees from engaging in economic activities. Consequently, their skills deteriorated because of their inability to acquire jobs in the various destinations. According to the authors, it affected the refugees upon their return to Burundi. Fransen et al. (2017) concluded by highlighting the need for host countries to grant refugees the legal rights to engage in economic activity to enable them meet their needs.

Fransen (2017) investigated the effects of socio-economic sustainability of return refugees on households and the community at large. The author employed a quantitative method by which data were collected from households and community with a sample size of 1,500. Fransen identified emotional attachment of Burundian refugees and the relative political stability that was restored to Burundi as some of the factors that influenced their return decision. Results show that majority (82%) of return households were able to access land, the most significant source of livelihood in Burundi (Fransen, 2017:7). The author argues that returnees' ability to access land was as a result of the government policy of allotting land to return migrants upon their return to Burundi. However, food insecurity was prevalent in communities that received a large number of second-generation return migrants'. In addition, households in such communities also encounter

economic difficulties. Based on the findings of the study, the author recommended that reintegration assistance should cater for various types of returnees.

### **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

Conflict has affected migration in the past decades (UNHCR, 2016). However, most migration theories such as neoclassical and new economic labour of migration attribute the individual and group of person's reasons for migrating to just economic factors (Castles, De Haas and Miller, 2013). Also, some theories have been propounded which focus on addressing labour migration (Portes and Bach, 1985). These include the world systems, dependency, and Zelinsky's mobility transition theory (King, 2012). However, the theories fail to address the non-economic reasons for migration, especially conflict, and its related effects. Lindley (2009:6) aptly expresses that the causes of forced migration are easily described as "there was a conflict in the area, and people flee". Communal conflicts in Ghana, especially, the intra-ethnic conflict in Bimbilla are unpredictable and usually occur abruptly. The conflict affects so many facets of the community and sometimes causes people to migrate. Due to the complex nature of conflict-migration nexus, the study uses social network theory to explore how conflict affects the decision of a person to migrate or stay, and their return.

#### **2.3.1 Social Network Theory**

Social network theory forms an integral part in existing theoretical frameworks that guide the studies of migration. The theory offers a broad understanding of the interconnectedness between the macro level and micro level analysis of migration (Kritz, Lim, and Zlotnik, 1992). According to Massey et al. (1993:448), social networks refers to a 'set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin'. Since the theory's inception, it has shaped the

migration process – the migration decision-making, outflows, and return migration (Brettell and Hollifield, 2014). A major assertion of the theory is that the networks of a person serve as a means through which resources and information towards migration are obtained. The benefits a person may obtain by the mere fact of being a member of a network or group refers to social capital (Portes, 1998). The mobilization of resources to migrate, information about job opportunities, providing accommodation at the destination, and return migration is usually obtained through a person's ties with a family, friends or kinship at the sending and destination. Consequently, social networks help to reduce the cost and risk that characterize the migration process (Massey et al., 1993:449).

In a study to understand the causes of flight during conflict, Adhikari (2013) hypothesize the impact of social networks on involuntary migration and reveals that social networks sometimes prevent victims of conflict from migrating. The author argues that social networks serve as a survival strategy through which when conflicts emanate, people tend to rely on their ties with family, friends or association for protection and see no need to migrate. In a similar study conducted by Haug (2008), she juxtaposes social network theory with the traditional push-pull theory of migration and argues that social networks can serve as pull factors for people during conflicts. Using the affinity hypothesis, Haug (2008:589) expresses this vividly:

“The existence of relatives and friends at the place of residence reduces the tendency to migrate. Non-economic factors such as close links to a community, strong local kinship ties, high investments in a community as well as assimilations difficulties in a new community all reinforce the tendency not to migrate (Ritchey 1976:389; Uhlenberg 1973:309). Social networks at the place of residence are a preventive factor.”

Conversely, studies have shown that social networks can also serve as push factors for migration (Arango, 2004; Adhikari, 2013). For example, a personal affiliation to a particular ethnic group which is in conflict with another ethnic faction may make him/her susceptible to attacks. Thus, communities that are characterized by intra-familial conflicts may make one a prime target during violence (Hugo, 1981: 196). Consequently, these will influence one's decision to migrate when conflict ensues (Haug, 2008).

The study is guided by social network theory due to its robustness. Because the conflict in Bimbilla is intra-familial, the theory is used to understand how it affects individual decision to migrate or stay any time violence ensues. The theory is also significant in a study like this since it helps to highlight how returnees gain support either financially, psychologically or information about opportunities back home from their family, friends and kinsmen during and after violence. The ability of a potential or return migrant to maximize the benefits associated with having social networks help to minimize the cost associated with the processes of migration (de Haas, 2010).

#### **2.4 Conceptual Framework**

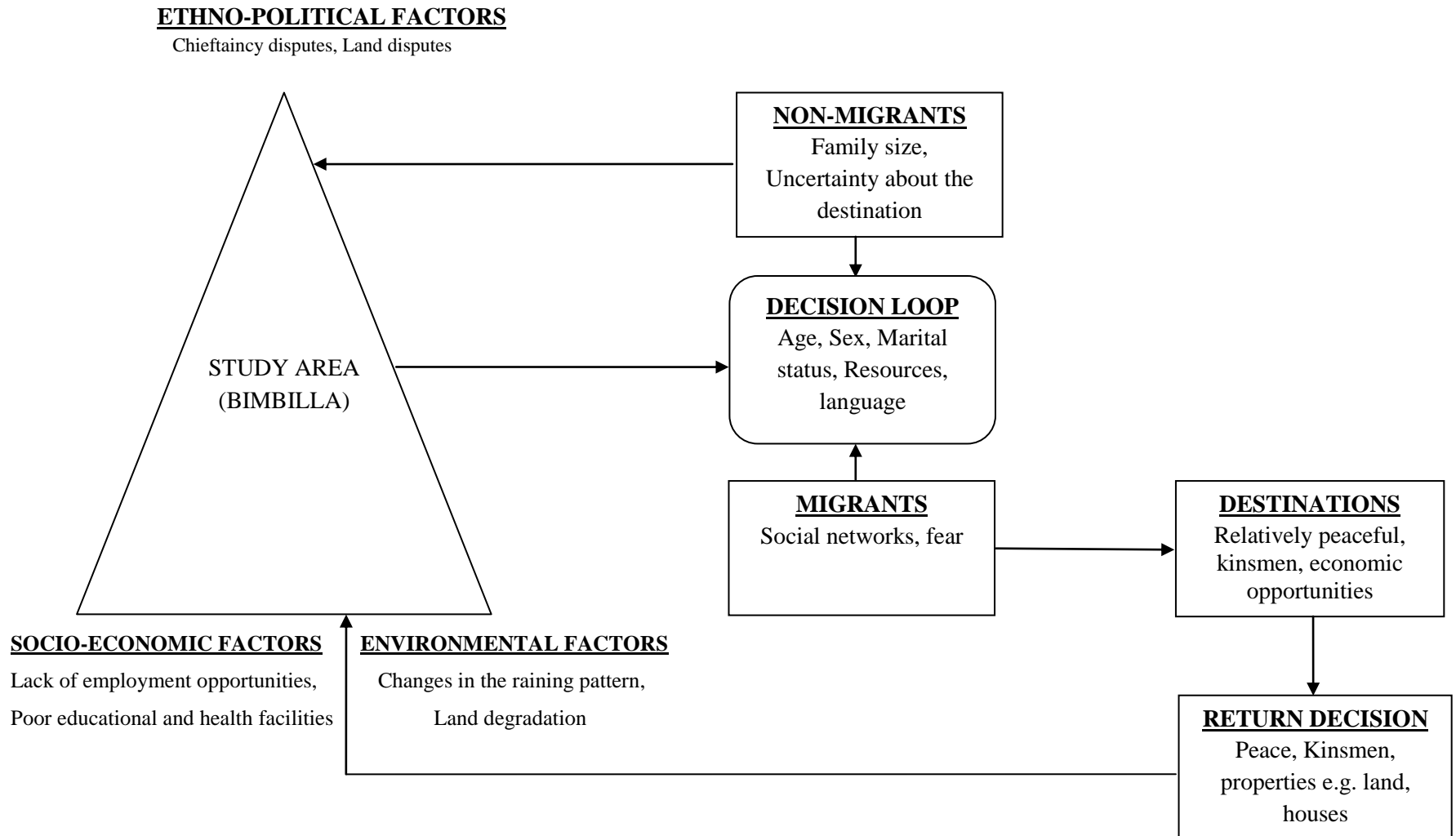
The conceptual framework employed for this study is built on the push-pull framework. The framework explains factors from both origin and destination that cause people to migrate (King, 2012). According to King (2012), push factors from the origin generally include unemployment, poverty, political repression, and landlessness. The author further identified better job opportunities, political freedom, and good environmental and living conditions as some of the pull factors of migration. Despite the numerous factors that affect people's migration processes, Lee (1966:50) asserts that people usually face what he described as "intervening obstacles". These are factors that tend to hinder the migration of people from the origin to the destination.

These include cost and distances of the destination, cultural barriers, and most importantly personal factors.

In the Northern Region of Ghana, several factors have pushed people to migrate to different parts of the country – both near and far. These factors include lack of employment opportunities, ethno-political upheavals such as land and chieftaincy conflicts, and deplorable agricultural production which is the main source of livelihood for most households (Verkaart, 2011).

The framework below depicts a schema of the study which suggests that Bimbilla is affected by socio-economic factors such as inadequate employment opportunities, poor communication services, roads, educational and health facilities as shown in the triangle. As well, agriculture which happens to be the main source of livelihood (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013) has been affected tremendously due to changes in rainfall patterns and land degradation. Ethno-political conflicts such as chieftaincy and land disputes have also been in existence for decades. The ethno-political conflicts of Bimbilla have produced several forms of migration among the indigenes (Anamzoya and Tonah, 2012). But, making migration decisions under the above factors, most especially during violent clashes, varies from individual to individual. According to Williams (2015), people's experiences during conflicts differ considerably. In contrast, Davenport et al. (2003) argue that victims of conflict are mostly subjected to the same conditions; therefore, their migration decision is similar.

**Figure 1: Diagrammatic representation of conceptual framework**



Source: Adopted and modified from UK Foresight Report (2011)

Based on observations made by (Engel & Ibanez, 2007; Williams et al., 2012; Williams, 2015) in Nepal, Lebanon, and Colombia, individual experiences during conflicts produce varied migration decisions. It usually results in a section of the population making the decision to migrate whilst others stay during the violence. In making migration decision during such violent circumstance, people most likely consider several factors including personal characteristics. Although the push factors (e.g. ethno-political, socio-economic and environmental) identified in Bimbilla as shown in the conceptual framework may require a person to migrate, their decision was made with consideration to their personal characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, language and resources. Apart from considering personal characteristics, people's decisions not to migrate during the violent conflict are sometimes influenced by the size of their family, unavailability of resources and cultural reasons. On the other hand, people migrate during violence due to strong social network at the destination, and availability of resources to fund their movement. Also, people migrate in violent circumstances due to fear (Andrews-Speed et al. 2014).

In selecting a destination, migrant's choice varies during violent conflict. However, the level of peace in the various destinations is usually paramount among all migrants. In addition to choosing a particular destination based on the level of peace, migrants sometimes consider the economic conditions of the area and the presence of their kinsmen. Although few people who migrate due to violent conflict settle permanently in the destination, a majority of these migrants return to their origin for several reasons. As argued by Van Houte and Davids (2014), returnees are sometimes motivated to return to the origin – post-conflict communities due to the living conditions of the host communities. After carefully considering calmness of the origin communities, returnees also reflect on their sense of belongingness to the origin that tends to influence their return decision (Ruben, Van Houte and Davids, 2009). Lastly, since most people

are unable to migrate with their properties most especially non-moveable properties such as land and houses, these properties tend to serve as pull factors at the origin mostly when peace is restored.

Broadly, the conceptual framework used for the study is robust and significant since it addresses almost all aspects of the study. Thus, the main factors that could influence people to migrate from Bimbilla are captured on the triangle as shown on the framework. Also, whereas personal characteristics were common in making the migration decision, exogenous factors by both migrants (social networks, fear) and non-migrants (family size, uncertainty about the destination) varied in their decision stage as illustrated on the framework. The framework also outline some conditions at the destination migrants from Bimbilla experienced as well as the factors that influence their decision to return to Bimbilla.

## **2.5 Concluding remarks on the literature review**

The above-reviewed literature illuminates the overarching changes in the pattern of conflicts from inter-state to intra-state. These changes which started largely at the end of the Cold War ushered in a new dimension of the sources and forms of conflicts to both developing and developed countries. Most developed countries are concerned with geopolitical differences, Islamic fundamentalism, and trade wars. It is evident that discourse on conflicts in developing countries most especially countries within Africa is largely centered on communal conflicts. Although the causes of communal conflicts in Africa varied among countries, the general trend of the causes mentioned included but not limited to competition over natural resources such as land, chieftaincy disputes, post-election violence, ethnic and religious differences.

The ramifications of communal conflicts are felt by almost all parts of the affected countries. Generally, the occurrence of communal conflicts has led to the loss of lives, destruction of properties, impeded development, and forcibly ousting of people from their homes. Forced migration has become a major outcome of conflicts that tend to be a major concern to both affected countries and receiving countries of victims of conflicts. With regards to core triggers of forced movement that are directly related to conflicts, the absence of physical security emanating from human rights violation, torture, target attacks, kidnapping and so on were identified. Apart from the direct threats of conflicts to people, economic deterioration, confiscation and destruction of properties as a result of conflicts have also served as the bases for the forced movement of people. It is worthy of mentioning that individual experiences (i.e. challenges encountered, the decision to either migrate or stay) varied during violent conflicts.

The anticipation of migrating during conflicts is to reach safety; however, they are sometimes confronted with several challenges in the destinations. These challenges include inadequate food, lack of accommodation, inability to engage in economic activities, and hostility from host community especially when the movement transgresses national borders. In mitigating these challenges, the victims of conflicts relied on their social networks in both the destination and origin communities. However, some of the victims of conflict return to post-conflict communities due to challenges encountered at the destination, restoration of peace in their origin communities, and because of their left-behind relatives and properties. It is observed that returnees are faced with difficulties in reclaiming farmlands, economic challenges, *inter alia*.

In understanding the theoretically perspective of the study, the social network theory was used. The social network theory was used in conjunction with the push-pull theory. This was necessary

because it helps to understand how a person's networks either serve as a push or pull factor for migrating during the upsurge of conflict.

## CHAPTER THREE

### STUDY AREA AND METHODOLOGY

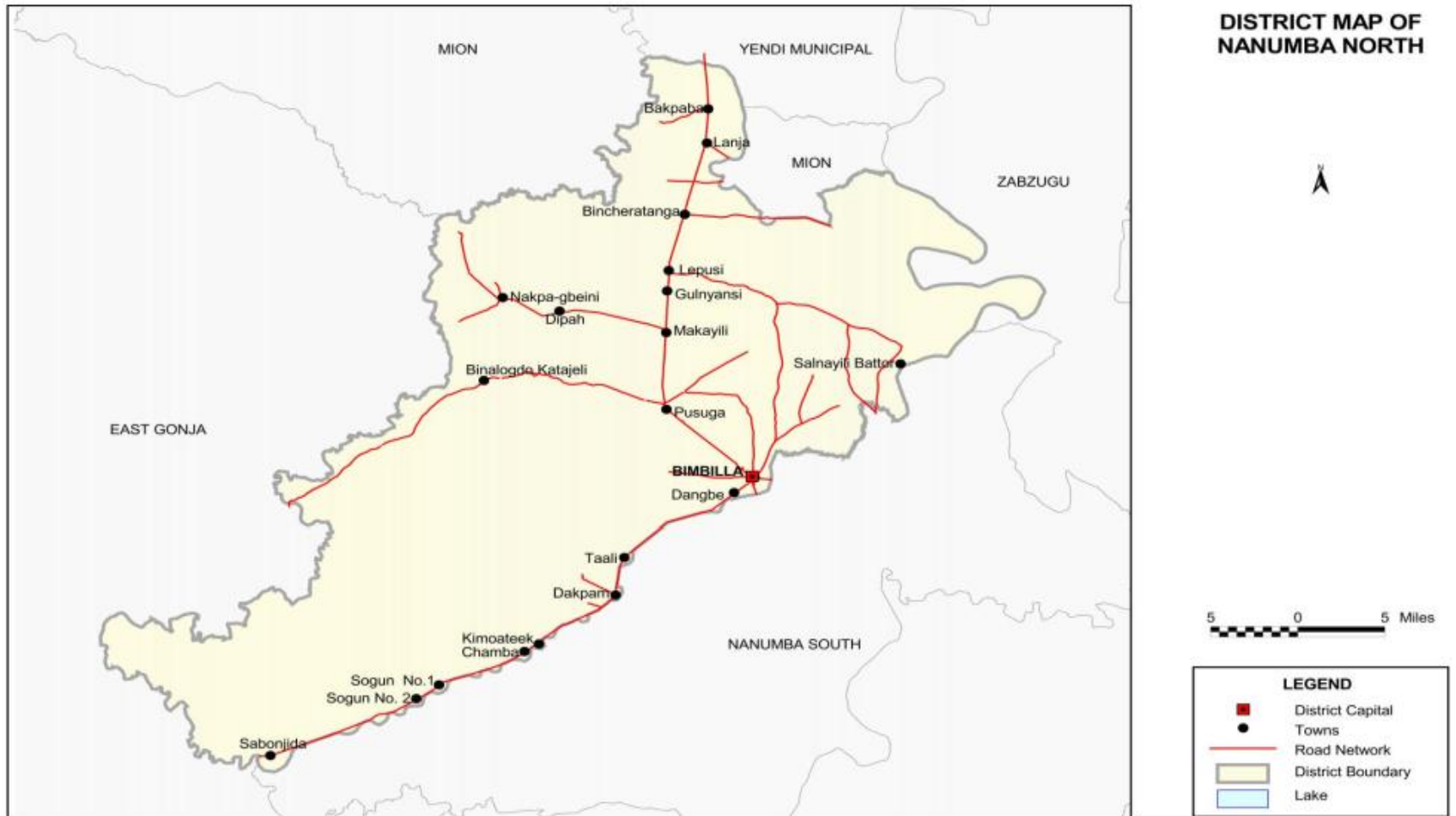
#### 3.1 Introduction

This section gives a brief description of the study area. The section also describes the research design, types of data used and how these data were gathered. The target population, sample size, sampling technique and how the data were analyzed are explained in this section. Finally, ethical issues that were observed throughout the study are clearly illustrated.

#### 3.2 Study Area

The study was conducted in Bimbilla, the district capital of Nanumba North in the Northern Region of Ghana. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census Report of Ghana, Nanumba North district has a total population of 141,584 of which 50.6 percent are females and 49.4 percent are males. The district shares boundaries with Kpandai district to the south, Yendi Municipal to the North, and to the East with Zabzugu. The majority (79.4%) of the population are economically engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fishery (GSS, 2012). Also, a section of the population is into retail trade, services, and manufacturing. It has a total land area of about 1,215.05 sq km<sup>2</sup>. Bimbilla was selected because of the series of out-migration that characterized the area which is partly attributed to the sporadic intra-ethnic conflict emanating from chieftaincy.

Figure 2: Map of Study Area



Source: Ghana Population and Housing Census Report, 2010

### **3.3 Target Population**

There were two groups of study participants. The first group comprised people who were at least 15 years and above, a resident of Bimbilla, person who migrated as a result of the conflict and has returned to Bimbilla. The second group was within the stipulated age category but non-migrant household. Persons, less than 15 years of age were not qualified to participate in the study. The minimum age was pegged at 15 years, because, the United Nations and the National Youth Policy of Ghana classifies persons with a minimum age of 15 to 25 and 35 as youth respectively. Several studies have professed the need to recognize the role youth play in all aspects of conflict (Amu, 2015; Hilker & Fraser, 2009). As a result, the study used 15 years as the minimum age to include the youth of Bimbilla.

