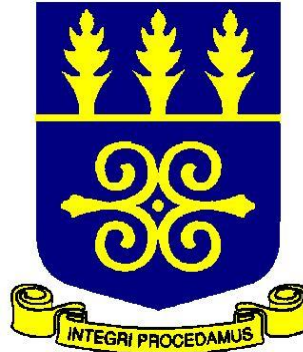


**CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**



CONFLICT AND MIGRATION IN BAWKU

BY

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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (MPHIL) IN MIGRATION STUDIES**

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DECLARATION

I, Mumuni Yakubu Nambe, hereby declare that except for reference to other people's work which have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is the result of my own research carried out at the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana under the supervision of Dr Joseph Kofi Teye and Dr. Ebenezer Nikoi . I further assert that this work has neither been partially or wholly submitted at any other institutions for the award of my degree.

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ABSTRACT

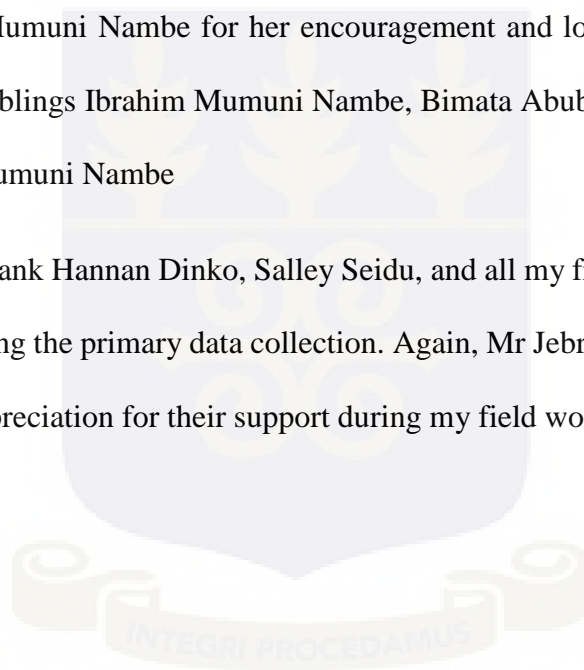
Conflict is generally a distinctive part of human society and has far-reaching consequences on human security, peace, social and economic activities. In view of this, conflict-induced migration is increasingly becoming a global phenomenon and a behavioural response in most developing countries. Against this backdrop, this study examined conflict and migration in Bawku Municipality. Specifically, it examined the historical patterns of migration in Bawku; the relative contribution of conflicts and other economic factors to out-migration in Bawku; and lastly, it examined the contributions of migrants to conflict and peace-building in Bawku. The study relied on 260 respondents comprising of 180 respondents randomly sampled for the questionnaire survey in Bawku, and 80 respondents randomly selected outside Bawku. Also key in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with respondents, Municipal Chief Executive, two religious leaders, elders of the Mamprusi and Kusasi, and representatives of NGOs and CSOs. The study's findings revealed that majority of respondents did not migrate from Bawku during the conflict. Lack of networks or relations outside Bawku and strong family ties in Bawku accounted for reasons why respondents did not migrate. Greater Accra and Ashanti region were the major destination regions of migrants, albeit some also moved to other parts of Upper East region. Even in the midst of relative peace and security, majority of respondents were still apprehensive of the conflict recurring, given the volatile nature of the conflict resolution, the actions of security personnel within the region, political tension, and restrictions imposed on movement because of some boundary disputes. Unfortunately, the conflict has impacted negatively on business activities, access to land and agricultural activities in Bawku. This has generally affected economic development in Bawku. The study concludes that conflict has an impact on migration and socio-economic activities in the Bawku Municipality. The study recommends that in ensuring lasting peace and unity in the region, it is essential to promote inter-ethnic marriages and empower the local institutions to enhance participatory approach to conflict resolution and peace building.