### **3.4 Sources of Data and Research Design**

Primary and secondary data were used for the study. Secondary data were obtained through desktop review of journals, articles, books, and news items. On the other hand, primary data were also collected from return migrants, non-migrants and key informants relevant to the study. These respondents were selected because of their knowledge, experiences, and various roles they played in the conflict. Using the concurrent mixed method design, the study used both qualitative and quantitative research methods simultaneously. Both approaches were adopted to complement each other. As argued by Bryman (2015), the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods in a single study helps in addressing overlaps that exist in using a single method in a study. Also, using both methods has gained prominence in recent times due to its strength of solving multifaceted problems in the social sciences (Teye, 2012; Creswell, 2017).

### **3.5 Sampling Technique**

The study employed the purposive sampling technique. The respondents were purposively selected through the help of key informants, specifically assemblymen of the area. This was

deemed necessary because of the sensitive nature of the chieftaincy disputes. This approach was the most appropriate technique because respondents were skeptical in participating in the study at the initial stages due to lack of trust among the populace. However, with the help of the assemblymen, respondents willingly participated in the study because of the trust they put in the assemblymen.

There were a total of 226 respondents selected for the study; 120 return migrants and 106 non-migrants. The sample of return migrants included 79 men and 41 women while the sample of non-migrants included 52 men and 54 women.

In addition, the study selected key informants such as two traditional leaders from the various factions, two religious leaders, and one official each from West Africa Network for Peace-building (WANEP) and Yendi Peace Center, and government functionaries. These government functionaries included one official from the National Disaster Management Organization (NADMO) and one official from the Nanumba North District assembly all of whom have played significant role in ensuring that peace is restored to Bimbilla township. In-depth interviews were conducted on the key informants.

### **3.6 Data Collection Instruments**

The main primary data collection instruments were in-depth interview guide and questionnaires. Although the in-depth interviews were mainly carried out with key informants, some return migrants and non-migrants with unique experiences were also included. This was to enable them reveal issues that were not captured in the questionnaires. The in-depth interviews focused on the general overview of the conflict in terms of its causes, effects, possible remedies and general

impact of the conflict on migration. Those who were interviewed in-depth were excluded from the interviews with the questionnaire.

The questionnaires were administered to return migrants and non-migrants. Both open and close-ended questions were used. The open-ended questions gave the respondents the opportunity to freely express their views and bring up issues that were not captured in the options provided. The close-ended questions, on the other hand, allowed respondents to choose from the available options given them.

The questionnaires administered to return and non-migrant differed because of their varied experiences. With regard to the return migrant questionnaire, it was divided into five sections. Sections one and two are respectively on the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondent and the overview of the conflict. Section three examines the factors that influence the migration decision of respondents. Section four focuses on the conditions under which victims of conflict migrated, the challenges and opportunities they encountered as migrants at the various destinations. Lastly, section five examines the motivating factors for their return to Bimbilla.

The questionnaire for non-migrants on the other hand, had four sections with the first and second sections focusing on the socio-demographic and respondents perception about the conflict respectively. Section three also examines the factors that prevented the respondents from migrating. The challenges and opportunities in the course of their stay are illustrated in section four of the questionnaire.

### **3.7 Data Analysis**

Firstly, the recordings were transcribed. The field notes and the transcribed open-ended sections of the survey were manually coded to identify patterns and themes with specific respect to the

factors determining migrant status. Also, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20 was used to analyze the close-ended sections of the questionnaires. Subsequently, the SPSS software was used to generate cross-tabulations on some of the variables such as the sex of the respondents against the reasons for migrating, challenges and opportunities return migrants faces and their future migration intentions. Tables, pie charts, bar charts and other diagrams were used in presenting the findings. This helped in easy interpretation of the findings.

### **3.8 Pre-Testing of Questionnaires**

Prior to collecting the main data in Bimbilla, questionnaires were pre-tested in Yendi. This was essential to identify contradictions and ambiguities in the questionnaire. Afterward, contradictions and ambiguities that were identified in the questionnaire from the pre-test were duly addressed before the actual questionnaires were administered in Bimbilla. Yendi was chosen because it has experienced similar intra-ethnic conflict in the past (Tonah, 2012).

### **3.9 Ethical Considerations**

In a study like this, protecting the rights of the respondent is paramount. Therefore, prior to and during collection of data, analyzing and presenting findings, the following ethical considerations were observed to protect the rights of the respondents. First and foremost, the purpose of the study was explained to the prospective respondents and an Informed Consent Form was drafted and explained to the respondent. Whereas a section of the respondents gave oral consent for the interview to commence, others appended their signature on the consent form. A sample of the consent form is attached in the appendix. Before proceeding with the interview, the respondents were allowed to give oral permission for the interview to be carried out. During the analysis and presenting of findings, pseudonyms were used throughout. This was to ensure the anonymity of the respondents.

Ethical clearance was duly obtained from the University of Ghana Ethics Committee for Humanities (ECH) on 15<sup>th</sup> December 2017 after meeting all the requirements (ECH 063/17-18). This is necessary because the rights of the researcher and the respondents needed to be protected.

### **3.10 Limitations of the Study**

In the course of conducting the study, the following limitations were identified. Firstly, gaining access to both returnees and non-migrants was tedious. Because, during the field interviews phase, the town was still experiencing a night (10:00 pm – 6:00 am) curfew which had been imposed by the government of Ghana. Consequently, some victims of the conflict had limited time to partake in the interviews. To overcome the challenge pose by the curfew, all interviews were conducted during daytime (8:00 am - 5:00 pm).

Apart from the limited time people had, the respondents were also generally afraid in the initial stages of the interviews because the chieftaincy case was still in the Supreme Court of Ghana awaiting a verdict. In the course of the interviews, one could also realize some level of mistrust among the indigenes. This perhaps could have discouraged some of the respondents from divulging information essential to the study. However, all efforts were made in terms of explaining the significance of the study to the respondents, the assurance of concealing their identities through the use of pseudonyms, among others to make the respondents feel secure and speak freely. Also, the respondents tend to speak freely once they got to know the positionality of the researcher - outsider (non-indigene).

## CHAPTER FOUR

### INDIGENES PERCEPTION'S ABOUT THE CAUSES, EFFECTS AND POSSIBLE REMEDIES OF THE CONFLICT

#### 4.1 Introduction

This section provides an overview about the Bimbilla Chieftaincy Conflict. It highlights the perceptions of respondents and other key informants about the causes, effects, interventions by government and Civil Society Organizations.

#### 4.2 Overview of the Bimbilla Conflict

Bimbilla, the capital town of Nanumba north district in the Northern Region of Ghana has experienced series of communal conflicts. Notable among them are the Konkomba and Nanumba inter-ethnic conflict that occurred in 1994 and 1995. The root cause of the conflict as revealed from the field was over land. According to the respondents, several lives and properties were lost during the conflict. To avoid reprisal attacks, Nanumba minorities that settled closer to and among majority Konkombas during the conflict migrated to areas that Nanumbas were concentrated. Bimbilla was one of the preferred destinations that people who were fleeing attacks migrated to because of a large number of Nanumba settlers.

Subsequently, Bimbilla has experienced violent clashes for over a decade. These violent clashes are over who occupies the Bimbilla skin – who becomes the paramount chief of the Nanung traditional area. Prior to the predicaments that characterized the skin, Nanung traditional area was seen among the indigenes as having one of the well-structured chieftaincy institutions within the northern region. One respondent says:

Ah! It is rather unfortunate that Bimbilla chieftaincy title is in this mess. How power was transferred from one gate to another in the past few decades was envied by neighboring communities. Choosing a chief was well-structured and I can say it was one of the best within Dagbon. **(Issifu, a 62-year-old man at Masaka)**

From field reports, it is recognized that the title of becoming a paramount chief of Bimbilla is rotational between two gates – the Bangyili (The Bangle Gate) and the Gbumayili (The Lion Gate) gates. However, prior to becoming a paramount chief from the Bangyili gate, a person from the royal family has to successively be a sub chief of the following key communities – Tuo-Sakpe-Gbungbalga-Chamba-Dakpam and finally to the Bimbilla paramountcy. Similarly, for a person to qualify as a paramount chief of Bimbilla from the Gbumayili gate, the person from the royal line also has to successively be a sub chief of the following communities - Lanja-Mankayili-Beng-Lepusi-Jua-Bakpaba-Nakpaa and finally to Bimbilla. It was revealed from the field that if a person from one of the gates is a paramount chief of Bimbilla, a person from the other gate becomes the “vice” of the substantive chief. And after the substantive passes away, the “vice” becomes the next paramount chief of Bimbilla. However, after the death of Naa Abarika in 1999 who was from the Bangyilli gate, this line of succession has become a bone of contention within the Gbumayili gate.

This struggle over who becomes the next paramount chief of Bimbilla has been between Nakpaa-naa Salifu Dawuni with his supporters on one side and Mr. Andani Dasaana (Son of the late Bimbilla Naa Dasaana Abdulai) and his supporters on the other side. This has become more complex due to the division between the nine kingmakers who have the traditional authority to enskin the paramount chief of Bimbilla (Tonah & Anamzoya, 2016). The disputes between the two factions have led to several traditional and stakeholders meetings including the Nanum Traditional Council, the Northern Regional House of Chiefs and the National House of Chiefs without any possibility of resolving the disputes. Following this, there have also been series of litigation through the Tamale High Court and The Supreme Court of Ghana. Hence, there has been a parallel rule in Bimbilla until March 2014 when Nakpaa-naa Salifu Dawuni died naturally

before the verdict of the Supreme Court could be given. According to the participants, efforts to bury the deceased in Bimbilla proved futile due to resistance from the faction of Mr. Andani Dasaana. The body of late Nakpaa-naa Salifu was then put in the Yendi morgue. Subsequently, Mr. Andani was murdered in his residence by an unknown assailant on 19<sup>th</sup> June 2014.

Throughout the tussles including both legal and traditional means between the two factions, there have also been series of violent clashes between the supporters of Nakpaa-naa Salifu Dawuni and Mr. Andani Dasaana. However, the respondents identified three major clashes that have led to enormous devastation in Bimbilla. To begin with, in attempt to bury late Nakpaa-naa Salifu Dawuni in accordance with the funeral rite of a paramount chief, there were reports of gunshots which led to the halting of the burial of the deceased in 2014. The body was in the Yendi morgue until October 2017 when the body was finally laid to rest in Bimbilla.

Secondly, what respondents referred to as “*The Bolgu Conflict*” is a violent clash that occurred in Bimbilla in 2016. This conflict was between butchers and the supporters of Mr. Andani Dasaana. According to the participants, it is a cultural practice and demand that butchers who operate in the abattoir of Bimbilla send a part of animals that have been slaughtered to the paramount chief as a sign of authority. However, this long-standing tradition was defied by the butchers. This defiance as perceived by the supporters of Mr. Andani Dasaana led to tension and sporadic shooting in Bimbilla. As one elder put it:

It is not just refusing to send the meat that causes the conflict. How much is even the whole cow that people will have to die because of its part? But, the symbolic representation of receiving the meat from the butchers which shows a sign of recognition and legitimacy is what causes the violence. **(Danbe, a 64-year-old Farmer)**

In February 2017, another major clash occurred between supporters of the late Nakpaa-naa Salifu Dawuni and supporters of the late Mr. Andani Dasaana over the enskinment of sub-chiefs to

smaller communities. According to field reports, about 11 people were killed in these clashes. Women and children were mostly the casualties.

Although the root cause of the conflict is centered on the chieftaincy, participants were asked what the drivers of the conflict are that has made it protracted over a decade. In seeking an answer(s) to this, participants ascribed one of the reasons as the meddling of politicians and influential people in chieftaincy issues in Bimbilla. All the factions agreed that both past (i.e. National Democratic Congress) and current (i.e. New Patriotic Party) governments have been complicit in the chieftaincy affairs. During interaction with elders of one of the factions, one participant stated:

Although the case was still pending in the Supreme Court, we were in this town when appointees of the past administration visit Bimbilla and pay homage to the late Mr. Andani Dasaana without given credence to the other faction [Nakpaa-naa Salifu Dawuni]. This was a direct recognition of Mr. Andani Dasaana as the paramount chief of Bimbilla traditional area which was in violation of our customs and traditions (November 2017). **(A 67-year-old farmer at Masaka,)**

During a different interaction with some elders, another participant had this to say:

The current government did not do due diligence in the burial of the late Nakpaa-naa Salifu Dawuni. We thought that in taking a serious decision like this [the burial of late Nakpaa-naa Salifu Dawuni in Bimbilla], proper consultation should have been done with all the parties involved. However, we only heard it when they were bringing the body to Bimbilla to be buried. But I can tell you that this is a campaign promise being implemented (November 2017). **(A 57 years old Kuu-ire)**

Again, participants revealed that the laws of Ghana in the case of the Bimbilla chieftaincy dispute are not effective. They posited that people whose actions and utterances have caused loss of lives and instability in the Bimbilla conflict have not been punished. One participant narrated this:

One thing that is prolonging this conflict is people not being punished for the crimes they have committed. For instance, we know people that have shot and killed people in this town, but, you see the security men will arrest and send them to either Tamale or Accra. Less than a year, you see them roaming in town again.

Imagine if my family member was the one that has been killed by this person and I see him, would it not make me angry? So I would want to retaliate. As a result, people that see these people [perpetrators] walking free feel that if they also participate in the violence, nothing will happen to them. **(Siddick, Male, 43 year old teacher)**

Lastly, participants identified inadequate job opportunities in Bimbilla as a factor that is contributing to the upsurge of violence in Bimbilla. The participants stated that majority of the youth are unemployed. As a result, they are usually influenced by powerful people with money who have interest in the chieftaincy affairs to engage in violence.

#### **4.3 Effects of the Conflict**

The study shows that the conflict affects all facets of the people's life. First and foremost, the conflict slows the development of the town. Based on perceptions of participants, Internally Generated Funds by the district assembly that are meant for providing social amenities such as KVIP (Sanitation facility), boreholes and improving health facilities are diverted into buying fuel and food for the security personnel that are in Bimbilla to ensure that peace is restored. A participant had this to say when he was asked if there are any effects of the conflict:

Eh! For effects, there are so many. Productivity and development are halted. The rate at which development was growing was amazing, but, due to the conflict, it has slowed and people who bought lands sold them at lower prices and moved out. Poverty is evident everywhere in Bimbilla because monies are diverted to stabilize the conflict. **(Shaibu, Male, 39-year-old teacher)**

Secondly, economic activities of the town have been affected negatively. According to the participants, petty trading is the second major economic activity of the town after farming. However, traders from neighboring communities and towns have stopped coming to Bimbilla to do business due to the intermittent violence and sporadic shootings. Again, farming which happens to be the major source of livelihood for the people has recorded low produce due to the conflict. The participants pointed out that farmers usually prefer staying in the house to going to

the farms for fear of being attacked or killed in the farms. This is coupled with curfew being imposed to minimize further escalation of the conflict. Although few people saw the significance of the curfew, a significant number of the participants argued that it has rather brought economic hardship to them because it affects their daily activities. The incidence of thefts also increases because of the curfew. Due to people's inability to go out or visit the farm because of fear and the curfew, a majority of the participants have indicated that their farms have been looted and animals were stolen. One participant put it this way that:

The curfew leads to financial difficulties. Our main occupation is farming, and when the violence erupts, people cannot go to the farm. The curfew also affected our jobs because you will not be able to spend the hours you want to use on the farm. During that time especially the curfew period, one was compelled to go inside from 4pm-6am. This was the time thieves also have their liberty to operate with impunity. Huh! You can't just do anything, my brother. It is even now that they have reviewed the time to 10:00 pm that things are better. **(63 years old Musah from Kunkuna).**

Furthermore, several lives and properties are destroyed because of the conflict. According to the participants, properties including houses, farms, and animals are destroyed as a result of the conflict. Most of these destructions are done deliberately on people they perceive to belong to one of the warring factions. Participants also reported that in addition to people being killed by gun bullets, lots of people have also died from psychological related conditions. Due to the gunshots, indigenes, especially the aged developed conditions such as high blood pressure and heart attacks. It was narrated by one of the participants that:

The conflict brings ill health such as psychological stress, heart attacks, and high blood pressure. There was this Hajia selling *Hausa Koko*<sup>2</sup> (porridge) in the market, during the last [February 2017] fight, upon hearing the gunshots, she collapsed and died. As for this story, lots of people are aware of it. **(Amariya, Female, 37 years trader in Masaka).**

Again, quality of education in the district is affected by the conflict. Because of the conflict, new teachers that are posted to the town usually refused to go for fear of being killed. Teachers that

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<sup>2</sup> Hausa Koko – A millet porridge made from millet flour and fragrant spices.

are already at post are demanding for transfers to go to different districts. Due to the intermittent violence, schools are normally closed whenever violence erupts. This tends to affect the performance of the students. In an interview with a 67-year-old educationist, he says:

It threatens the education of the area i.e. contact hours between the teachers and students are always lost anytime the shootings start and psychologically it affects the performance of the students. Teachers and other professionals are running away. The district in recent times lacks teachers. Up till now, we have no district director of education almost a year now. The former district director was a woman and out of fear she left. And no one is ready to accept posting to the position. This conflict is creating a structural effect on education and in future, it will affect the town. **(Tampouri, 67-year-old educationist).**

Social cohesion that used to exist among Nanumbas is believed to have been broken because of the conflict. The participants indicated that mutual respect which used to exist most especially towards elders has dwindled due to their support for a particular faction. In addition, marriages, families or social groups are increasingly disintegrating as a result of contradictory views in supporting either of the factions. Young people who have been in relationships for several years and plan of marrying are sometimes prevented from doing so because of their families supporting different factions. During a group discussion, this was revealed by a participant:

Oh! Bimbilla has been ruined. In the past two to three decades, Bimbilla was like one family. There was no division and we were each other's keepers. One could just walk into the next house and eat when you are hungry. When you have a problem, people will contribute money and help you to solve the problem. Now you just don't eat carelessly, because, they are just poisoning each other. Someone will also have money, and if you are going to die, because of the conflict the person will not help you. **(Nashiru, Male, 46 years, farmer)**

Lastly, the above-enumerated effects of the conflict tend to serve as push factors that cause people to relocate within and outside Bimbilla. Participants point out that there is a new restructuring of Bimbilla Township because people are relocating to areas that their supporters are concentrated. Also, some people have migrated out of Bimbilla permanently and some

engaged in this movement temporarily. These temporary migrations of the indigenes are well discussed in chapter five.

#### **4.4 Interventions Undertaken by the Government and Civil Society Organizations in Ensuring Peace is Restored in Bimbilla**

The National Peace Council (NPC) which is an independent State institution has been playing a significant role in ensuring that the Bimbilla conflict is resolved. During an interview with the Northern Regional Executive Secretary for the NPC, it was revealed that the Council has been organizing meetings between stakeholders. This involves the Regional Security Council, traditional leaders and the media to dialogue on means through which the conflict could be resolved. As part of the Council's role in creating the awareness of the public about the use of non-violent means of resolving a conflict, it has spearheaded several public campaigns through radio discussions and workshops on the need for peace in Nanung traditional area. The Council in consultation with relevant stakeholders has considered drafting a chieftaincy succession plan for Nanung. As chieftaincy disputes in the northern part of Ghana are sometimes attributed to the absence of a clear succession plan (Tonah, 2012), having such a plan will help minimize the controversies surrounding the Bimbilla chieftaincy skin.

Although some participants are of the view that certain actions either directly or indirectly undertaken by respective governments have contributed to protracting the conflict, the previous and current governments have nonetheless taken steps that are ostensibly aimed at bringing sanity to Bimbilla.

First of all, the stationing of the Ghana Army and the Formed Police Unit has led to relative peace in Bimbilla. Also, the government's decision in consultation with other relevant stakeholders such as the Northern Region Security Council on imposing curfew in Bimbilla

during the various phases of violence brought calm to the area. The presence of the security personnel has been a motivating factor for some people who migrated during the violence to return to Bimbilla.

The West Africa Network for Peace-building (WANEP) has also been mediating in the Bimbilla chieftaincy disputes over a decade. WANEP in collaboration with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) through the "Northern Ghana Governance Activity" project has designed and initiated a dialogue framework for the two factions. During an interview with the National Network Coordinator for WANEP-Ghana, it was revealed that prior to the initiation of this framework, it was difficult for the two factions to meet and dialogue on how to resolve the conflict. But since the start of the dialogue process, stakeholders from both factions have met severally to dialogue on their differences and how to resolve them. Since the youth are usually the perpetrators of violence (Schwartz, 2010), WANEP also carried out a training program whereby 70 youth were trained on how they can help in peace-building in Bimbilla. Again, as part of the West Africa Early Warning Response Network (WARN) programme, WANEP has stationed a monitoring team in Bimbilla. This team helps in picking up signals of threats likely to culminate in violence. These threats are usually relayed to relevant institutions for actions to be taken to avert any clashes. Although absolute peace has not been attained following the intervention of WANEP, their involvement has engendered more interest among stakeholders such as the NPC.

Similarly, the Yendi Peace Center has in recent times started engaging with stakeholders from the various factions. In addition to a dialogue session with religious leaders and key individuals from the various factions, a bottom-up approach has also been adopted to ensure peace is restored. In adopting this approach, a heterogeneous group of people was carefully selected to

participate in a two-day workshop. Through this workshop, participants were allowed to suggest ways of ending the protracted Bimbilla conflict for onward action to be taken.

#### **4.5 Possible Remedies of the Bimbilla Conflict being suggested by Participants**

Participants were asked how the Bimbilla chieftaincy conflict can best be resolved given that government and Civil Society Organizations have mediated severally but it keeps recurring. Participants are of the view that until the customs and traditions of Bimbilla are followed, Bimbilla will never experience absolute peace. According to the participants, following the customs and traditions implies, given full authority and autonomy to the elders to dialogue and choose the right person to the throne without external influence. Also, the participants suggested that the laid down rules such as succession lines should be followed since there is both oral and documentary evidence on how a paramount chief of Bimbilla is chosen and enskinned. A participant says:

People are not just ready to accept and tell the truth. We have the oral history that our great grandfathers pass to us. We also have past documents with the National House of Chiefs and the Regional House of Chiefs that contain how one can become a Bimbilla chief. We should follow them in bringing a lasting solution to the chieftaincy dispute. **(Kantagyere, a 55 years old farmer)**

Also, a majority of the participants indicated the need for Government and The Supreme Court of Ghana to be proactive in resolving the Bimbilla conflict. Since the case - the chieftaincy issue is with The Supreme Court, participants are of the opinion that The Supreme Court should expedite and pass judgment on the case. Because delaying the verdict according to the participants creates anxiety among the people which sometimes leads to violent clashes. Although a few participants disagree with government involvement, the majority emphasized the need for government to intervene especially in enforcing the verdict that will be given by The Supreme Court of Ghana. However, the government's involvement being suggested by the

participants should be impartial. Thus, participants suggested that in order to achieve a peaceful resolution to the conflict, politics should be decoupled from the chieftaincy issues.

Finally, participants suggested that the government should create jobs for the youth. This will help to minimize their vulnerability status which is sometimes exploited by influential people. One participant clearly put it this way "Jobs should be created for the youth because the devil finds a job for the idle hands" (**Musah, Male, 50 years old farmer**).

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**FACTORS LEADING TO MIGRATION**

**5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents information on the socio-demographic characteristics of return migrants (sample size of 120) in terms of their age, sex, marital status, ethnicity, level of education and the household size. This is followed by the reasons for migrating, how the decision and financing of migration are made during the various phases of the violence. The challenges and opportunities encountered by return migrants are also elaborated in subsequent sections.

**Table 1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Return Migrants**

<b>Socio-demographic Characteristics</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
<b>AGE</b>		
15-34	34	28.3
35-54	54	45.0
55-74	32	26.7
<b>Total</b>	120	100
<b>Mean Age (43.9)</b>		
<b>SEX</b>		
Male	80	66.7
Female	40	33.3
<b>Total</b>	120	100
<b>MARITAL STATUS</b>		
Married	93	77.5
Never Married	11	9.2
Co-habitation	1	0.8
Divorced	4	3.3
Widowed	11	9.2
<b>Total</b>	120	100
<b>RELIGION</b>		
Traditional	13	10.8
Islam	107	89.2
<b>Total</b>	120	100
<b>LEVEL OF EDUCATION</b>		
No formal education	63	52.3
Primary	11	9.2
	14	11.7

Middle/JHS	7	5.8
SSS/SHS	4	3.3
Vocational/Technical	21	17.5
Tertiary	120	100
<b>Total</b>		
<b>HOUSEHOLD SIZE</b>		
1-5	19	15.8
6-10	53	44.2
11-15	32	26.7
16-20	12	10.0
21-25	2	1.7
26+	2	1.7
<b>Total</b>	120	100
<b>Mean Household Size (10.3)</b>		
<b>ETHNICITY</b>		
Nanumba	91	75.8
Konkonba	11	9.2
Dagomba	17	14.2
Others	1	0.8
<b>Total</b>	120	100

**Source: Primary data, 2018**

From Table 1, the age distribution of return migrants interviewed ranged from 15 to 74 years with a mean age of 43.93. From the Table, close to half (45.0%) of the respondents were within the age category of 35-54 years. This is probably due to their independence within that age period that may have influenced their decision to migrate. The youthful population which according to the National Youth Policy of Ghana is within 15-34 years recorded 28.3 percent. Out of the total respondent, 26.7 percent are within (55-74) age group.

On the sex column from Table 1, the majority (66.7%) of the population were males as compared to one third (33.3%) of females. Sex of a person is a significant component especially in a patriarchal community like Bimbilla. According to field reports, decision-making of females depends on their male guardians such as husbands, fathers, and brothers. This tends to hinder the migration of females even in conflict situations. Again, respondents were of the view that males are usually the ones involved in the conflict and this makes them susceptible to migrate. On the

other hand, respondents point out that females rarely participate in the violence and are therefore reluctant to migrate. However, a few of the females who migrated during the conflict did so due to fear.

According to the respondents, marriage plays a crucial role in a person's life cycle. On the marital status of the respondents, a little over three quarters (77.5%) were married. According to the table, respondents who were widowed and those who never married recorded a similar value of close to one-tenth (9.2%) of the respondents. The proportion of respondents that were also in a stage of co-habitation and divorced recorded as low as 4.1 percent.

Although the 2010 Population and Housing Census Report of Ghana show a little more than two-fifth (42.1%) religious affiliation in the Nanumba North District is traditional religion as compared to 35.1 percent that practice the Islamic faith, this study reveals otherwise. The findings of this study show that an overwhelming majority (89.2%) of the respondents were practicing Islam with a little over one-tenth (10.8%) professing traditional religion. No response was recorded for the Christianity. This discrepancy was due to the area of the district where the study was conducted in which majority of people that practice Islam lived. It is not the whole district that the conflict affects. This is captured in the statement below at Kunkuna:

As for the conflict, it doesn't affect the whole of the district. It is only in Bimbilla town here that they are always shooting and we are all related. Let me tell you, the last [February 2017] violence was in Ramadan [Muslims month of fasting] and people were being killed. How can you call yourself a Muslim and even in a month of fasting, you go, and kill someone? Some people also migrate to the neighboring communities although sometimes the communities they migrate to also experience tension. (**Kipo, Male, 43 years, teacher**)

Education is a significant driver when people decide to migrate during conflict situations (Browne, 2016). However, from Table 1, more than half (52.3%) of the respondents had no level of education, hence, neither could they read nor write. The proportion of the population who obtained tertiary education was 17.5 percent. This was followed by respondents with

Middle/Junior High School, Primary and Secondary/Technical education in descending order with responses of 11.7, 9.2 and 9.1 percents respectively.

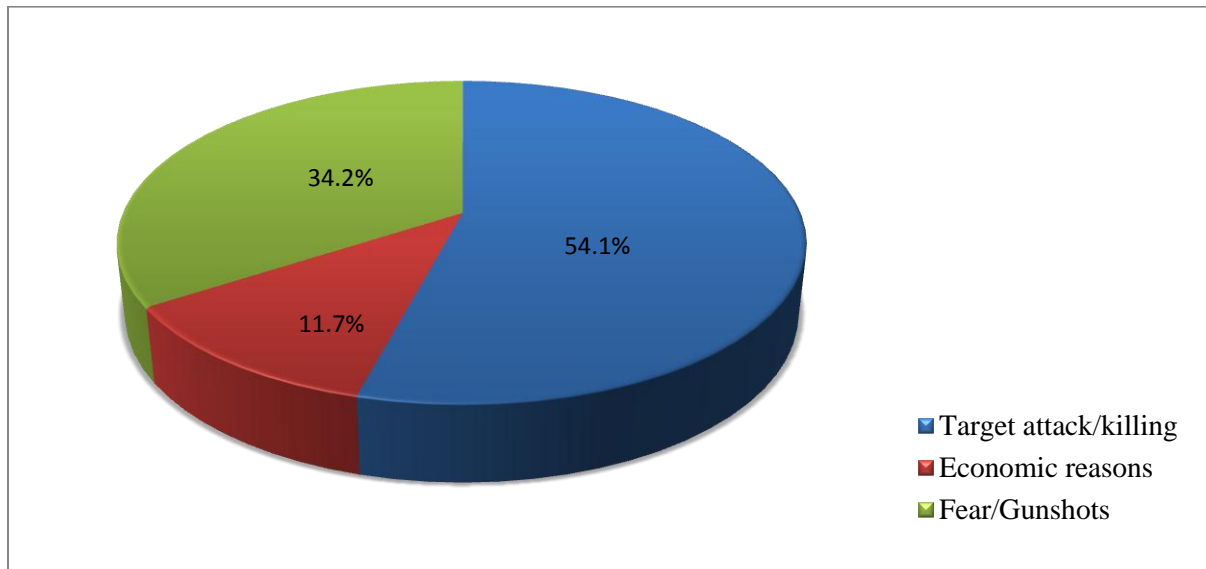
Information on the household size of the study is also presented in Table 1. From the table, the mean household size of this study was 10.31 in contrast to 7.7 that were recorded by 2010 PHC for Northern region. The study reveals that more than two-third (43.3%) of the respondents were from households that had a membership of 6-10. About 27.5 percent were from a household size of 11-15 members. Just about one-seventh (14.2%) of the respondents reported belonging to a household with members ranging from 1-5. Out of the total population, a little over one-tenth (11.7%) indicated coming from a household with a size of 15-20. Also, as little as 3.4 percent reported having a membership of 21 and above. The findings confirm an earlier study by Ghana Statistical Service that Nanumba North District predominantly practices the extended family system that is usually large in nature.

In terms of ethnicity, Nanumba North District is heterogeneous with Konkomba being the majority (60.6%) as compared to Nanumba with just 31.0 percent (GSS, 2013). But from this data, three quarters (75.5%) of the respondents were Nanumbas with just one-seventh (14.2%) reported being Dagombas. Also, close to one-tenth (9.2%) and one percent were Konkombas and other ethnic members respectively.

## **5.2 Reasons for Migrating**

The reasons to migrate vary from individual to individual. This may sometimes be forced or voluntary. But findings of this study show, as illustrated in Figure 3 that there are three major reasons why people migrate during the violent conflict: target attacks/killing of persons, fear of gunshots and economic reasons. As shown in Figure 3, more than half (54.1%) of the return migrants decision to migrate from Bimbilla during the various violent clashes was due to target attacks/killing.

**Figure 3: Percentage distribution of reasons for migrating out of Bimbilla**



**Source: Primary survey, 2018**

According to the respondents, since the conflict is fought among people from the same gate, it is easy to identify the side each person supports. This is sometimes detected through a person's utterances and involvement in the chieftaincy affairs. Also, a person's friend that belongs to any of the warring factions sometimes makes him/her a prime target anytime violence erupts. This is consistent with Haug's (2008) assertion that people at times migrate during conflicts because of their affiliation with a particular group or person. Also, Ibanez et al. (2017) argue that rural households that are directly attacked during violent clashes have a higher tendency of migrating than households that are not directly attacked. The claim of target attack/killing is captured in case one below during an interaction with Fadili, a 46-year-old returns migrant who lives in Masaka.

### Case 1: Experience of a victim of a targeted attack in Bimbilla

Fadili is a 46-year-old farmer who lives in Masaka, a suburb of Bimbilla. Fadili together with his two wives and eight children currently stay in a rented accommodation in Bimbilla. He narrated that one of his extended family members (henceforth called Karim) also used to stay with him in his previous house. The room Karim occupied was not rented to him according to Fadili. Anytime food was prepared in the house, Karim was also served. Virtually everything was free for him in the house.

According to Fadili, he has witnessed all the three major incidents of violence that erupted in Bimbilla. But the one that he cannot forget is the February 2017 violent clashes during which his house and his property were burnt. Fadili admitted that although he was not actively involved in the conflict, he had a side he supported. He indicated that as tension intensified prior to the day that his house was burnt, he asked his wives to move out of Bimbilla to join his in-laws in Tamale. He recounted that prior to the moment that the house was burnt, he was having a conversation with Karim at around 7:40 pm. At some stage in the conversation, Karim's phone rang and he went out to receive the call. Fadili went to sleep after waiting in vain for Karim's return for about 30 minutes.

When Fadili was in the room preparing to sleep at about 8:50 pm, he heard noises outside his compound. As he peeped through the window, to see where the noise was coming from, he noticed it was people from the opposing side that had come with the intent of killing him. According to him, part of the house was already on fire while the attackers were sprinkling petrol in the other living rooms. He broke out through the window. Fadili reveals that he managed to migrate out of Bimbilla that same night to join his uncles in Salaga.

After staying with his uncles for three months, he returned to Bimbilla when calm had been restored. Upon returning, information available to him indicates that the call Karim had on the night of the attack was from people from the opposing side. According to Fadili, the call was to alert Karim to leave the house since they were on their way to attack Fadili because of his support and allegiance to the other side.

Figure 3 also shows that just about 11.7 percent of the respondents migrated because of economic reasons. According to respondents, the intermittent violence deters investors from investing in Bimbilla and the few investors that already have businesses are relocating to different towns. This has resulted in inadequate job opportunities for the working population. This finding confirms claims made by Haaß et al. (2016) in a study conducted in Nepal and El Salvador which reveals that post-conflict communities experienced deteriorated economic livelihoods. The respondents of this study pointed out that farming which serves as the major source of employment has severely been affected due to deliberate burning and stealing of farm produce. Consequently, the indigenes especially the working population usually migrates to the cities and neighboring communities to start new farms and search for new jobs.

A little over one-third (34.2%) of the respondents migrates due to fear of both sound and bullets of guns. There have been reports of a sporadic shooting in the violence that occurred. To be safe from stray bullets, respondents indicated that they had no option than to migrate. Apart from the bullets, the sound of the guns also serves as a major reason for people to migrate. One participant had this to say about the sound of the guns:

I fought in the 1994-95 Konkonba and Nanumba inter-ethnic conflict. I personally used a gun during that conflict and I have heard all sort of sound from guns, but, the kind of guns being used anytime there is violence in Bimbilla, my brother! The guns are very powerful and I have never heard that kind of sounds before. I can tell you that, the military doesn't have the kind of guns civilians have in Bimbilla. When the shooting starts, animals [pointing to a goat] cannot even move, you will see them standing at one place. **(Eben a 54-year-old teacher in Kunkuna).**

### **5.2.1 Reasons for Migrating by Sex and Age of Respondents**

The sex and age of a person shape the migration processes such as reasons for migrating, the decision-making and the preferred destination of the individual (Birchall, 2016). The reasons identified in this study for migrating differ significantly among the sex and age of respondents.

As reported in Table 2, out of the total population that migrated as a result of target attack/killing during the conflict, an overwhelming majority (93.8%) of the respondents were males as compared to just a little 6.2 percent of females being targeted. Studies in Syria (Alsaba & Kapilashrami, 2016) and Democratic Republic of Congo (Mer & Flicourt, 2015) have noted both genders being equally targeted during conflicts. This discrepancy is perhaps due to the type of conflict being fought.

Cultural practices were attributed to the reason why most women were not targeted. For instance, it is culturally accepted that only males, born to the royal family are entitled to become a chief. These probably influence many men to involve themselves in the chieftaincy affairs. Consequently, when violence ensued, more men than women were targeted. According to the respondents, the males also engender violence. This assertion by the respondents that males mostly perpetrate violence was confirmed by an employee of one of the civil society organizations striving to restore peace in Bimbilla and he had this to say:

As an NGO, we have gathered so far that most of the attacks are carried out by the men. This is a community dominated by men, and most of the decisions that affect the community are undertaken by men. Apart from discussing and making decisions about the chieftaincy, it is common in Bimbilla that men sit in groups and it is at times through these groupings that the men take the decision to attack their opponent. Although there are few rumors of wives inciting their husbands to partake in the violence, hardly will you see women engaging in the violence. So now, most of our interventions are geared towards the men since they are key players of the conflict. **(Key Informant, Male, 46 years, Tertiary)**

As a result, the males are always at risk of being targeted during the violence. In the same way, Buvinic, Das Gupta, Casabonne and Verwimp (2016) found that during conflict situations, the level of mortality is high among males most likely due to their participation in the violence. Since women are not qualified to become chiefs in Bimbilla, they rarely participate in the chieftaincy affairs, hence, making them less targeted during the violence. The few (10.0 %)

women that reported being targeted was as a result of their marriage to a man who frequently participated in the chieftaincy disputes. Culturally, women are not also supposed to be killed during conflicts according to the respondents. Case two depicts the cultural prohibition of killing females during conflicts.

#### **Case 2: Narration of cultural prohibition of killing females during a conflict**

**Samata, a Nanumba is a 67-year-old widow who lives in Kunkuna, a suburb of**

**Samata, a Nanumba is a 67-year-old widow who lives in Kunkuna, a suburb of Bimbilla. She has been widowed since 1995 when her husband was killed in the Konkomba-Nanumba inter-ethnic conflict. Samata narrated that she has witnessed the 1994-95 Konkomba-Nanumba conflict and all the violent clashes relating to the chieftaincy in Bimbilla. Although there were some casualties among females in some of the violent clashes, she indicated that she has never witnessed or heard the deliberate killing of women during conflicts.**

**According to Samata, it is a cultural practice in Nanung that women are not supposed to be killed during conflicts. Their oral history has it that when a particular group goes against this cultural belief and deliberately kills women during conflict, they will be defeated by their opponents.**

**During the Konkomba-Nanumba conflict, Samata pointed out that when their village was attacked by the Konkomba in which her husband was killed, it was only the males including adults and male children that were killed. The rationale behind the killing of the male children during the conflict, as revealed by Samata, was to weaken the future fighting force of the warring groups.**

**Case 2 (Continue): Narration of cultural prohibition of killing females during a conflict**

Samata also observed that it got to a point during the Konkomba-Nanumba conflict that both parties had to temporarily stop fighting for Konkomba women who had settled among Nanumba to migrate and join their ethnic group and vice versa. According to Samata, this was done to ensure that women were not killed.

But, it was observed from the field that during the February 2017 clashes between supporters of Nakpaa Naa Salifu and Mr. Andani, some women were reportedly killed deliberately by unknown assailants, so, Samata was asked why the women were killed despite the prohibition of the killing of women. Samata opines that the assailants may probably have been under the influence of drugs.

The reason for not killing women during conflicts is that they are expected to take care of the children when the children's fathers are killed in the battle. It could also be attributed to Islam's ruling that women and children should not be killed in a battle (Shakyh Muhammad, 2016) since the study area was predominantly Muslims. This cultural practice has therefore influenced people's decisions of not targeting women during the violence.