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I want to sincerely thank Hannan Dinko, Salley Seidu, and all my friends for the significant role they played during the primary data collection. Again, Mr Jebril Abubakari Ustaz, also deserve words of appreciation for their support during my field work.



DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents Mr. Mumuni Salifu Nambe, Ms Azara Abugri Mumuni and all parents who strive to make a better life for their children. Finally to my wife Fauzia Abdul Rahaman and my three children, Azeezah Yakubu Nambe, Sebiyam Yakubu Nambe and Naawunyam Yakubu Nambe.

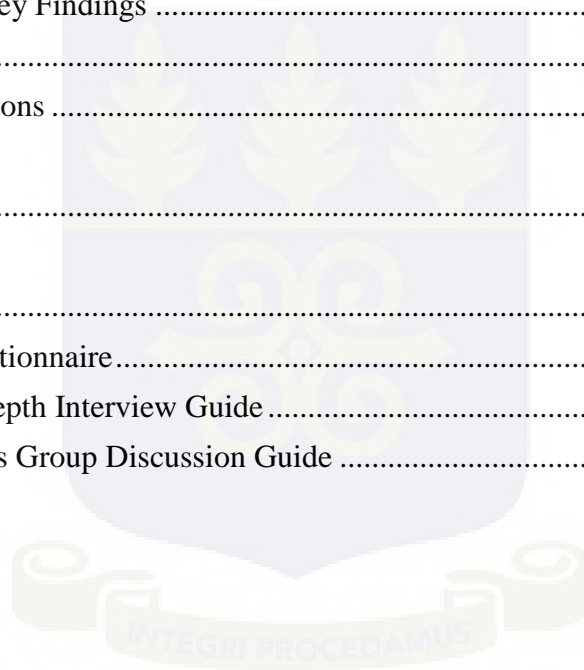


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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBO-	Community Based Organisation
CSO-	Civil Society Organisation
NGO -	Non-Governmental Organization
SPSS-	Statistical Package for Social Sciences



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Generally, conflict is a distinctive part of human society (Ramsbotham et al., 2011), and helps in establishing a group's identity, enhances internal cohesion in groups and can result in the creation of new rules and laws. Conflict can be construed as the consequence of the pursuit of incompatible goals by different people or groups (Miller, 2005; Woodhouse and Duffey, 2008). Consistent with the conflict theory, these competing goals can range from competition over scarce resources between members of a community or between neighbouring nations, to competing factions seeking political or economic dominance (Moser & Clark, 2001; Ramsbotham et al., 2011). These opposing factions often act under the guise of institutions such as family, clan, tribe (ethnic group), language, regional affiliations and country (Deng et al., 1996). Cockburn (1999) argues that conflict and violence are not the same thing. Whereas conflict can be non-violent, violence involves the use of force, either physical or psychological. In view of this, increasing levels of global conflict serve as a bane to socio-economic development in countries that have endured armed conflicts for decades (Ramsbotham et. al., 2011). The nature of violent acts associated with conflicts are often direct, indirect, repressive and alienating violence. In some circumstances, they are politically motivated, thus in the form of organised violence or disorganised violence such as individual crime, delinquency and vandalism (Moser & Clark, 2001).

According to the report by the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) (2016), global conflicts in countries like Syria, Nigeria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Israel, South Sudan, Somalia, Palestine, Yemen and Ukraine portend that, the world is increasingly becoming violent. The report indicates that 2014 recorded the highest number of armed conflicts with so many