In the case of migrating due to fear of gunshots and bullets, it was more pronounced in the female population than the males. The findings show that more than four-fifth (85.4%) of the female population migrated because of fear of gunshots and bullets as compared to just a little over one-seventh (14.6%) of males. Also, majority (92.9%) of the male population migrated because of economic reasons as compared to just a few (7.1%) of the female population migrated because of economic reasons. The migration of more males than female due to economic reasons could be attributed to the men mostly serving as the breadwinners of respective families; hence, more males migrated to work and provide for their left-behind families.

**Table 2: Reasons for migrating by Sex and Age of respondents**

Reasons for migrating	Sex of respondents			Age of respondents			
	Male	Female	Total	15-34	35-54	55-74	Total
Target attack/killing	61 (93.8%)	4 (6.2%)	65(100%)	20 (30.8%)	35 (53.8%)	10 (15.4%)	65 (100%)
Economic	13 (92.9%)	1 (7.1%)	14 (100%)	10 (71.4%)	4 (28.6%)	0 (0.0%)	14 (100%)
Fear/Gunshots	6 (14.6%)	35 (85.4%)	41 (100%)	4 (9.8%)	15 (36.6%)	22 (53.7%)	41 (100%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>80 (66.7%)</b>	<b>40 (33.3%)</b>	<b>120 (100%)</b>	<b>34 (28.3%)</b>	<b>54 (45.0%)</b>	<b>32 (26.7%)</b>	<b>120 (100%)</b>

( $\chi^2=75.880$ , df=2, p=0.000<0.05) ( $\chi^2=34.960$ , df=4, p=0.000<0.05)

Table 2 further reveals the reasons for migrating by the ages of respondents. With regards to the total number of persons who migrated as a result of target attack/killing, the data shows that more than half (53.8%) of the respondents were within the age category of 35-54 years. Similarly, a significant (30.8%) number that migrated were within 15-34 age cohorts. Respondents were of the view that people within these age categories – 15-34 and 35-54 are the able-bodied who normally play a leading role in the various stages of the chieftaincy disputes. Activities such as attacks and sometimes handling of guns during clashes are done by people within this age cohort. In consequence, it is often people within these age groups that are largely targeted during violent clashes. However, slightly over one-seventh (15.4%) of the respondents that were targeted during the violence were within the 55-74 age group. Although people within this age group are perceived to be aged and can rarely participate in violent attacks, the reasons for them being targeted was due to utterances they made that tended to infuriate the opposing side. Respondents pointed out that the aged also at times instigated the able-bodied to cause mayhem in the community. This finding implies that even though the aged may not be in the forefront during violent clashes, they may sometimes be instigators of violence.

Furthermore, in terms of migrating as a result of fear of the sound of guns and bullets, more than half (53.7%) of the respondents that migrated were within the age category of 55-74 as compared to just over one-third (36.6%) of the respondents being within 35-54 years. Also, just a little of 9.8 percent were within the age category 15-34. The correspondence in the age of respondents along with the steady rise in the number of respondents migrating perhaps could mean that as people grow, they begin to be apprehensive of gunshots. Sixty-seven-year-old Ang-bataayali who lives in Limann had this to say:

... The sound of the guns and how the people are always shooting is terrible. When they start shooting, you will be hearing pellets of bullets falling on the roof. You can

easily be hurt if you attempt to go out. Look at me, I'm old. I'm always thinking that I may not see the next day – I may die. I was once admitted to the hospital during one of the shootings in which the doctor said it was high blood pressure. So when there was a rumor that they were about to start another fight – February 2017 clashes, I called my son who is working in Techiman for lorry fare and I went and stayed with him. **(Ang-bataayali, 67 years, Limann)**

Migrating because of economic reasons also portray an interesting pattern with regards to the age of respondents. Of those who migrated due to economic reasons, close to three-quarter (71.4%) were within the 15-34 age groups. For persons between the 35-54 age groups, about 29.4 percent of the respondents migrated because of economic reasons. However, no person within the 55-74 age cohorts migrated for economic reasons. As Birchall (2016) reminds us, age plays a significant role in the decision-making of person's who intend migrating, most especially, for economic purposes.

In conclusion, it is observed from the findings that both age and sex of a person plays a significant role when one is taking a decision to migrate especially during conflict. Furthermore, a Chi-square test was conducted to find out if there is a relationship between the sex, and age of a person and the reasons for migrating. As shown beneath Table 2, with a mean of 75.880, the p-Value was 0.000 less than 0.05 reported for sex. This shows that there is a significant relationship between sex and reasons for migrating. There is also a significant relationship between age and reasons for migrating in which the p-Value was 0.000 less than 0.05 with a mean of 34.960.

### **5.3 Person's involved in migration decision-making and sources of finance (during the conflict)**

To fully understand the migration decision-making of persons especially during violent conflict, it is imperative to consider whether the decision was independently taken or influenced by external actors. There were differences between the sexes in terms of the decision to migrate

during the conflict. As reported in Table 3, more than half (57.5%) of the male respondents took the migration decision independently as compared to just a little over one third (37.5%) of the female return migrants doing same. From field observation, it is realized that the community is patriarchal – mainly controlled by men. Most of the households were headed by men, and family decisions including migrating out of the house to a different place were determined by males. This implies that while males can easily and independently take a decision to migrate, female migration decisions were sometimes hindered by the males. Sakina had this to say:

Although I tried migrating during the February 2017 clashes, I couldn't because my husband prevented me from migrating. I have three children with the elder being 12 years, because this place is mostly where the shootings occur, the children were terrified and were constantly crying. After first pleading and subsequent persuading my husband the need for me and the children to migrate to join my parents, the option he offered me was like choosing between my marriage and migrating. Since I could not just end my marriage like that, I just decided to stay. **(Sakina, a 46-year-old female at Limann)**

Although the males mostly took the decision to migrate on their own, there were instances whereby the male decisions were influenced by females especially their spouses. The findings suggest that just 22.5 percent of the males' decision to migrate was influenced by their spouses. According to the respondents, depending on how the husband was involved in the chieftaincy affairs, the wives sometimes told the husband to migrate out of the town to be safe from perceived target attacks. However, males' involvement in the migration decision of females was significant. For instance, a little over two fifth (42.5%) of the female respondents migration decision during the conflict was initiated by their spouse.

**Table 3: Person’s involved in migration decision-making (during the conflict)**

Sex	Person’s involved in decision to migrate					Total
	Self	Parents	Spouse	Siblings	Others	
Male	46 (57.5%)	14 (17.5%)	18 (22.5%)	1 (1.2%)	1 (1.2%)	<b>80 (100%)</b>
Female	15 (37.5%)	2 (5.0%)	17 (42.5%)	6 (15.0%)	0 (0.0%)	<b>40 (100%)</b>

Source: Primary survey, 2018

( $\chi^2=18.023$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $p=0.001<0.05$ )

Using a Chi-square test to further find out the impact of sex on the migration decision, the Chi-square results show a mean value of 18.023, the p-Value was 0.001, less than the 0.05 target. These indicate that there is a significant relation between the sex and the migration decision of the respondents.

In the face of threats, victims of conflict are also faced with the cost of migration (Dadush & Niebuhr, 2016). Although a person may make a decision to migrate especially in conflict situations, their movement is sometimes curtailed due to financial challenges. Table 4 reveals how the respondents financed their migration during the conflict. In terms of sex segregation of how respondents' migration during the violence was financed, an overwhelming majority (81.2%) of the total male respondents funded their own migration. On the other hand, just one fifth (20.0%) of the female respondents independently funded their movement. Although just a little about 3.8 percent of males received money from their spouse to enable them to migrate, a significant number (52.5%) of female migration was funded by their husbands. Since the community is a patriarchal society, the farmlands among other resources are largely owned by the males. Also, proceeds from the farm are mostly controlled by the head of the households who are mostly males. A cursory survey of the community shows that males are mostly the

breadwinners of respective households. In consequence, the economic activities of the household were handled by the males, hence, the over reliance of women on their spouses for finance during the violence.

**Table 4: Person’s involved in sources of finance to migrate (during the conflict)**

Sex	Financing of migration					Total
	Self	Parents	Spouse	Friends	Siblings	
Male	65 (81.2%)	7 (8.8%)	3 (3.8%)	4 (5.0%)	1 (1.2%)	<b>80 (100%)</b>
Female	8 (20.0%)	3 (7.5%)	21 (52.5%)	1 (2.5%)	7 (17.5%)	<b>40 (100%)</b>

Based on the findings of the study, there is a great disparity between male and female in terms of the decision to migrate and how the migration is financed. These disparities are perhaps due to the male’s ability to control most of the economic engagement of the household and the community at large because of its patriarchal nature. As noted by Thompson (2017), cultural dimensions of communities are reshaping the migration decision practices of persons in recent times that need to be considered.

#### **5.4 Stages people migrate during the conflict**

In conflict situations, people are perceived to have the choice of migrating before violence ensues, in the midst of the violence or after the violence. Depending on the stage that a person chooses to migrate, they are confronted with varied challenges. The findings of this study as shown in Table 5 reveal that majority of the people migrated in the midst of the violence. As stated by respondents, the nature of the conflict is complex and one cannot determine when violence will erupt. The respondents were of the view that violence usually happens suddenly and people are mostly caught up in the midst of the violence without adequate planning. In the

same vein, a study conducted in Nepal by Williams and Pradhan (2008) found that victims of conflict largely do not have control over the duration of violence eruptions since violence ostensibly occurs abruptly. With regards to the number of people who migrated in the midst of the violence, more than half (54.5%) of them indicated that the conditions under which they migrated was poor. The majority of people migrating in the midst of the violence could perhaps also be attributed to not attaching seriousness to rumors about the eruptions of violence. A section of the study population pointed out that they sometimes receive rumor of violence eruptions but tend to ignore it because there have been several warnings about violence outbreak that never occurred. According to the respondents, apart from not finding means of transport to move out of the hostile area, one is also unable to carry his/her belongings such as clothes, food, among other things when migrating in the midst of violence.

**Table 5: Stages people migrate during the conflict**

Conditions of migration	Stage of the conflict they migrated			Total
	Before violence ensued	In the midst of violence	Immediately after the violence	
Very Good	2 (10.0%)	1 (1.1%)	2 (16.7%)	5 (4.2%)
Good	7 (35.0%)	2 (2.3%)	5 (41.7%)	14 (11.7%)
Fair	3 (15.0%)	8 (9.1%)	1 (8.3%)	12 (10.0%)
Poor	6 (30.0%)	48 (54.5%)	2 (16.7%)	56 (46.7%)
Very Poor	2 (10.0%)	29 (33.0%)	2 (16.7%)	33 (27.5%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>20 (100%)</b>	<b>88 (100%)</b>	<b>12 (100%)</b>	<b>120 (100%)</b>

**Source: Primary survey, 2018**

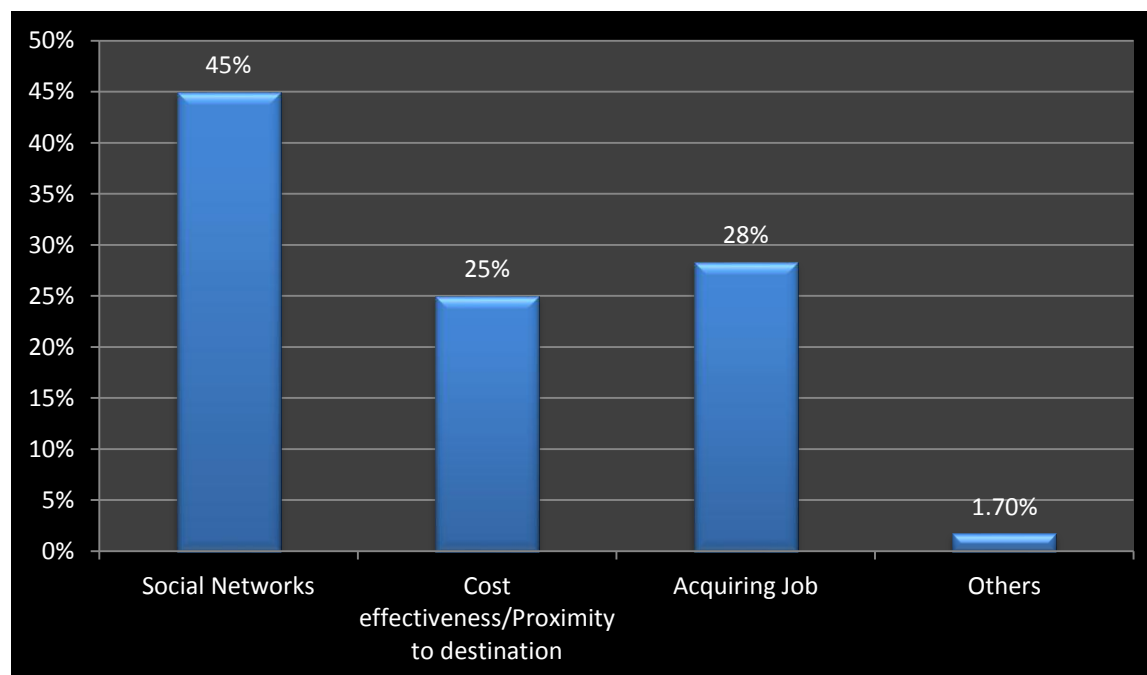
Also, for the total number of persons who migrated before the outbreak of the violence, a little over one-third (35.0%) of them reveal that their migration before the violence was good.

Respondents who migrated before the outbreak of the violence were probably due to their attachment of seriousness to the rumor about the outbreak of violence.

### 5.5 Choosing destination during the conflict

The primary objective of people who migrate because of conflicts is to be safe; however, there are some factors they consider in choosing a destination. Contextualizing this assertion in the push-pull framework adopted for this study offers a broader understanding of the migration decision-making of victims of conflicts (Crawley, 2011). The push factors that cause respondents to migrate centered on economic reasons, fear of gunshots and target attacks/killing. The factors that influenced respondents' choices of the destination are represented in Figure 4.

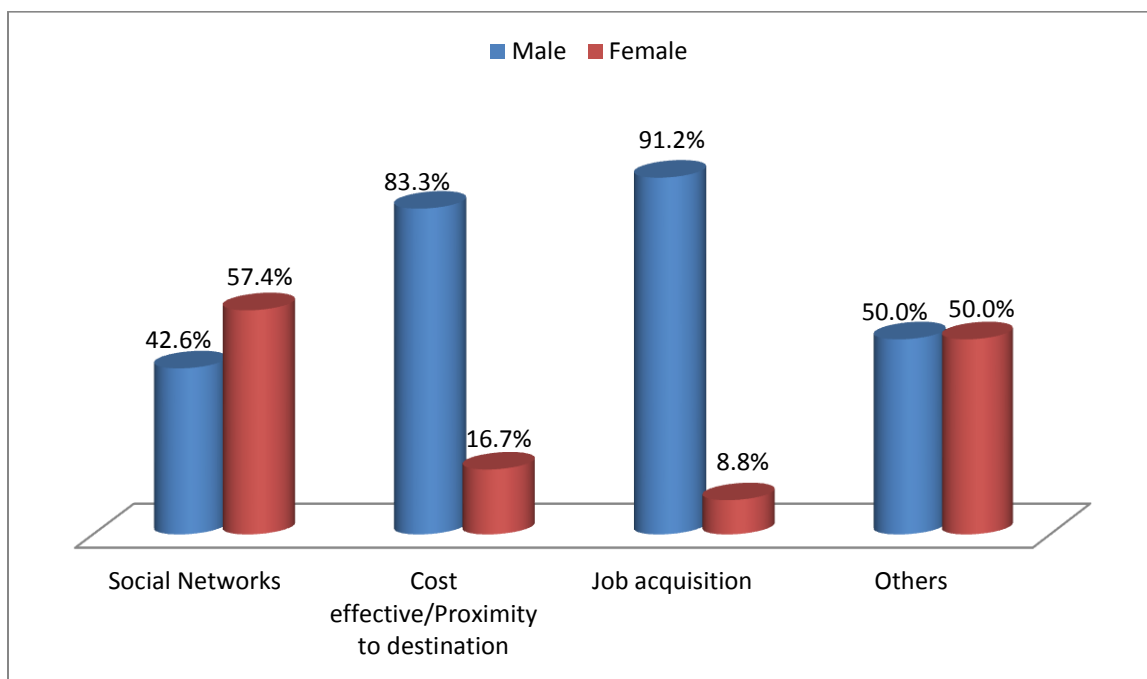
**Figure 4: Percentage distribution of Reasons for choosing the destination**



The findings show that social networks play a significant role in the decision-making of respondents in terms of choosing a particular destination during the conflict. This finding confirms the theoretical framework adopted that refers social network to a person family

member, friend or a kinsman. As shown in figure 4, more than two-fifth (45%) of the respondents choose the destination because of their social networks. However, in terms of their sexes, eight more females (57.4%) than males (42.6%) choose the destination because of their social networks as shown in Figure 5. As stated by the respondents, women especially those who are married have their husband’s home and their biological parent's home, during the violence, they easily migrate to join their biological parents. Males sometimes fail to migrate during the violence, because, they usually perceive their networks not to be strong at the destination. A study among Senegalese by Toma and Vause (2014) also found social networks to be stronger among women than men.

**Figure 5: Reasons for choosing the destination by sex of respondents**



**Source: Primary survey, 2018**

The findings also reveal that respondents intention of acquiring job in the destination influence their choice of destination. A significant proportion (28%) of the respondents although were fleeing from the violence also had the aim of acquiring a job in the destination as indicated in

figure 4. But as can be seen from Figure 5, the aim of acquiring a job at the destination was more important to the males with an overwhelming majority (91.2%) as compare to just 8.8 percent of female. According to the respondents, male's migration does not prevent them from still providing the financial needs of the family. As a result, they choose a destination where they may be able to engage in an income generating activity to meet the financial needs of the family. On the other hand, female tend to depend on their social networks both in the destination and the origin, hence, sees the acquisition of job in the destination not to be very important.

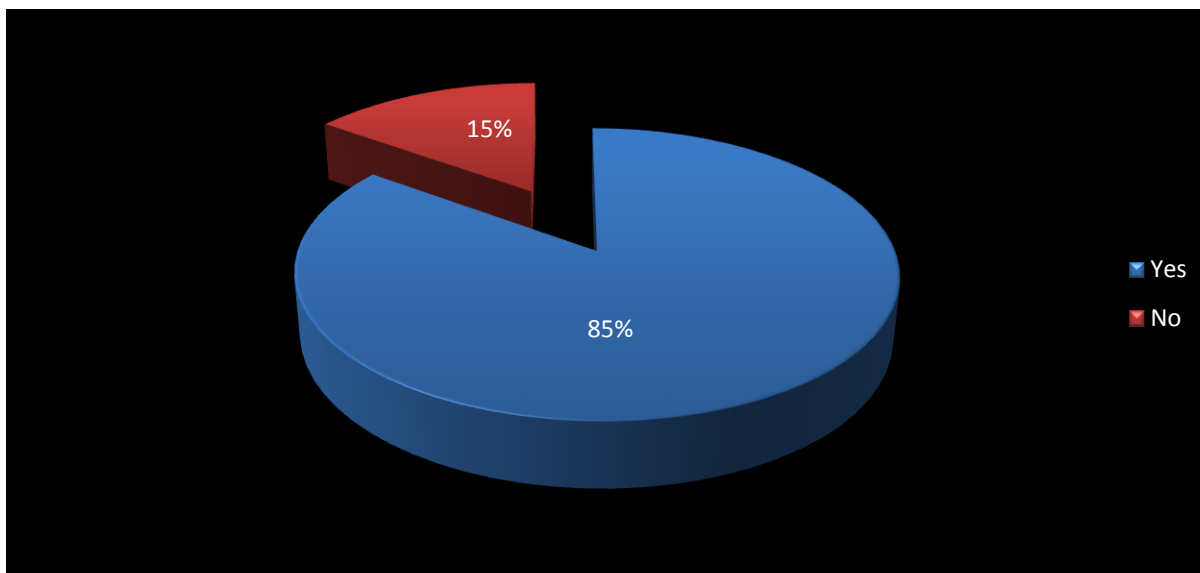
Also, a quarter (25%) of the respondents identifies cost effectiveness/proximity to the destination as the reason for choosing the destination as Figure 4 shows. According to the respondents, migrating to a new destination usually involve cost – paying for transport, renting accommodation, buying food *et cetera*. Since they did not plan adequately in terms of finances; they migrated to places that were closer to Bimbilla and does not involve huge cost. However, in terms of sex segregation of the total number of respondents who consider cost effectiveness/proximity to the destination, an overwhelming majority (83.3%) as compare to just over one-seventh (16.7%) of the respondents were males and females respectively as shown in Figure 5.

### **5.6 Challenges victims of conflict encounter at destinations**

Return migrants were asked if they encountered any challenges at the destination. According to the findings, an overwhelming majority (85.0%) of the respondents' assent to facing challenges at the destination as indicated in Figure 6. On the other hand, just about a little over one-seventh (15.0%) indicated that they did not face any challenges at the destination. These findings support the assumption made by studies that victims of conflict who migrate to new communities are

likely prone to facing challenges at the destination (Shultz et. al., 2014; Idemudia et al., 2013; Ibanez and Moya, 2010).

**Figure 6: Response to challenges at the destination**



**Source: Primary survey, 2018**

### 5.6.1 Types of Challenges Encountered at the Destination

There have been a lot of studies that outlined the challenges victims of conflict such as Internally Displaced Persons, refugees and asylum seekers encounter at the destination. These challenges range from socio-economic exclusion (Benach et al. 2011; Hynes, 2011; Ibanez & Moya, 2010), difficulties in accessing health services (Ansar et al., 2017; Aiyar et al., 2016) and political exclusion (Kumssa, Williams, Jones, & Des Maraise 2014). This study suggests that victims of conflict usually encounter more than a single challenge at the destination. As indicated by respondents, accommodation, food, clothes and job acquisition were the challenges encountered at the destination. As shown in Figure 7, the common challenge respondents' encounter at the destination was accommodation with over two-thirds (70.0%) of the sample. This was followed by food challenge, more than half (59.2%) of the sample indicate that they face food challenges

at the destination. Some of the respondents reveal that they only ate once a day at the destination. Whereas engaging in an income generating activity tends to play a role in the decision-making of person's fleeing conflict, a little over one-third (34.2%) of the sample could not acquire a job at the destination that could have enabled them to generate income. As these findings reveal, it is not surprising when Asylum Research Consultancy Report (2018) identified homelessness, food, and water as some of the major challenges victims of conflict in South and Central Somalia encountered in their quest to migrate. Case two depicts Seidu's experience in terms of challenges at the destination, a 45-year-old return migrant in Bimbilla:

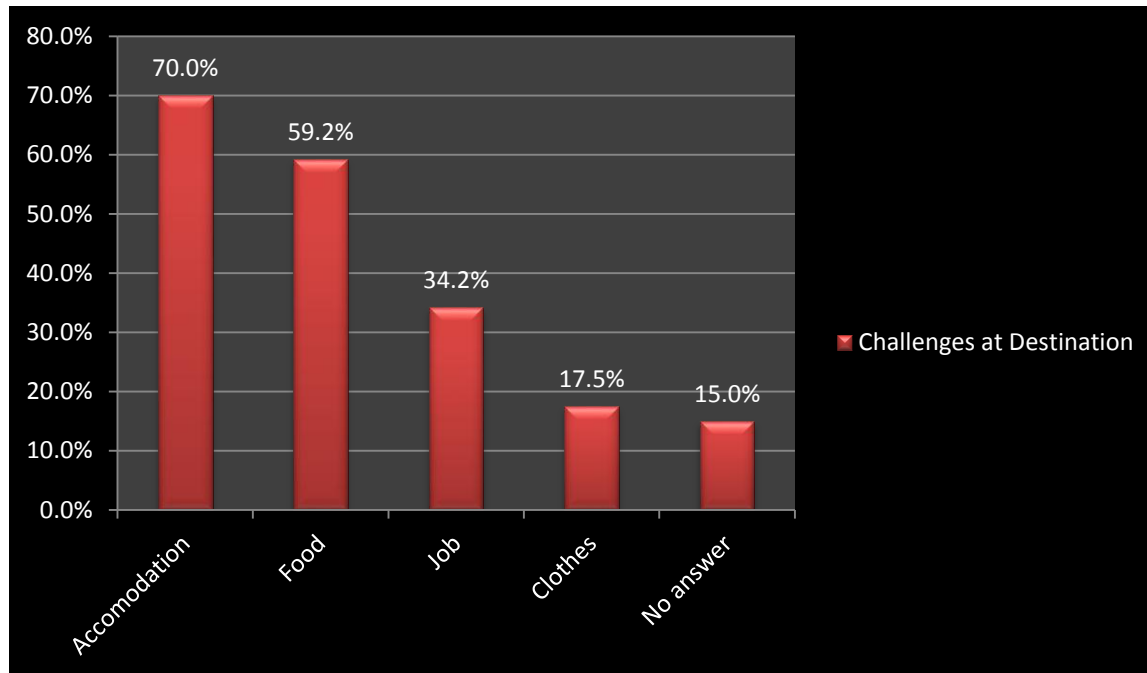
### **Case 3: Seidu's experience in terms of challenges at the destination**

**Seidu is a 45-year-old farmer who lives in Bimbilla with a wife and 4 children. Seidu migrated to Wulensi in 2016 upon the eruption of “*The Bolgu Conflict*” in Bimbilla. According to Seidu, he migrated alone due to perceived attack and arrest from both his opponents and the security services respectively.**

**From Seidu's narration, he encountered numerous challenges at the destination ranging from accommodation, food, clothing, and water. According to Seidu, the only form of accommodation available at the destination was a horse pen. Hence, he stayed in it for three months. Because of the bizarre conditions under which he fled, he was also confronted with the challenges of food and clothing. He indicated that it took him over 14 days before he could have a single bath. Also, he had no option than to wear the single cloth he went with for two weeks.**

**Seidu concluded by saying that, it was due to the challenges at the destination that made him return to Bimbilla. Based on his experience at the destination, Seidu hopes that peace should be restored in Bimbilla because the challenges one faces at a new place are pathetic.**

**Figure 7: Types of Challenges encountered at the destination**



Source: Primary survey, 2018

\*\*\*Multiple Responses

### 5.6.2 How Challenges are overcome at Destination

Victims of conflict who migrate during violence adopt several strategies to address the challenges they face at the new destinations. As shown in Table 6 below, a greater proportion (48.8%) of male population who migrated as compared to just 17.5 percent of their female counterparts engaged in a job to overcome the challenges that confronted them at the destination. Whereas males work on people's farms for remuneration, the females help in household chores such as fetching water, washing people's clothes and cleaning rooms at the destination in order to generate income. It was a common practice among the women to also fetch firewood from the bush to be sold in the market for money. Again, more female (40.0%) return migrants as compared to just a little over one-seventh (16.2%) of males depended on their relatives in the destination. This finding supports the assertion that females tend to consider and use their social

networks during violent conflict more than males (Fox, 2014). In terms of assistance female migrants receive from relatives in the destination, food items and clothing were common. Males, on the other hand, received a parcel of land to start their own farm after working for persons they lived with at the destination.

**Table 6: How Challenges are overcome at Destination by Sex**

How did you Overcome the challenges in the destination?	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
<b>Depended on relatives in the destination</b>	13 (16.2%)	16 (40.0%)	29 (24.2%)
<b>Depended on relatives in Bimbilla</b>	10 (12.5%)	7 (17.5%)	17 (14.2%)
<b>Engage in a job</b>	39 (48.8%)	7 (17.5%)	46 (38.3%)
<b>Could not do anything</b>	6 (7.5%)	4 (10.0%)	10 (8.3%)
<b>Not Stated</b>	12 (15.0%)	6 (15.0%)	18 (15.0%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>80 (100%)</b>	<b>40 (100%)</b>	<b>120 (100%)</b>

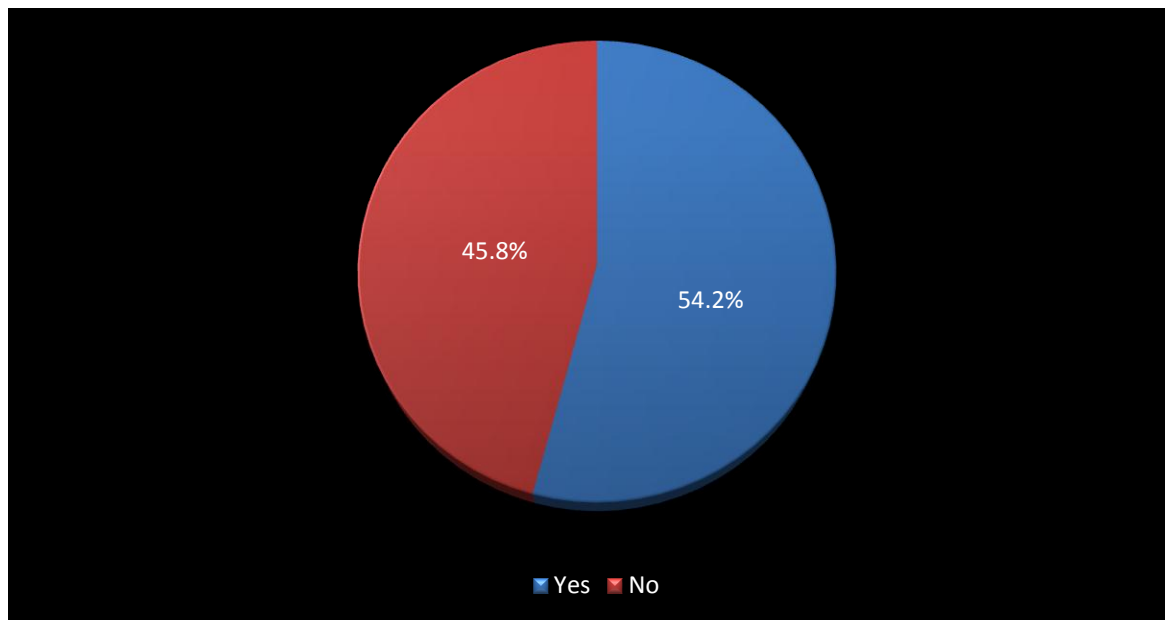
**Source: Primary survey, 2018**

### 5.7 Opportunities victims of conflict encountered at destinations

Apart from the challenges victims of conflict face at the destination, studies have shown that their migration sometimes serves as a form of liberation to them. When respondents were asked whether they encountered opportunities at the destination, more than half (54.2%) of the respondents indicated encountering opportunities at the destination as shown in Figure 8. According to the respondents, these opportunities range from engaging in an economic activity, acquiring new skills at the destination, and most significantly, they were psychologically stable at the respective destinations.

The least (45.8%), on the other hand, revealed that they did not encounter any opportunity when they migrated. As reported by the respondents, since they were not prepared to settle permanently, they could not engage in any economic activities.

**Figure 8: Percentage distribution of Opportunities victims of conflict encounter at destinations**



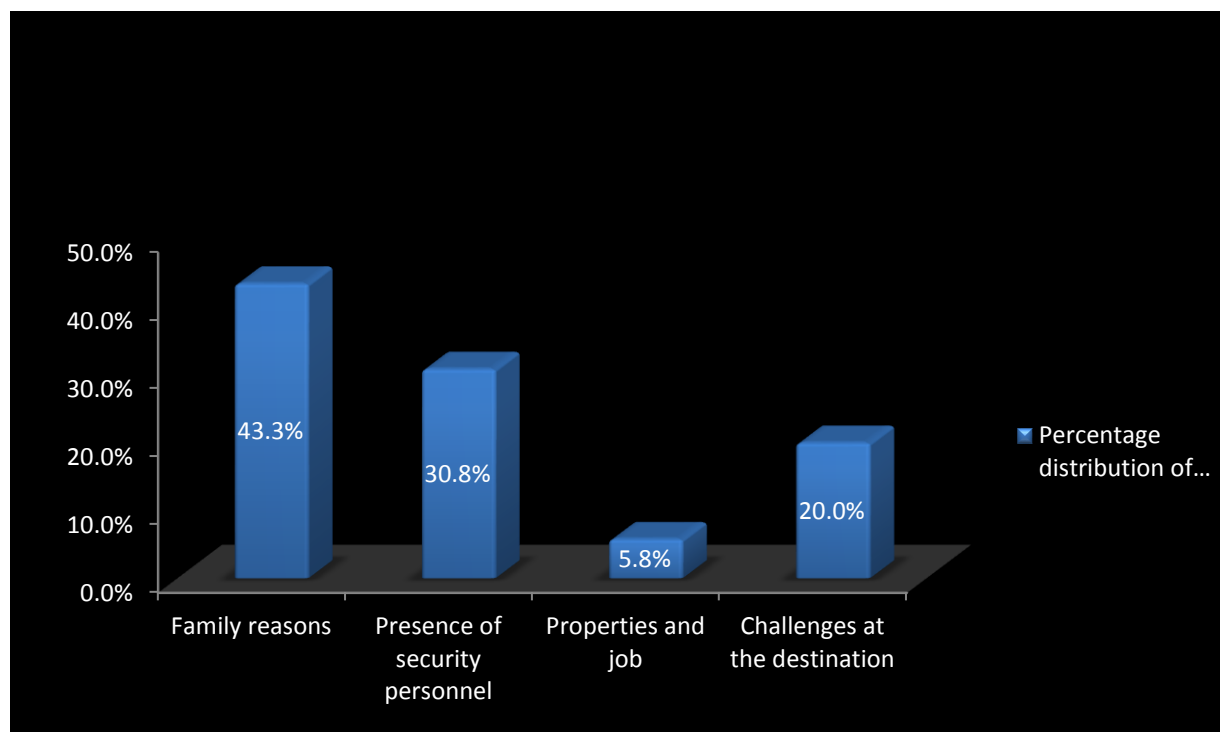
**Source: Primary survey, 2018**

### **5.8 Motivations for Returning to Bimbilla**

Migration is cyclical in nature (Constant & Zimmermann, 2011), while victims of conflict who flee during violence sometimes prefer resettling to a third destination, others return to the post-conflict communities. Several factors influence their decision to return. Whereas Walraet's (2011) investigation among refugees from South Sudan reveals their desire to resettle to third countries, Fransen (2017) found Burundian refugees attachment to Burundi as a reason for returning to Burundi. This study identifies various reasons why the victims of the conflict returned to Bimbilla. As shown in Figure 9, a majority (43.3%) of respondents who migrated during the violence returned to Bimbilla because of family reasons. According to the

respondents, it is very difficult to always migrate with the whole family. Consequently, the individual whose life is seriously in danger during the violence, or has the intention to acquire a job in new destinations mostly undertakes the migration. As the person migrates leaving the family members such as spouse, children, parents among others, he/she has to return to take care of the family especially when the person is the breadwinner.

**Figure 9: Types of Reasons for returning**



**Source: Primary survey, 2018**

The presence/arrival of security personnel such as the military and police also stimulated decision of the victims of the conflict that migrated to return. A significant percentage (30.8%) of respondents pointed out that their decision to return was influenced by the arrival of security personnel. According to the respondents, the presence/arrival of the security personnel mostly helps to minimize the sporadic shootings as well as the target attacks/killing of persons perceived to belong to the opposing sides. Hence, relative peace is usually restored as a result of the

presence of security personnel leading to their return. In contrast to this finding, studies have shown that the arrival of security forces in violent situations especially civil wars tend to exacerbate migration among the populace (Fearon & Laitin, 2011; Hochschild, 2004).

Again, the challenges returnees encounter at the various destinations influence their decision to return. As indicated in Figure 9, just a fifth (20.0%) of the respondents returned to Bimbilla due to the challenges they encountered at the destination. As stated earlier, factors such as accommodation, food, clothes, and returnees' inability to acquire jobs were the challenges encountered at the destination. Based on the findings, properties such as houses, land, and animals play an insignificant (5.8%) role in the decision of the respondents to return.

#### **5.8.1 How Respondents Rate Their Return Migration**

The findings of this study suggest that the migration of the respondents during the conflict was generally poor. However, their return to Bimbilla shows otherwise. Slightly More than half (50.8%) of the respondents indicated that their return migration was good as shown in Figure 10. This is perhaps due to the circumstance under which they decided to return. According to the respondents, their decision to migrate during the violence was hastily done as compared to their decision to return. In taking the decision to return, respondents were of the view that they had the option to migrate when they please as compared to not having same during the violence. As stated by Awusara:

When I heard that they have stop fighting, I wanted to leave Nasia to Bimbilla the next day, because, I stayed with my uncle for almost 4 months in Nasia and I just wanted to go back. However, my uncle asked me to stay for two extra weeks to enable him gathers some money for me to go back, of which I did. Upon leaving Bimbilla, I was having enough money and food stuffs. Ah! I even came with "V.I.P bus"<sup>3</sup> as compared to the cargo truck I used when I was migrating during the conflict. **(Awusara, Female, 48 years)**

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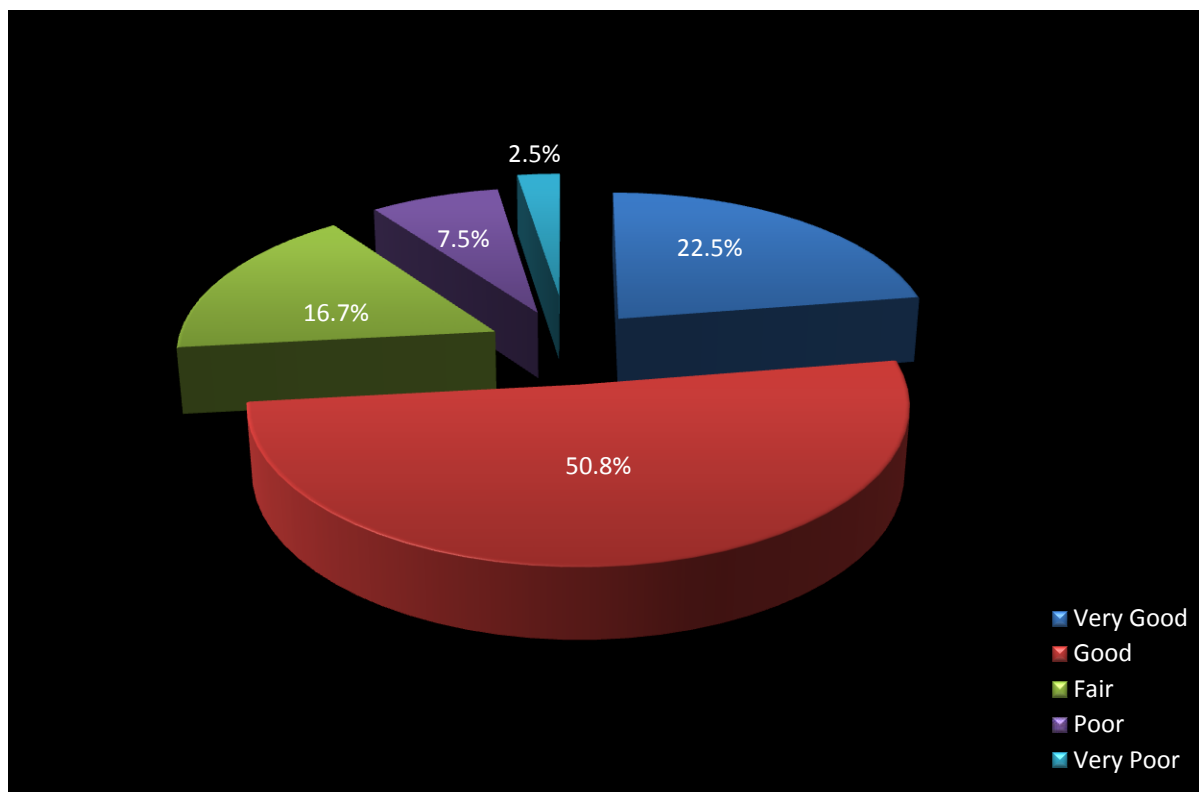
<sup>3</sup> "V.I.P bus" – a luxurious bus used by Ghanaian public to commute between communities.