casualties since 1999. Countries such as Syria and Ukraine recorded the worst trend in armed conflict because of the revolution and regional armed conflicts respectively (PRIO, 2016). Islam extremism also accounts for most reported armed conflicts and casualties in countries like Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. With respect to conflicts in Africa, McGowan (2005) notes that, the African continent has experienced a number of bloody conflicts since the end of the Cold War, leaving in their tracks serious consequences including political, social, economic and humanitarian problems. Key reported conflict in Africa include the interregional and inter-ethnic conflicts in Nigeria (1967-1970) leading to the Biafra war, the sporadic Tuareg rebellion from 1990-92 in Algeria, Mali and Niger since independence, or the long Ethiopian history of conflicts between the Amhara and the surrounding ethnic groups over who should rule or benefit from ruling or conflicts in Somalia (since 1991), Liberia (1989-1997, 2000-2003), Sierra Leone (1992-2002), Côte d'Ivoire (2002-2010), Uganda (1979), Somalia, Rwanda (1994), and Kenya (2007) among others. It is important to point out that, majority of these conflicts are intra-state though there are some reported inter-state conflicts in the region (McGowan, 2005 Ramsbotham et. al., 2011).

Many people displaced as a result of these conflicts become refugees in other countries. Some scholars have cited scarcity of resources, the fragility of the African states, bad governance, ethnicity, and colonialism, among others, as the root causes of these conflicts (Lentz, 2007; Talton, 2010; Kendie et al., 2014). Other studies suggest that control of economic resources such as gold, diamond, oil and competition over territorial boundaries are the primary causes of conflict in most countries (Jack, 2003).

Aside the threats to human security, peace, social and economic activities, conflict also leads to internal displacement, loss of lives and other humanitarian tragedies (Zezeza, 2008; Ali, 2006). For instance, the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) led to two percent loss in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Oelbaum, 2007). Adetula (2006) notes that

during the Liberian conflict, more than 250,000 lives were lost while majority were severely injured. Additionally, people lose their source of livelihood, revenue generation are affected, and education comes to a standstill as most schools close down.

Conflicts stymie human development in Africa and has far-reaching consequences on the stability and development of countries or regions (World Bank, 2011). The violence associated with conflicts poses major impediment to organisation and the state to offer any assistance to aid in the growth and development of the country. Collier et al. (2008) contend that conflict in the form of civil wars has the tendency to reduce economic growth by 2.3 percent. The intensity and prolonged nature of conflicts and its impacts result in the displacement of people. Statistically, four out of the ten refugee accepting countries of the world are in Africa and currently accommodates 25 percent of the World's refugees. Notably, Sub-Saharan Africa serves as home for majority of internally displaced persons in Africa (BICC, 2010). Aside the gravity of migration challenges in Africa, conflict-related migration is widespread (BICC, 2010; Amodio & Chiovelli, 2013; Williams & Pradhan, 2009).

This suggests that migration is increasingly becoming a global phenomenon and a behavioural response to conflict, especially in most developing countries (Williams & Pradhan, 2009). Conflicts impact on migration at different levels, both at the individual, community, regional and national levels. The conflict-migration nexus is not a new phenomenon but one which has been a major drive of forced migration in most developing countries, where political and ethnic conflicts are more pervasive (Martin & Widgren, 2002; BICC, 2010; World Bank, 2011; Teye & Yebleh, 2014). Conflict-induced migration or forced migration gained much prominence in the migration discourse as a result of the severity, intensity, and frequency of conflicts in countries such as South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mali, Libya, etc., as well as other violent activities of radicalized and

extremist groups. In addition, violence is noted as a major determinant of forced migration in Sub-Saharan Africa (BICC, 2010).

Conflicts in Ghana have not taken on a national dimension, though the effects of localised conflict, often restricted to some geographic locations are well documented in the literature (Yahaya & Tinab, 2015; Osei-Kuffour et al., 2016). These documented violent conflicts are prominent and often recurring along the eastern corridors of northern Ghana, owing to the heterogeneous nature of ethnic groups found within these areas (Kendie et al., 2014; Osei-Kuffor et al., 2016). Apart from the four successful coup d'états, Ghana has experienced numerous inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts, chieftaincy conflicts and land related conflicts in several parts of the country, especially in the northern part of the country (United Nations Ghana, 2012; Osei-Kuffour, 2016). For instance, the conflict between the Nkonya and Alavanyo in the Volta Region (Gati, 2008) which has become very difficult to settle and thus recurrent; Mamprusi and Kusasi in Bawku, in the Upper East Region; as well as Konkomba and Nanumba; and the Abudu and Andani in Dagbon, in the Northern Region of the country, among others (Mahama, 2002; Gati, 2008, Awedoba, 2011). The causes of these conflicts are more often than not ethnic based, whereas majority of them are as result of historical, social and economic and political causative conditions (Gati, 2008).