Similarly, more than one-fifth (22.5%) of the respondents pointed out that their return migration was very good. For the purpose of this study, very good refers to situation that a respondent has the freedom to determine the time to leave the destination, the means of transport used, and the ease of return to Bimbilla without any hindrance. As a result, respondents who reported that their return was very good were of the view that they did not encounter any difficult such as finding a means of transport when they decided to return to Bimbilla. As reported by Khadijah:

I could have stayed with my biological parents as long as I want, but I decided to comeback. I did not really face any challenge during my return, in terms of transportation; my senior brother who is a teacher drove me to Bimbilla with his car. My parents even wanted me not to return, because, I have some challenges with my marriage and the conflict too keeps erupting. So I really took my time to consider so many factors before returning. But all the same, my return trip was really really nice. **(Khadijah, Female, 38 years)**

Also, a little over one-seventh (16.7%) of the respondents rate their returned journey as fair. Again, one-tenth (10.0%) of the respondent described their return migration to be within the rates of poor and very poor. Although some of the respondents faced some challenges at the destination, they could not work to avert these challenges. Consequently, it affects their return migration and some had to plead with car owners for free transport to Bimbilla, and in some cases walk back to Bimbilla.

**Figure 10: Percentage distribution of return migration rating**



Source: Primary survey, 2018

### 5.9 Challenges Encountered Upon Return

The challenges victims of conflict encounter upon their return to post-conflicts societies have become a major concern for intergovernmental organizations (e.g. UNICEF, Doctors Without Borders, International Rescue Committee, etc) Civil Society Organizations (e.g. World Vision, Catholic Relief Services, Oxfam International, International Committee of the Red Cross, etc), and policymakers. Drawing lessons from Burundi, Fransen and Kuschminder (2012) and Maniraguha (2011), report that acquisition of land is a major challenge that returnees face which in turn hinders their reintegration. Findings from this study, however, suggest that returnees do not just encounter a single challenge but multiple challenges upon their return to Bimbilla. As shown in Figure 11, psychological distress and stigmatization were the common (53.3%)

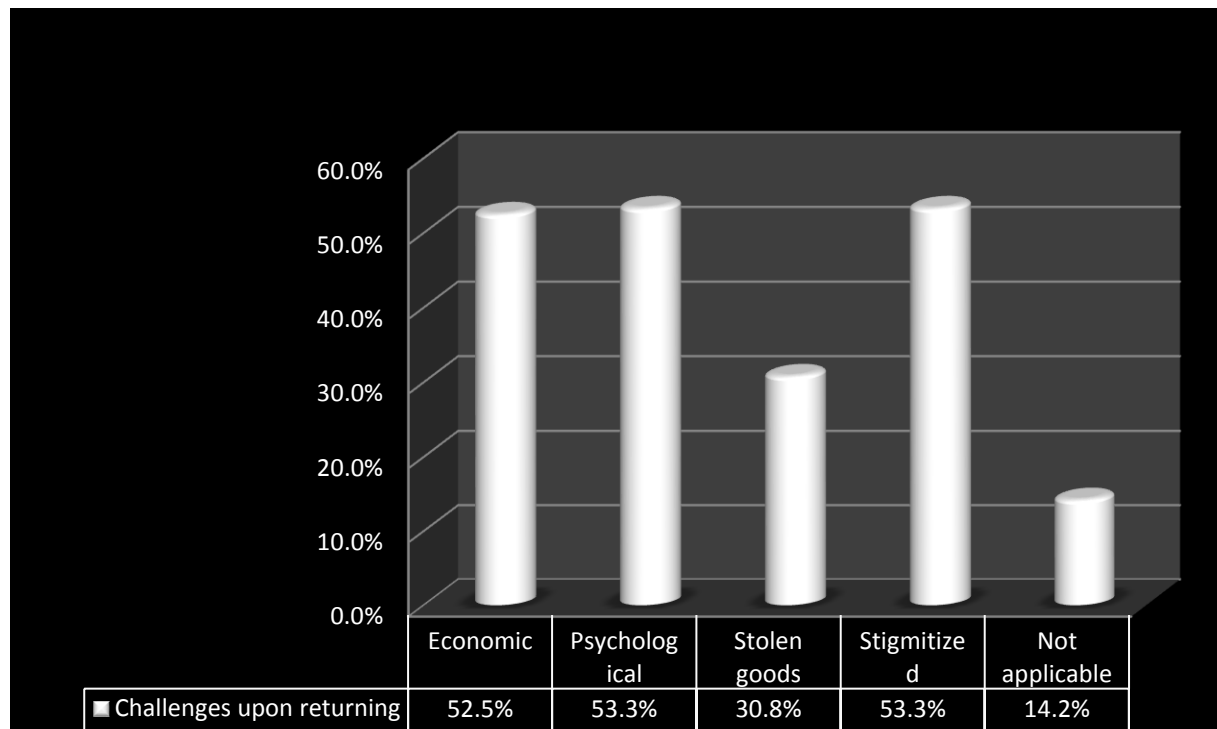
challenges returnees faced upon their return to Bimbilla. According to the respondents, although the presence of the military and the police brought calm to the area, they were still living in constant fear due to the likely eruption of violence. Returnees also complained of being stigmatized among their companions. As reported by the respondents, their status in terms of decision-making during community meetings and interaction with friends were affected due to their migration during the violence. Based on field reports their migration was seen as a form of weakness and contemptibly timid. So it was a perception that persons who "run" during challenges cannot make any major decisions. In the same vein, Ruiz et al. (2015) argue that people who migrate during a conflict and decide to stay for a long period of time in the destination upon returning tend to experience a denigration of their social status.

As shown in Figure 11, one major challenge returnees also encountered upon their return to Bimbilla was the economic challenge (52.5%). Some of the respondents reported that upon their return to Bimbilla, they could not do any serious economic activities such as farming, trading *et cetera* as a result of the conflict. This finding is consistent with Fransen et al. (2017) claim that returnees are usually confronted with economic shocks when they return to post-conflict societies.

As shown in Figure 11, a significant (30.8%) number of the returnees revealed that due to their absence, their belongings were stolen. The respondents identify farm produce such as yam, maize and cassava, animals like goats, sheep, poultry, and utensils as some of their belongings that were stolen upon their return to Bimbilla. Drawing lessons from Northern Uganda, Blattman, and Annan (2009) argue that looting and stealing are prevalent in conflict situations. In the same way, Fedotov and Solomon (2011) assert that due to dysfunctional security apparatus of post-conflict societies, criminal activities such as reprisal attacks, theft cases and the free flow

of weapons are usually common which sometimes have the tendency of putting economic hardship on people. These perhaps suggest that apart from protecting the lives of people during a conflict, strategies should also be adopted to ensure that victims of conflict properties are also protected.

**Figure 11: Percentage distribution of challenges encountered upon return**



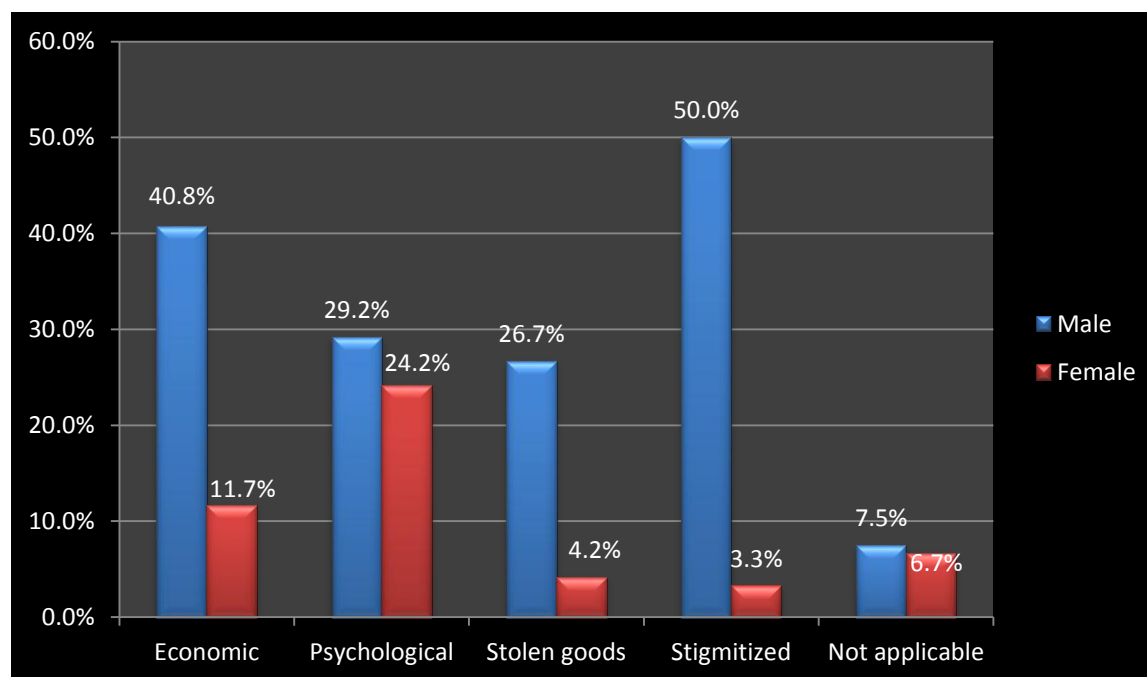
Source: Primary survey, 2018 \*\*\*Multiple Responses

### 5.9.1 Challenges Encountered upon Return by Sex of Respondents

The challenges returnees encountered upon their return varies by the sex of respondents. As observed from the field, some of the challenges respondents identified were more pronounced among the sex of the respondents. As shown in Figure 12, of those who reported being stigmatized, half (50.0%) were males, while just 3.3 percent of females reported being stigmatized upon their return to Bimbilla. This overwhelming difference between males and females in terms of being stigmatized can perhaps be attributed to some cultural beliefs among

the population. Whereas people who flee from conflict situations and return to their origin are usually seen as victims that need financial, health and psychological assistance (Kamminga & Zaki, 2018; Ana, Laurence, & Susanne, 2015), the findings of this study show otherwise. A section of the population especially non-migrants perceive the migration of the male victims as a sign of weakness, consequently describing them as “women”, and cowards. This finding may impede future migration of male victims of conflict in the community in order to avert similar experiences.

**Figure 12: Percentage distribution of Challenges Encountered Upon Return by Sex of Respondents**



Source: Primary survey, 2018

\*\*\*Multiple Responses

With respect to economic challenges, it is evident from Figure 12 that more than one-third (40.8%) of the males faced economic challenges as compare to females with just a little over one-tenth (11.7%). While most of the males proclaimed that farming activities that happen to be

their main source of livelihood were affected, the females who were mostly into selling food especially in the night and retailing of food items such as maize, yam, rice, and vegetables also shared similar views. Whereas more than one-fourth (29.2%) of male asserted that they experienced psychological distress, close to one-fourth (24.2%) of females also made similar assertion. According to the respondents, the constant fear of experiencing another eruption of violence was not implausible. And the imposition of curfew always increases their psychological instability.

Again, the incidence of stolen items and goods were more common among males than females. As indicated in Figure 12, a little over one fourth (26.7%) of males as compared to just 4.2 percent of females reported their properties been stolen upon their return. In terms of the kind of properties that were stolen, the males identified farm produce and animals, whereby the females mentioned stolen utensils and foodstuffs.

From the above observation, it is realized that both males and females are confronted with challenges upon their return to Bimbilla, however, the challenges were more ubiquitous among the male returnees. This suggests that rather than prioritizing the needs of women returnees to post-conflict areas as has been suggested by Constanza Yaniba, 2016; Ni Aolain, Cahn, and Haynes, 2010, policies and interventions should be drafted towards ensuring a fair treatment of both males and females.

**CHAPTER SIX**

**FACTORS THAT EXPLAIN THE DECISION TO STAY IN A CONFLICT ZONE**

**6.1 Introduction**

This chapter gives a concise account of non-migrants with a sample size of 106. The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents are presented in this section. Also, the reasons why the respondents could not migrate, the opportunities and challenges they were confronted with are all highlighted in this section. Based on their experiences, their future migration intentions in relation to the conflict are illustrated.

**Table 7: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Non-Migrants**

<b>Socio-demographic Characteristics</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
<b>AGE</b>		
15-34	28	26.4
35-54	56	52.8
55-74	21	19.8
75+	1	0.9
<b>Total</b>	106	100
<b>Mean Age (43.2)</b>		
<b>SEX</b>		
Male	52	49.1
Female	54	50.9
<b>Total</b>	106	100
<b>MARITAL STATUS</b>		
Married	89	84.0
Never Married	9	8.5
Widowed	8	7.5
<b>Total</b>	106	100
<b>HOUSEHOLD SIZE</b>		
1-5	11	10.4
6-10	30	28.3
11-15	39	36.8
16-20	13	12.3
21-25	8	7.5
26-30	3	2.8
31+	2	1.9
<b>Total</b>	106	100
<b>Mean Household Size (13.2)</b>		

From the descriptive analysis of the data, non-migrants minimum age was 19 years and a maximum age of 85 years. The mean age of the respondents as shown in Table 7 is 43.2. According to the table, more than half (52.8%) of the respondents were within the 35-54 age group. Also, a little over one fourth (26.4%) of the respondents were in their youthful age – 15-34 years. About one fifth (19.8%) of the respondents were also within the age category of 55-74 years. With respondents from 75 years and above, just close to one percent (0.9%) of the non-migrants were within that age category.

Whereas a little over half (50.9%) of the non-migrant were females, close to half (49.1%) of the respondents were also males as shown in Table 7. The large proportion of females in the non-migrants respondents may perhaps be attributed to their hesitation towards migration during the violence, because, females are rarely attacked during conflicts according to the respondents.

Based on the marital status of the respondents, an overwhelming majority (84.0%) of the respondents were married. As stated earlier, marriage plays a crucial role in the tradition of the study community. According to the respondents, a person's marital status sometimes affects their decision to migrate. With respect to those who were never married, close to one-tenth (8.5%) of the total sample were never married. Close to one-tenth (7.5%) of the respondents were also widowed.

The extended family system is commonly practiced among Nanumbas. As indicated in the household column in Table 7, the mean household size of the respondents was 13.2. Although the mean of the non-migrant household size differ from that of Ghana 2010 Population and Housing Census Report which recorded 7.7, there all suggest that households within Nanumba North district are predominantly large. As shown in the table, close to two third (65.1%) of the

total non-migrants sample was from a household size of 6-15 members. Significant proportions (12.3%) of the respondents were also from a household size of 16-20 members. While 10.4, 7.5 and 2.8 percents were from a household with members ranging from 1-5, 21-25 and 26-30 respectively, close to 2 percent has a household size of 31 and above.

## **6.2 Reasons Why Respondents Did Not Migrate**

Although the conditions of conflict sometimes demand that people should migrate to different areas, it is not everyone who normally migrates during conflict. Several reasons have been identified to explain why victims of conflict sometimes find it difficult to migrate (RUCMAN, 2016; Justino, 2011; Williams & Pradhan, 2008). Pertaining to this study, respondents were of the view that their decision not to migrate during the conflict was influenced by more than a single reason. The common reasons why non-migrants could not migrate were in line with the social network theory employed for this study. Beyond relying on their networks for protection and not migrating during the conflicts (Adhikari, 2013), the findings of this study suggest that the size and closeness, and responsibility to the network prevented person's from migrating.

Although several reasons were attributed to why they could not migrate during the conflict, family reasons were the major (84.0%) factor that prevented them from migrating. There were three major family-related reasons for not migrating. First was the large household size. In the words of Ibrahim:

If I were alone, I don't think I would still have been in this community that knows no peace. But because of my family, I can't migrate with them. All my family members including father, mother, wife, children, and siblings are in Bimbilla. My situation is even worst because my in-laws are from this community. Once you are married, your wife's parents also become your responsibility and you cannot migrate with your parents leaving them behind. This usually makes the families large. So you just stay to soothe each other. **(Ibrahim, 39 years, Male, Teacher, Number of Household Members 20+)**

Indeed the quantitative data suggests that the average size of the households was 13.2.

Apart from large family size, non-migrants indicated that having aged parents also prevented them from migrating. According to the respondents, some of their parents who were still alive could not be relocated from Bimbilla because they were old and feeble. Hence, they stayed to take care of them. As Huudi put it:

I could not migrate because of my family. My grandmother, uncles, and other extended family member are all here. I take care of my grandmother who is about 90 years. If I were to be the only one, I would have moved. **(Huudi, 43 years, Male, Farmer & Teacher)**

Finally, marriage also prevented a section of the respondents from migrating during the conflict. Although few males attributed their inability to migrate during the conflict to marriage, it was common among females. This is captured in the words of Sumaiya below:

“If I was single, I would have migrated. But I have children and a husband. So I couldn’t migrate. I was just looking at my husband to take the decision as to whether we should migrate because they came and poured petrol on our house and almost burnt it. But I stayed because of the marriage since my husband was not prepared to migrate” **(Sumaiya, Female, 42 years, Number of Household Members 13)**

Another factor that thwarted the migration of people during periods of violence is their strong ties to the community. As shown in Figure 13, significant proportions (34.9%) of the respondents were of the view that their affinity to the community was the reason why they could not migrate. According to the respondents, since Bimbilla is their community of origin, they do not see why they should migrate to different communities to become strangers. As stated by Daare:

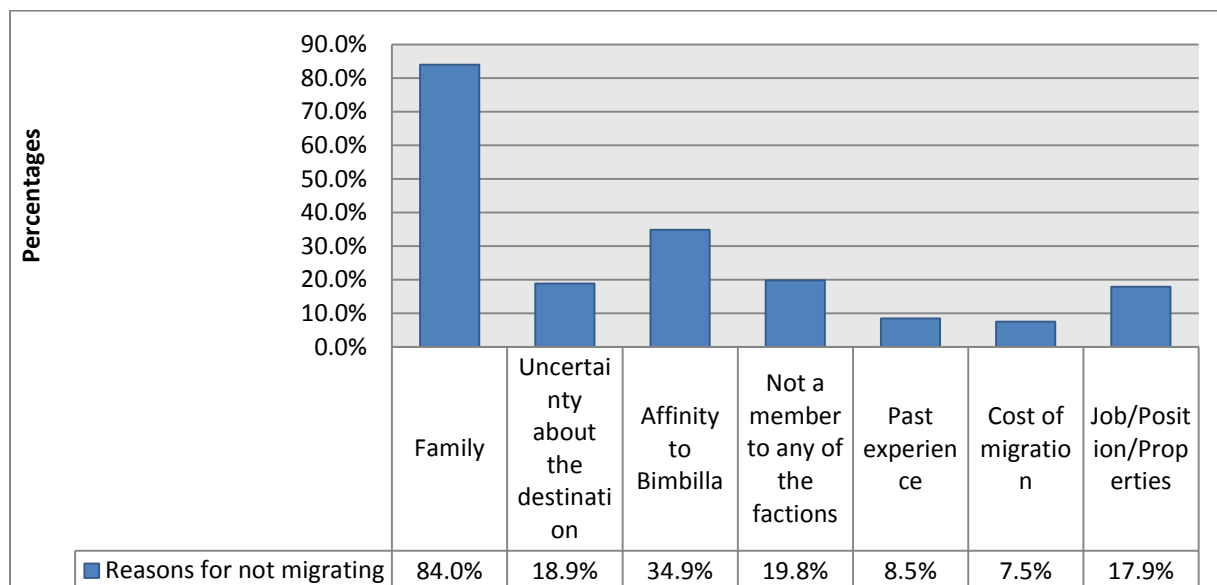
I prefer living in my native home to migrating to someone’s land. The land is our land. I don’t have any other place to go. My father will not even migrate if I had wanted to migrate with him. It is better to be independent than to go and be dependent on someone **(Daare, Male, 58 years, Farmer, Number of Household Members 18+)**

This finding is consistent with Haug’s (2008) claims among victims of conflict in Bulgaria and Italy that their attachment to their communities serves as preventive factors in making a decision to migrate during conflict.