Most of the conflicts in Ghana are intractable in nature, thus have deep historical derivations and very difficult to settle (Coleman, 2000). In northern Ghana, these protracted conflicts are caused by chieftaincy succession right, landownership, ethnic or tribal sentiments and religious differences. These reported incidence of ethnic and political conflicts are localised to specific geographic location, especially within northern Ghana. The northern, Upper East and Upper West are reported to have recorded more incidence of conflict than the other regions. In the event of these conflicts, majority of the people are forced to flee or leave their homes of habitual residence in order to avoid the effects of the violence of the conflict.

The studies by authors such as Tsikata and & Seini (2004), Lentz (2007) and Canterbury and Kendie (2010) emphasized that the underdevelopment, poverty and human insecurity in Northern Ghana are as a results of the protracted nature of the violent conflicts in Northern Ghana. In the face of perceived threat associated with the violent conflict and its economic and social impact, migration becomes the best option for most people. Certainly, there are differences in the behavioural response to conflict in terms of migration across the various socio-demographic characteristics.

1.2 Problem Statement

The Mamprusis' and Kusasis' conflict in northern Ghana is one of the protracted conflicts in the country. The quest for dominance and power is centered on who occupies the Bawku skin and controls the land in the area. This is a contest between the two dominant ethnic groups (Mamprusi's and Kusasi's). Studies show that the first clash between the two groups happened in 1957, with subsequent violence erupting between 1980 and 2000. Surprisingly, the Mamprusi's and Kusasi's have engaged each other in violent clashes five times which often have negative consequences on the populace, properties and livelihoods (Odonkor & Mason, 1994). Even though the genesis of the conflict can be traced to the British colonial policy in Northern Ghana where the consolidation of smaller ethnic groups with bigger/centralized groups led to the subsuming of Kusasi's under the Mamprusi's to create a subordinate/master relationship, the first conflict erupted during the Samanpiid festival and subsequently in 1984 and 1985. There are contrasting views from both sides as Kusasi's believe they are the dominant tribe and custodians of Bawku whereas the Mamprusi's are of the view that they constitute the dominant ethnic group, thus power or authority over the lands should reside with them. To worsen this ethnic conundrum, the advent of party politics in the 1950's led to further division in Bawku as the Mamprusi's were purported to be aligned with the Northern People's party (NPP) and Kusasi's, Convention Peoples Party

(CPP). This suggests that though colonial policies might have provoked the Bawku conflict, politics and the quest for dominance and authority continue to fuel the conflict, thus making it difficult to resolve in the region.

Several studies attribute factors such as title for land and ethnicity, colonial policies, chieftaincy, religion, politics, urbanisation, and struggle over resources and the fight for recognition as the causes of conflict in these areas (Tsitkata & Seini, 2004; Lentz, 2007; Talton, 2010; Kendie et al., 2014; Osei-Kuffour et al., 2016). Consequently, the intensity and prolonged nature of these conflicts result in destruction of properties and loss of lives. The case of the violent conflict between the Kusasi's and Mamprusi's in Bawku is no exception. The study by Kendie et al. (2014) report chieftaincy related disputes, land related disputes, and political interference as the underlying causes of conflict in Bawku. In the midst of such violent conflicts coupled with their effects, migration has been documented as a behavioural response (Williams & Pradham, 2009). People tend to migrate to other regions or communities to avoid the effects of such violent clashes. The pattern of migration from Bawku in the advent of such conflicts has received less attention in the literature whereas extensive literature exists on the causes and effect of the conflict.