As stated earlier, there have been incidents of target attacks, hence, once a person feels that his/her life is at stake, he/she is susceptible to migrate. Respondents pointed out that people perceived not to be part of any of the warring factions are rarely attacked. Given this perception among the indigenes, persons who refrain from participating in the chieftaincy affairs do not usually see the reason why they should migrate during the violence. Hence, one fifth (19.8%) of non-migrant took the decision to stay in the midst of the violence because they felt that they were safe since they did not participate or belong to any of the factions.

Although studies have shown that people engage in migration with the anticipation of improving their lives at the destination (Hoppe & Fujishiro, 2015; Nowok, Van Ham, Findlay & Gayle, 2013; Benson & O'reilly, 2009), some people declined to migrate because of uncertainties at the destination (Jolivet, 2015). In line with Jolivet's assertion, about a fifth (18.9%) of the respondents pointed out that their decision not to migrate was influenced by uncertainties about the destination. Respondents were of the view that finding a job and accommodation at the destination would be a herculean task, hence, their decision to remain in the conflict zone.

**Figure 13: Percentage distribution of reasons why respondents did not migrate**



Source: Primary survey, 2018

\*\*\*Multiple Responses

### 6.2.1 Reasons for Not Migrating by Sex of Respondents

The reasons identified that prevented people from migrating during the conflict vary between the males and females. Although family reasons were the most significant (78.8%) reason among the male population for not migrating, it was more pronounced among females non-migrant population (88.9%). Since females are seldom attacked, they are mostly expected to stay and care for the non-migrant household members such as the aged and the children. This care usually takes the form of cooking and fetching water for the household. On the other hand, males who could not migrate due to family reasons cited their presence in the home as a form of security to the household. They asserted that once you cannot migrate with the entire family, migrating alone during the violence will imply the abandonment of one's family.

Unlike the family reasons, sense of ties to the community was more prevalent among males than females. More than half (53.8%) of the male respondents cited their affinity to Bimbilla as the basis for not migrating as compared to just a little over one-seventh (16.7%) of the total non-

migrants females population. Respondents were of the view that age of a person influences their affinity towards the community. They argued that when a person is born and raised in Bimbilla, his/her attachment to Bimbilla increases.

More males (25.0%) than females (11.1%) were of the view that their job/position/properties impeded their decision not to migrate during the conflict. Despite some of the female respondents engaging in an income generating venture such as food vendors, fetching firewood to be sold in the market, *inter alia*, most of the households economic resources were controlled by males. Hence, they felt the need to stay and protect the family source of livelihood. Also, due to certain positions (e.g. opinion leaders) being occupied by the males, they decided not to migrate and abandon such positions. In the words of Sorinye:

It will be very difficult for some of us to migrate. Look, I am the head of the family and also a key member of the royal family. With all this responsibilities, under whose care will I leave all these with and say I am migrating. I stay and in consultation with some of my kinsmen, we try to see how we calm nerves down. Apart from that I needed to stay and protect my land and other properties because they belong to me. I can't leave them in the care of my wives. **(Sorinye, Male, Opinion leader, 57 years)**

**Table 8: Reasons for Not Migrating by Sex of Respondents**

SEX	Reasons why respondents did not migrate							Total
	Family	Uncertainty about the destination	Affinity to Bimbilla	Not a member of any faction	Past experience	High Cost of migration	Job/Position /Properties	
Male	41 (78.8%)	10 (19.2%)	28 (53.8%)	13 (25.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (5.8%)	13 (25.0%)	52 (49.1%)
Female	48 (88.9%)	10 (18.5%)	9 (16.7%)	8 (14.8%)	9 (16.7%)	5 (9.3%)	6 (11.1%)	54 (50.9%)

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

\*\*\*Multiple Responses

### **6.3 The Costs of Not Migrating**

As outlined above, there are valid reasons for not migrating during the conflict. The costs of staying behind are also real. Drawing lessons from the 2016 Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), victims of conflict who find it difficult to migrate and are trapped at conflict zone have difficulties of accessing food, shelter, water, and healthcare. Similarly, rape and other fundamental human rights violations have been identified as some of the challenges victims of conflict encounter in conflict areas (Meger, 2010). With an overwhelming majority (89.6%) of the respondents asserting that they encountered challenges during their stay, just a little over one-tenth (10.4%) indicated that they did not encounter any challenges in the course of their stay during the violence.

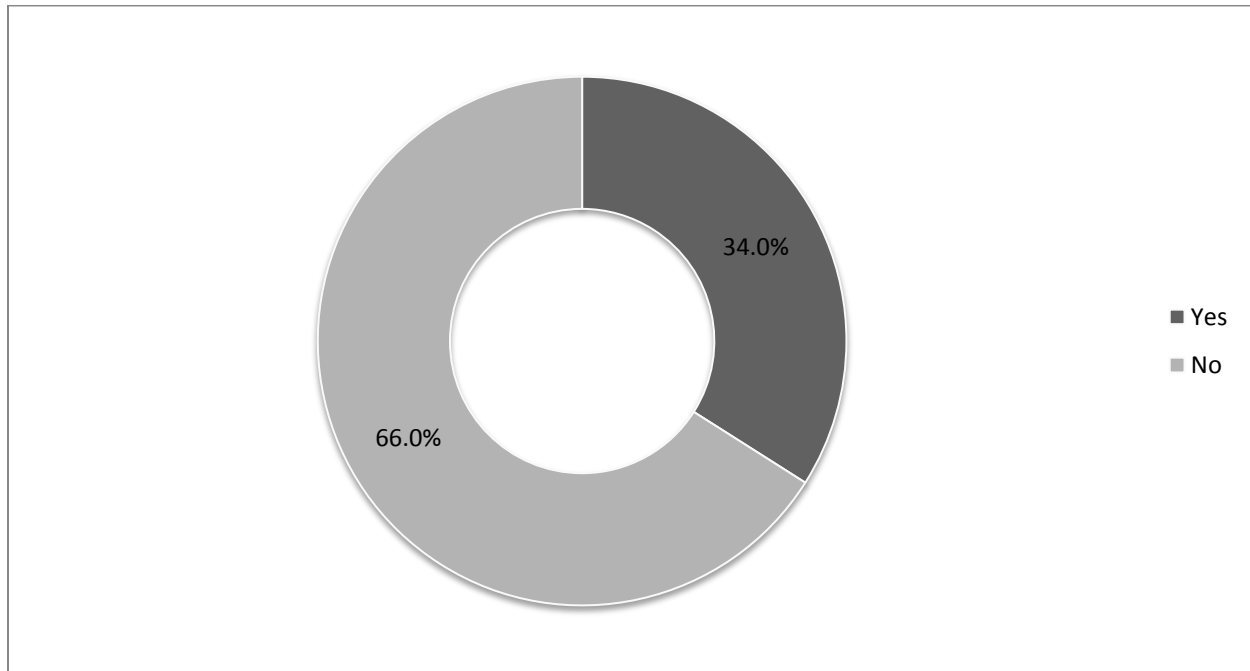
According to the findings of this study, respondents in the course of their stay encountered more than a single challenge. Some of the challenges non-migrants identified include direct threats, economic, psychological, the incidence of thefts and their inability to move freely. This shows that challenges non-migrants faced tend to be similar to challenges returnees encountered upon their return to Bimbilla (cf. page 71-74 of this study).

Interestingly, non-migrants also pointed out that staying behind was beneficial in a number of ways. As shown in Figure 14, close to two-third (66.0%) of the respondents affirmed that their stay benefitted them.

The benefits mentioned varied among respondents. Key among these benefits was their ability to protect their properties from looters. According to the respondents, once people were aware that someone had migrated; their property was likely to be stolen. Consequently, the presence of those who did not migrate deterred people from stealing their properties. Also, sections of the non-migrant population were of the view that their presence helped in calming nerves during the

various violent clashes. This was made possible because of their status in the community. This assertion was especially common among the males especially opinion leaders.

**Figure 14: Response to opportunities non-migrants encounter**



**Source: Primary survey, 2018**

Apart from protecting properties and calming nerves of people during the conflict, non-migrants were also of the view that they felt honored and brave for not migrating even in the face of difficulties such as the conflict. As a result, non-migrants believe it enhanced their status in the community because they did not abandon the land during the crisis. They were of the view that their stay protected the land and culture of Nanung. As stated by the respondents, during community meetings, return migrants especially the males felt like secondary citizens or at worst cowards because they “runaway” during difficulties.

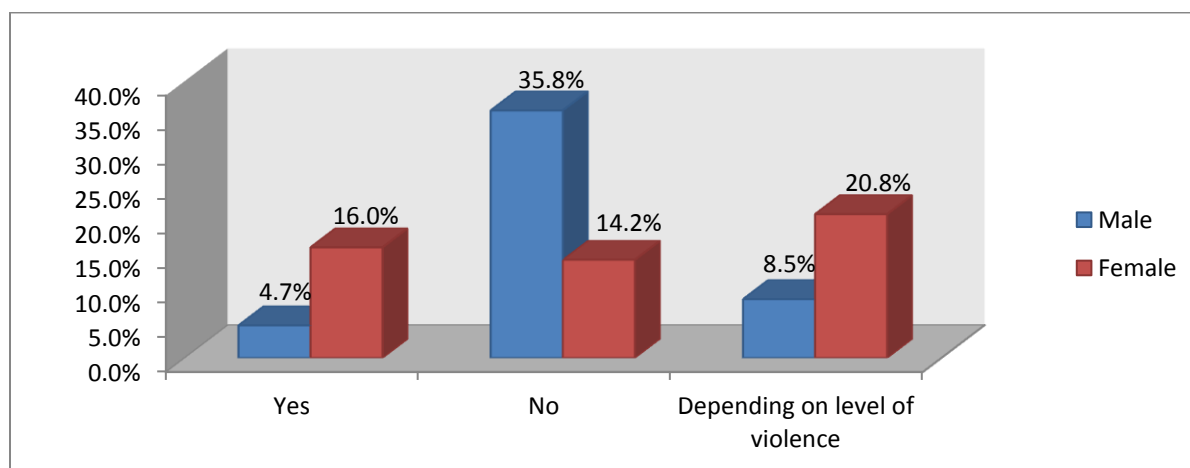
#### 6.4 Views of non-migrant to either stay or migrate during a future conflict

The experience of the non-migrant population during violent conflict affects their decision to either migrate or stay during future conflict. The future migration intentions of non-migrants vary among the sex of respondents. Respondents' response to whether they will migrate or not in relation to a future conflict is illustrated in Figure 15 based on their sex. When the non-migrants were asked whether they would migrate if violence occurs, half (50.0%) of the respondents said "No". However, more males (35.8%) than females (14.2%) shared the view that they would not migrate during future violence. According to the male respondents, since Bimbilla is their native land, they have no plans of migrating to a strange land. Most of the males indicated that no matter what, they are ever prepared to stay and protect, preserve the land and culture of Bimbilla.

One participant had this to say:

My brother, how would it be like if everyone runaway from Bimbilla the moment violent erupts. I think conflict have been with us for a very long time. Our parents never run leaving the town, so, this is not the time for us to also run. Some people may make the decision to migrate to different place, but, some of us are ready to stay and protect this land, even if we have to loss our lives. **(Danyi, 47 year old farmer in Masaka)**

**Figure 15: Percentage distribution of future migration intentions by sex of respondents**



Source: Primary survey, 2018

On the other hand, with little over one fifth (20.7%) of the respondents agreeing that they would migrate in relation to future violence, more females (16.0%) than males (4.7%) agree they would migrate. As stated by the respondents, the February 2017 violent clashes have altered the migration intentions of females considerably. This is as a result of the deliberate attack and killing of women and children during the violence. This implies that as the dynamics of conflict changes, it alters the migration intentions of people.

Again, close to one third (29.3%) of the respondents indicate that their migration will depend on the level of violence. Whereas high intensity of violence will force them to migrate, low intensity of violence may not be a reason enough to migrate. Using the rationale theory, William (2008) argues that level of physical risk in relation to the intensity of violence will produce various forms of migration. In terms of the sex of the respondents, more females (20.8%) than males (8.5%) shared the opinion that their migration decision will depend on the level of violence.

Fatima had this to share:

Although females are rarely attacked, my experience with regards to living in constant fear due to sporadic shooting is what I wish not to witness again.  
**(Fatima, 38 years, female, trader)**

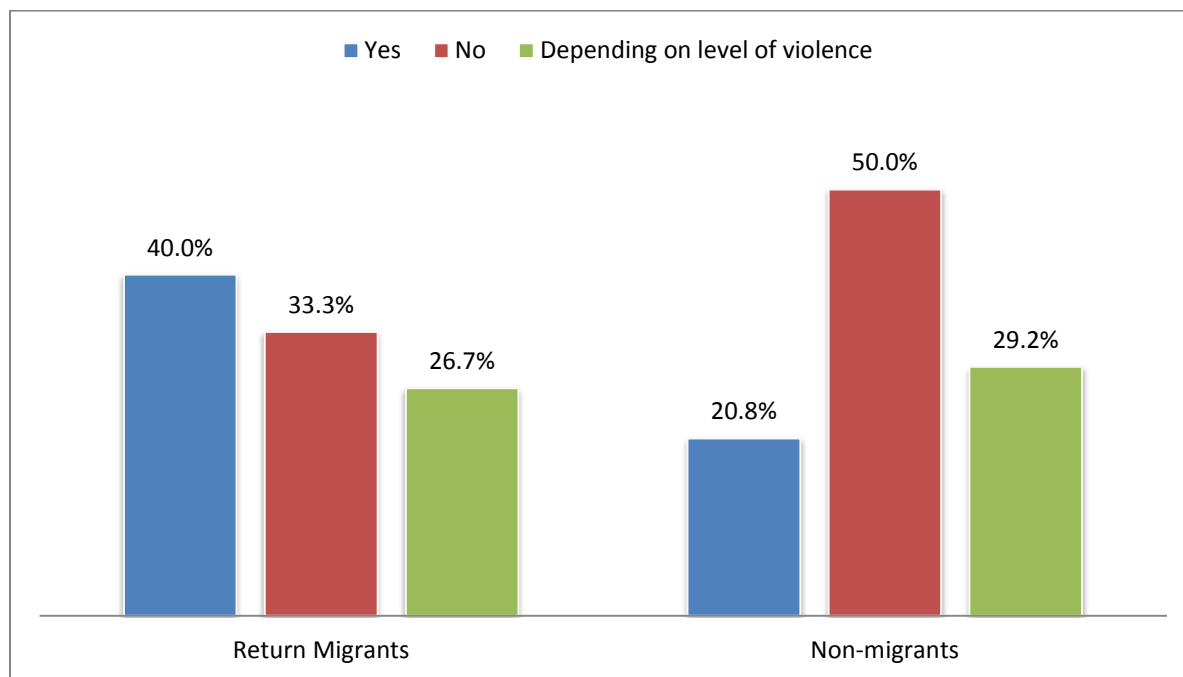
### **6.5 Comparing Return and Non-Migrants' views on migrating during future conflicts**

The future migration intentions in times of conflict of both returnees and non-migrants were compared since they had different experiences. As shown in Figure 16, more non-migrants (50.0%) than return migrant's (33.3%) had the intention of staying during a future eruption of conflict. Whereas the non-migrants were of the view that they prefer staying because of the perceive challenges they may encounter at the destination, the returnees who plan of staying were of the view that base on their experience, staying is better than migrating due to the challenges one encounters at the various destinations.

On the other hand, more returnees (40.0%) shared the view that they would migrate in case violence erupt again as compared to non-migrants (20.8%). According to the returnees, once there is a clear threat to your life, one has no option than to migrate. The statement below was shared by Abundey, a 46-year-old returnee:

It has never been part of my plans to migrate out of Bimbilla, but once your life is in danger, you have to move. I have received several threats in the past and anytime I hear a rumor about fighting, I migrate because I know if I stay; the likelihood of the opponent attacking me is high. So if violence should occur again, I have no option than to migrate. **(Abundey, Male, 46 years, Teacher)**

**Figure 16: Future migration intentions between return migrants and non-migrants**



**Source: Primary survey, 2018**

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

#### 7.1 Summary

Conflict affects people and communities differently. Apart from slowing the development of communities, it sometimes creates an atmosphere for people to migrate to new communities. But, migration decision-making during conflict situations differs among people. The aim of the study has been to investigate how conflict affects an individual's decision of either staying during violent conflict or migrating to areas that are safe. The general overview of the conflict based on the causes, effects on the livelihood of the people and the possible remedies are illustrated in chapter four. The fundamental source of the conflict is chieftaincy disputes – contestation over who occupies the Bimbilla skin. Apart from disputes over who becomes the paramount chief of Bimbilla, the meddling of politicians and influential people in the chieftaincy affairs for personal gains has prolonged the conflict.

With regards to the effects of the conflict, it affects the socio-economic livelihood of the people. Farming which is the main source of employment for many of the rural folks is severely affected due to the abandonment of the farms for fear of being attacked. In times of the violence, farms are deliberately destroyed. Apart from the imposition of a curfew to curb the violence, the intermittent violence also brought petty trade to a standstill. Again, the social fabric (e.g. marriages, families and friendships) of the community is severely affected and there is a high level of mistrust among the indigenes. This has led to increase in divorces, refusal of marriage proposals among families and deliberate use of poisonous substances with the aim of killing people.

Although Government and Civil Society Organizations have employed strategies such as curfew, a framework for a dialogue between the contested groups and public education to restore peace, the conflict still persists. Based on the findings of this study, peace can be attained when the customs and traditions of the community are followed. Also, job creation by the government in the community can also be a panacea in resolving the conflict.

Second, the factors leading to migration are also presented in chapter five. In line with the push-pull theory adopted for this study, it is argued that three main push factors of migration from the community exist. These include target attacks/killing (54.1%) of the respondents, economic reasons (11.7%), and fear of bullets and sound of gunshots (34.2%). With regards to the total male population that migrated during the violence, a significant (93.8%) number of them migrated as a result of targeted attack/killing. This was due to their constant involvement in the chieftaincy affairs which serves as the main source of the violence. Although males decision is largely taken independently, often the migration decision is engendered by females especially their spouses. The study shows that spouses initiated one out of every five (22.5%) migration decisions made by males.

Migrating because of economic reasons was common among males than females. As a patriarchal society, apart from males making major decisions that affect the community and the family, they were also expected to provide basic necessities such as food, water, and shelter for the family. Consequently, once the economic conditions of the community deteriorate, the males use migration to ameliorate the demands of the household. However, more females (85.4%) of the total female population than males (14.6%) population migrated due to fear of the sound and bullets of guns.

Migration of the victims of the conflict was generally poor due to the circumstances under which they migrated. Since they usually do not have control over when violence erupts, more than two-third (73.3%) of the respondents migrated in the midst of the violence. Despite migrating in these bizarre conditions, the pull factors of the destinations play an important role in the migration decision. It is found that social networks (45%) such as family members, friends and relatives, job acquisition (28.3%) and proximity to destinations (25%) were the major pull factors of the preferred destinations of victims of the conflict.