Even though the literature is replete with studies on conflict and migration, it is largely blinded on the socio-demographic characteristics of conflict induced migrants in Bawku. Certainly, in the wake of conflict induced migration, the questions which arises are what sex is likely to migrate most and what are the age variations? Which tribe or ethnic group are likely to migrate and what are the marital status and educational background of this respondents? What have been the migration patterns of conflict induced migrants from Bawku and their contributions back home? Meanwhile, the contributions of migrants to conflict and peace building in Bawku are separate questions of far greater urgency which need thorough assessment. It is against this backdrop that this study seeks to examine

conflict and migration in Bawku, specifically examining the historical patterns of migration from Bawku, the background characteristics of people of migrants and their contributions to conflict and peace building.

1.3 Research Objectives

The main aim of this study is to examine the conflict and migration nexus in Bawku.

Specifically,

1. It examines the historical patterns of conflict-induced migration from Bawku
2. It examines the relative contribution of conflicts and other economic factors to out-migration in Bawku
3. It assesses the contribution of emigrants of Bawku to conflict and peace building in Bawku

1.4 Research Hypotheses

There is a significant relationship between socio-demographic characteristics of respondents such as sex, age, marital status, level of education, and conflict-induced migration from Bawku

There is a significant relationship between socio-demographic characteristics such as sex, age, marital status, level of education of current migrants and sending of remittances to Bawku.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study are in two folds. First of all, a thorough understanding of the historical patterns of conflict-induced migration and the contributions of conflicts to migration will provide insight into migration patterns in Ghana and characteristics of people who migrate during violent conflicts. Drawing on the experiences and perceptions of

returned migrants and current migrants, it will afford the researcher the opportunity to ascertain differences and similarities in migration patterns, source of funding and social capital at the various destination regions. All these play both active and passive roles in influencing migration. Notwithstanding the fact that it will add to existing literature on conflict and migration in Ghana, it will provide insight into the contributions of migrants to peace building and socio-economic development.

1.6 Organization of the Study

The study is organized into seven chapters. Chapter one comprises of the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research hypotheses, and significance of the study. Chapter Two presents a review of literature related to the study and the theoretical perspectives that are used to guide the study. Chapter Three presents the methodology of the study which comprises the research design, as well as the methods for data collection and analysis. The analysis and discussion of the results of the study are presented in chapters four, five and six. The study provides a summary of its findings in relation to its objectives in the seventh chapter. Also, conclusions are drawn based on the literature. In view of this, various recommendations are presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter aims at placing the study in a scholarly context by reviewing the main contributions made by researchers on the concept of conflicts, migration and economic development. It unveils some of the global views that people have shared on migration and theories that underpin migration trends and trajectories. It highlights the various dimension with emphasis on economic and conflict drivers of migration revealing the conceptual weakness of various concepts and arguments.

2.1 Migration in Africa and world

Migration in Africa has a long history and has evolved. Tishkoff et al. (2009) identify four historical mass migration trends. The first wave they contend was about some 70, 000 years ago when Homo sapiens are believed to have migrated onwards from the coasts of Namibia and Angola. These first humans moved on to populate continental Europe and the surrounding regions. The second wave of mass migration happened about two thousand years ago when Bantu people (believed to be current day Cameroon and eastern Nigeria) migrated eastward and southward. The exact reasons for the first two waves of mass migration is contested. However, scholars agree that these two waves of migration were probably voluntary or driven by internal factors such as conflict and adventure In both cases, they their point of destination were internal (that is within Africa).

Unlike the first and second waves, the third and fourth waves were different in terms of drivers and destination. The Trans Saharan slave trade is considered the third wave of mass migration. Humans were trafficked as slaves across the Sahara desert by Arabs in between and 18th to 19th century. Similar in scale and outlook is the transatlantic slave trade from the 16th to the 19th century to Europe and the new world. Compared to the first two waves, these

later waves were driven by external factors and their destinations were outside of Africa into the Gulf countries and Europe and the new world. Africans however, had had trading contacts with the rest of the world prior to these two periods of great mass migrations.