Although motives behind the victims considering the destination factors were to purge any unexpected challenges, an overwhelming majority (85%) were confronted with series of challenges ranging from inadequate food, poor accommodation, to lack of jobs and clothes. The victims in most cases faced more than a single challenge at the various destinations, but, accommodation was the common challenge they encountered. This was followed by food, job, and clothes in descending order. To overcome these challenges, victims of conflict tend to depend on their social networks in both the origin and the destination. Apart from depending on networks, they also engaged in jobs, especially, the males in order to raise income to meet their needs. Regardless of the challenges victims of conflict face once they migrate, the findings of this study show that they at times benefit from their migration. Whereas it was difficult to engage in a job immediately the victims arrived, in the course of time they were able to acquire a job, hence, learned new skills that were later utilized during their return to the origin.

As the conceptual framework of the study shows, the migration of the victims is mostly temporary. Although their return was largely influenced by factors of the origin, the challenges of the destinations also play a role in their decision to return. The factors of the origin that motivated them to return include family members (43.3%) such as left-behind parents, children,

and spouse. Again, the presence of security personnel and the victim's properties at the destination influence their decision to return. The uncongenial conditions under which they were living in the various destinations also provoked them to make the return decision.

Since people's response to violent conflict varies considerably, a section stays in the origin during violent clashes. The findings of this study show that more than a single factor influences their decision not to migrate during the various clashes. Common among these factors were family reasons. Whereas the social network theory suggests that a person's network can serve as a source of protection during conflicts (Haug, 2008), the findings of this study reveal that the attributes – size, age and marital status of the network members tend to be a major preventive factor of migration. Thus, large (e.g. huge family size) and aged network members tend to curtail the movement of the able-bodied members during violent conflict. Consequently, rather than receiving protection from networks, a person provides protection to the network during violent conflict.

Apart from family reasons, non-migrant's attachment to the community, uncertainty about the destination and their perception of not belonging to any of the conflicting groups also influence their decision to stay during the various phases of the violence. Whereas some of the non-migrants were of the view that their sense of belongingness to the community outweighs migrating to becoming strangers elsewhere, others were of the view that their decision to stay was to avoid unforeseen challenges at the destinations.

Despite one of the core reasons non-migrants refuse to migrate was to avert unforeseen challenges, their stay was however characterized by numerous challenges. These challenges range from psychological instability, economic hardship, physical threats, and thefts. But non-

migrants pointed out that they benefited from their stay. Unlike the returnees who were being stigmatized, non-migrants aver that they feel honored for not "running" during difficulties such as the conflict. Although few of the non-migrants reported theft cases such as stolen animals and farm produce, many of them indicate that their stay prevented their opponents and thieves from physically attacking and looting their homes and properties.

## **7.2 Conclusion**

The study has illustrated that decision-making among people during conflict is complex. Whereas some people may not have any other option than to migrate, others may also make the decision to stay during a conflict. As the findings of the study point out, one is liable to migrate during a conflict when there is a direct threat to his/her life. The study also found that culturally, females are not supposed to be killed during conflicts, hence, more males (93.8%) than females (6.2%) were targeted during the various phases of the conflict. Although a person may not directly be targeted or threatened, the outcome of the conflict such as weak economic activities, bullets, and gunshots also causes people to migrate. Despite the hope of people fleeing from conflict zones is mostly to preserve their basic rights, most of these people end up in conditions at the destinations that undermine the basis for their fleeing. As the findings of this study suggest, lack of access to good accommodation, water, food, and clothes are the major challenges victims of conflict encounter at the destination.

People stayed in the midst of the conflict even though circumstances of the conflict suggested they migrate. As the findings of the study reveal, familial reasons such as large family size, aged relatives and marriage prevented a section of the population from migrating during the violence. Also, people's doubt about challenges they may face during their integration process in new

destinations and their notion of not belonging to any of the conflicting factions influence their decision not to migrate during the various phases of the conflict.

Surprisingly, the findings suggest that in a protracted conflict situation, most of the challenges returnees encounter upon their return to the origin tend to be similar to the challenges non-migrants face during their stay. This ranges from psychologically unstable, weakened economic activities to the incidence of thefts. Similarly, Justino (2012) argues that people found themselves in situations of fear and extreme destitution most especially during conflicts that are protracted in nature.

Based on the experience of returnees and non-migrants, their future migration intentions in relation to a future eruption of conflicts were explored. Three trends were established. First, citing family reasons, sense of belongingness to the community and unanticipated challenges at the destinations, both non-migrants and returnees had future plans of not migrating when violence erupts. Secondly, those with the intention of migrating in relation to a future eruption of violence mention their inability to withstand the sound and bullets of guns, and the likelihood of being attacked as the factors that have the tendency of influencing their decision to migrate. Lastly, a section of both non-migrants and returnees were of the view that their future decision to migrate in relation to an eruption of conflict will depend on the intensity of violence. In this case, high intense violence will produce more migrants, while low intense violence may not result in people migrating.

### **7.3 Recommendations**

Several efforts have been made by respective Governments and Civil Society Organizations to resolve the Bimbilla conflict. However, these efforts have been thwarted by individuals who

appear to be benefiting from the continuation of the conflict to the detriment of the development of the community. The respondents were of the view that the conflict has prolonged due to the parochial interests of individuals. It is therefore recommended to roll out a peace education programme aimed at conscientizing the indigenes about the negative effects of the conflict such as retarding the development of the community, and highlighting the importance of peace.

Since the inception of the conflict, several interventions have been made to ensure peace is restored. This includes facilitating a framework for dialogue between the conflicting parties, peace campaigns and sensitization of the indigenes about the need for peace. It is however appalling that there has not been any direct intervention that seeks to address the needs of severely affected individual's although people's source of livelihood and shelters are destroyed through the conflict. Hence, both returnees and non-migrants that are affected mostly find themselves in bizarre conditions. Therefore, interventions by Governments and Civil Society Organizations should usually incorporate programmes aimed at bestowing the fundamental needs most especially food and accommodation to victims of conflict. This could help minimize the economic and psychological stress they faced during the conflict.

Also, as findings of the study suggest, target attack/killing has been the major reason why people migrate from the community. Although respective governments on many occasions sent security forces to the community to ensure peace, the majority of this security forces are usually withdrawn once the community becomes calm. According to the respondents, this phenomenon of target attack/killing increases once perpetrators of the violence realize the security forces in the community are few. Again, the quantitative analysis reveals that the presence of security forces serve as a motivating factor for victims of conflict who migrated to return to the community. For this reason, the government should consider establishing a permanent security

post in the community comprising both the military and the police to serve as a form of deterrence to the perpetrators of the violence.

Again, it is observed from the findings that cultural beliefs towards sex play an integral part in the community. For example, it is a cultural belief among the indigenes that women should not be killed during the conflict. However, this belief was violated during the February 2017 violent clashes, because, the main casualties were women. Similar to Thompson (2017) assertions, more studies are needed to fully understand how cultural beliefs and practices affect migration decision-making of people most especially during conflicts.

The units of analysis of this study were return migrants and non-migrants. But as claimed by the respondents, not all persons who migrated due to the conflict returned to the community. Therefore, future studies ought to focus on the experiences of non-return migrants that live outside the community.

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APPENDIX I

ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA  
ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR THE HUMANITIES (ECH)

P. O. Box LG 74, Legon, Accra, Ghana

My Ref. No .....

15<sup>th</sup> December, 2017

Mr. Aziz Unusah  
Centre for Migration Studies  
University of Ghana  
Legon

Dear Mr. Unusah,

**ECH 063/17-18: CONFLICT-MIGRATION NEXUS IN GHANA: A CASE OF BIMBILLA CONFLICT IN THE NORTHERN REGION**

This is to advise you that the above reference study has been presented to the Ethics Committee for the Humanities for a full board review and the following actions taken subject to the conditions and explanation provided below:

Expiry Date: 12/06/18  
On Agenda for: Initial Submission  
Date of Submission: 13/11/17  
ECH Action: Approved  
Reporting: Quarterly



Please accept my congratulations.

Yours Sincerely,

Rev. Prof. J. O. Y. Mante  
ECH Chair

CC: Dr. Joseph Teye, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana.

**APPENDIX II**

**CONSENT FORM**

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA



Official Use only Protocol number
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**Ethics Committee for Humanities (ECH)**

PROTOCOL CONSENT FORM
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Section A- BACKGROUND INFORMATION
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Title of Study:	Conflict-Migration Nexus in Ghana: A Case of Bimbilla Conflict in the Northern Region of Ghana.
Principal Investigator:	Unusah Aziz
Certified Protocol Number	

Section B- CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
---

**General Information about Research**

I am an MPhil student at the Centre for Migration Studies of University of Ghana, Legon-Accra. I am conducting a research on *Conflict-Migration Nexus in Ghana: A Case of Bimbilla Conflict in the Northern Region of Ghana*. The research seeks to find out how conflict influences the migration decision and return among the people of Bimbilla in Northern Region of Ghana as a result of their intra-ethnic conflict. This field research is conducted as part of my studies. You will be required to fill questionnaire or grant me an hour or more interview. I would be grateful if you could respond to the questions genuinely.

**Benefits/Risks of the study**

Your participation in this study may not bring you material benefits but the findings will contribute to policy making to give insight to how conflict induced migrants could effectively be managed. Also, there are not potential physical risks associated with this study, however, some

question may invade your privacy and you are free to answer or decline to answer. Also, circumstances in which a respondent is emotionally traumatized during the interview, the person will be recommended to see a psychologist.

### **Confidentiality**

This research is purely an academic exercise and all information given shall be used solely for such purpose. So, any information provided for this study would be treated with utmost confidentiality. Only the researcher and supervisors can have access to information provided and under no circumstance will your identification be revealed to a third party or a comment attributed to you without due process.

### **Compensation**

The study has made provision to cater for participant transportation cost that has to travel to meet the research team. In case where compensation will be given for transportation, it will be done after the interview.

### **Withdrawal from Study**

Your participation in this study is very important for its success but voluntary and you can withdraw at any point of the exercise without a penalty. Under no circumstance will you be adversely affected if you decide to participate and later withdraw your decision to participate.

### **Contact for Additional Information**

If you need further information or clarification on this research or in case of research-related injury please contact my supervisor and Director of the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana:

Dr. Joseph Teye - Director of the Centre for Migration Studies. Telephone: 0245733233 and Email: [jteye@ug.edu.gh](mailto:jteye@ug.edu.gh)

### **Thesis Supervisor:**

Dr. E. Kennedy Ahorsu - Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy. **Telephone:** 0208142882 and **Email:** [t28aug@hotmail.com](mailto:t28aug@hotmail.com)

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant in this study you may contact the Administrator of the Ethics Committee for Humanities, ISSER, University of Ghana at [ech@isser.edu.gh](mailto:ech@isser.edu.gh) / [ech@ug.edu.gh](mailto:ech@ug.edu.gh) or 00233- 303-933-866.

Section C- PARTICIPANT AGREEMENT

**"I have read or have had someone read all of the above, asked questions, received answers regarding participation in this study, and am willing to give consent for me, my child/ward to participate in this study. I will not have waived any of my rights by signing this consent form. Upon signing this consent form, I will receive a copy for my personal records."**

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature or mark of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

**If participant cannot read and or understand the form themselves, a witness must sign here:**

I was present while the benefits, risks and procedures were read to the volunteer. All questions were answered and the volunteer has agreed to take part in the research.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of witness

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of witness / Mark

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

I certify that the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research have been explained to the above individual.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Person who Obtained Consent

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Person Who Obtained Consent

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

**APPENDIX III**

**Return Migrant Questionnaire**

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON**

**CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES**

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

**ON**

**CONFLICT-MIGRATION NEXUS IN GHANA: A CASE OF BIMBILLA CONFLICT IN  
THE NORTHERN REGION OF GHANA.**

**JULY 2018**

This research is an academic exercise and all information given shall be used solely for such purpose. I would be grateful if you could respond to the questions genuinely. All information would be treated confidentially. Thank you. *Please tick [✓] where necessary.*

**SECTION A: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

1. Sex

- 1. Male .....
- 2. Female .....

2. Age (*In completed years*) .....

3. Ethnicity

- 1. Nanumba .....
- 2. Konkomba .....
- 3. Dagomba .....
- 4. Basare .....
- 5. Chamba .....
- 6. Others (*Specify*) .....

4. What is your marital status?

- 1. Married .....
- 2. Never Married .....
- 3. Co-habitation .....
- 4. Divorced .....
- 5. Widowed .....

5. What is your highest educational level attained?

- 1. No formal education .....
- 2. Primary .....
- 3. Middle/JHS .....
- 4. SSS/SHS .....
- 5. Vocational/Technical .....
- 6. Tertiary .....

6. Which religious denomination do you belong?

- 1. Christian .....
- 2. Islam .....
- 3. Traditionalist .....
- 4. Other (*Specify*) .....

7. How many people are parts of your household? .....

**SECTION B: INTEROGATING PEOPLE PERCEPTION ABOUT THE BIMBILA CONFLICT**

8. Can you briefly tell us about your perceptions of the conflict in Bimbilla? Discusses based on the following themes:

a) **Causes**

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

b) **Effects**

.....  
.....  
.....

c) **Possible remedies**

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**SECTION C: EXAMINING FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE MIGRATION  
DECISION-MAKING**

9. What were the most important reasons for migrating out of Bimbilla (state reason(s) in order of importance)?

1. ....
2. ....
3. ....
4. ....
5. ....

10. Who was involved in your decision to migrate during the conflict?

1. Self .....
2. Father .....
3. Mother .....
4. Spouse .....
5. Siblings .....
6. Other (*specify*) .....

11. How did you finance your migration journey?

1. Self .....
2. Relatives .....
3. Friends .....
4. Other (*specify*) .....

12. The following personal characteristics/properties could influence one decision to migrate during violence. Please answer the options to the best of your ability.

	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
Age						
Sex						
Gender						
Marital Status						
Ethnicity						
<b>Non-moveable</b>						

<b>properties</b> e.g. land, house						
<b>Moveable properties</b> e.g. farm animals(goat, sheep, cattle, pig, etc), car/truck/motorbike						

13. If you **Strongly Agree/Agree/Somewhat Agree** to the above characteristics/properties influencing migration decision, can you briefly describe how there affected you?

- 1.....  
.....  
.....
- 2.....  
.....  
.....
- 3.....  
.....  
.....
- 4.....  
.....  
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- 5.....  
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.....

**SECTION D: ASSESING CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY MIGRATED, CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES THEY ENCOUNTER AS MIGRANTS AT THE DESTINATION**

14. How would you rate your migration preparation?

- 1. Very Good .....
- 2. Good .....
- 3. Fair .....
- 4. Poor .....
- 5. Very poor .....

15. During what stage of the conflict did you migrate?

- 1. Before violence ensue.....
- 2. In the midst of the violence.....
- 3. Immediately after calm have restored.....

16. Base on your choice from (*Q15*); indicate **why** you migrated during the stage you picked from (*Q15*) and the **Challenges** you encounter in migrating based on your choice.

Stages of migrating	Why	Challenges
Before violence ensue		
In the midst of the violence		
Immediately after calm have restored		

17. Where did you migrate to during the violence? .....

18. Why did you migrate to the place you mention in (Q17) above (*Probe for social networks, cost effective, acquiring job, etc*)?

.....  
.....  
.....

19. How long did you stay in the destination? .....

20. Please, did you encounter any challenges in the destination?

1. Yes .....

If yes, can you please highlight some of the challenges you encounter in the destination?

.....  
.....

2. No (>>Q22) .....

21. How did you overcome the challenges enumerated in (Q20) above?

.....  
.....

22. Did you encounter any opportunities in the destination community/country?

1. Yes .....

If yes, what were some of the opportunities/benefits you obtain from the destination community/country?

.....  
.....

2. No .....

**SECTION E: EXAMINING FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE MIGRANTS DECISION TO RETURN TO BIMBILLA**

23. What were the most important reasons for returning back to Bimbilla (state reason(s) in order of importance)?

1. ....
2. ....
3. ....
4. ....
5. ....

24. How did you finance your return migration?

1. Self .....
2. Relatives .....
3. Friends .....
4. Other (*specify*) .....

25. How would you rate your return migration preparation?

1. Very Good .....
2. Good .....
3. Fair .....
4. Poor .....
5. Very poor .....

26. When you return to Bimbilla, have you encountered any challenges?

1. Yes .....

*If yes, can you please highlight some of the challenges you encounter upon your return to Bimbilla*

.....  
.....  
.....

2. No (>>Q28) .....

27. How are you coping with the challenges enumerated in (Q26) above?

.....  
.....  
.....

28. Are there any new opportunities when you return to Bimbilla?

1. Yes .....

*If yes, can you please elaborate on some of the opportunities?*

.....  
.....  
.....

2. No .....

29. Based on your past migration experience, will you migrate if such situation (violence) ensue?

1. Yes .....

If **Yes**, why?

.....  
.....  
.....

2. No .....

If **No**, why?

.....  
.....  
.....

**NON-MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE**

This research is an academic exercise and all information given shall be used solely for such purpose. I would be grateful if you could respond to the questions genuinely. All information would be treated confidentially.

**SECTION A: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF NON-MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD**

- 1. Name of Respondent .....
- 2. Age .....
- 3. Sex .....
- 4. Ethnicity .....
- 5. Level of Education .....
- 6. Main Occupation .....

**SECTION B: INTEROGATING PEOPLE’S PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE BIMBILLA CONFLICT**

7. Can you briefly tell us about your perceptions of the conflict in Bimbilla? Discusses based on the following themes:

a) **Causes**

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

b) **Effects**

.....

.....  
 .....

**c) Possible remedies**

.....  
 .....

**SECTION C: EXAMINING FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE HOUSEHOLDS NOT TO MIGRATE DURING THE CONFLICT**

8. What were the most important reasons why you didn't migrating during the conflict (state reason(s) in order of importance)?

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....
- 5.....

9. The following personal characteristics/properties could influence one decision not to migrate during violence. Please answer the options to the best of your ability.

	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
Age						
Sex						
Gender						
Marital Status						
Social Networks (Ethnicity)						
<b>Non-moveable properties</b> e.g. land, house						
<b>Moveable properties</b>						

e.g. farm animals(goat, sheep, cattle, pig, etc), car/truck/motorbike						
---	--	--	--	--	--	--

10. If you **Strongly Agree/Agree/Somewhat Agree** to the above characteristics/properties influencing migration decision, can you briefly describe how there affected you not to migrate?

- 1.....  
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- 2.....  
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- 3.....  
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- 4.....  
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- 5.....  
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**SECTION D: ASSESSING CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES THEY ENCOUNTER FOR NOT MIGRATING IN THE FACE OF CONFLICT**

11. Please, did you encounter any challenges for not migrating?

1. Yes .....

*If yes, can you please highlight some of the challenges you encounter?*

.....  
.....  
.....

2. No (>>Q8) .....

12. How did you overcome the challenges enumerated in (Q6) above?

.....  
.....

13. Did you encounter any opportunities for not migrating?

1. Yes .....

*If yes, what were some of the opportunities/benefits you obtain for not migrating? .....*

.....  
.....  
.....

2. No .....

14. Based on your past experience, will you migrate if such situation (violence) ensues?

1. Yes .....

2. No .....

15. If **Yes**, why?

.....

.....

.....

16. If **No**, why?

.....

.....

.....

## INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Can you briefly tell us about your perceptions of the conflict in Bimbilla? (Discusses based on the following themes: **causes, effects, and possible remedies**)
2. Can you briefly tell us about the reasons for migrating out of Bimbilla?
3. How would you consider the impact of conflict on migration?
4. How would you explain why some people migrate and others decide to stay during conflict?
5. Can you briefly describe the challenges people may encounter when migrating during conflict?
6. How would you describe the challenges and opportunities migrants may encounter for returning to Bimbilla?

### 1. OPPORTUNITIES

### 2. CHALLENGES

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.....  
.....  
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.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

7. What significant role has the government play in resolving the Bimbilla ethnic conflict?
8. How can we resolve the Bimbilla conflict and other ethnic conflicts in Ghana?
9. Any final comments on the above subject matter?