In contemporary times, much of migration in Africa is within the African continent. According to Lucas, (2013 p3), a prominent feature of international migration is that “well over half of African migrants live in another country in Africa”. There are a lot of dynamics in international migration in Africa. North Africans are generally more mobile as compared to their sub-Saharan counterparts. According to Lucas (2013) about 60% of Africans in Europe as much as 93% in the Gulf Council Cooperation were of North African origin. In contrast, about three out of four migrations in sub Saharan Africa remained in Africa as at the year 2000 ((Lucas, 2013). But what accounts for these differences in trend and pattern of migration?

There are a manifold of factors that account for the preferred destination points of Africans migrating out of Africa. Notable amongst them is colonial links. Colonial and cultural links play a significant part in shaping the direction of migrants as language familiarity and information, preferential immigration policies are often the most considered when deciding to migrate. This legacy is clearly shown when the origin-destination of African migrants are analysed. Lucas (2013) found that:

“As of 2000, 45 percent of the diaspora from France’s former colonies living outside of Africa was in France; 53 percent and 77 percent of the Diasporas outside of Africa from the former Portuguese and Spanish controlled portions of Africa were in Portugal and Spain respectively. From the former British colonial territories, 27 percent were in the UK itself with an additional 18 percent in the other countries of the Commonwealth of Nations (notably Australia and Canada)”.

Internal migration is the dominant form of migration in Africa (from one African country to another). According to Croll et al. (2009), 63% of migration in Africa are internal. Other estimates put the figure even as much as 70% (Dewind, Castles, & Ranis, 2008; Lacroix, Lacroix, & Lacroix, 2013; Oecd, 2014). This may seem contestable especially because of recent media coverage of migrant crisis in the Mediterranean. Only about 1.5% of sub Saharan migrants live in the European Union(Croll et al., 2009). Much of the internal migration are forced migration from conflicts and droughts.

2.2 Refugees and emigrants

Generally, the description of refugees and emigrants is often conflated. Although in both cases there is and exists one spatial unit and entry to another, the two words are technically distinctive. Akokpari (1998) makes this distinction using the Organisation of African Unity definition of a refugee as:

“every person who owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality (OAU, 1969)”. Emigrants on the other hand are “persons coming to live permanently in a foreign country”(Akokpari, 1998).

A further distinction of emigrants from refugees lies in the motives and objectives as well as the background factors that mediate the movement. Akokpari opines that, the chief motive of the emigrant are often economic, thus largely voluntary, while refugeeism is always triggered by insecurity which lie beyond the control of the refugees. Again, unlike emigrants who predetermine their destinations, refugees’ destination are often unexpected. This is chiefly as a result of the spontaneous nature of their movement. The third difference that Akokpari identifies is ability to return to place of origin. Emigrants have the free will to return to their place of origin at any time they wish. In contrast, the return of refugees is contingent on the stability of their origin.

2.3 Migration patterns in Ghana

Migration in Ghana has evolved over the years. Internal migration has been going on since precolonial times (Perbi, 2004). During the precolonial period, migration was south-north in orientation however, the advent of colonialism introduced a reversed pattern of north-south migration (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). With the arrival of the British, the Trans Sahara trade was lucrative for northern Ghana because the taxes the Ashanti kingdom paid was redirected to the coast. Further complicating the declining development of the North was the deliberate machination by the British to lure cheap labour from the north to work on the mines and later the plantations in the south (Bening, 2009). A significant number of migrants move during this period. This pattern still persist till today owing to the long history of underdevelopment, poverty, climate change and declining agricultural production. Byerlee (1974) argue that, the rural-urban income differential is a highly relevant factor for migration. Migration is seen as an investment to recoup some income for remittances(Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). Generally, there are increasing evidence of east-west trajectories due to new dynamics in the Ghanaian economy. The fig 1 below shows the general pattern of migration in Ghana.

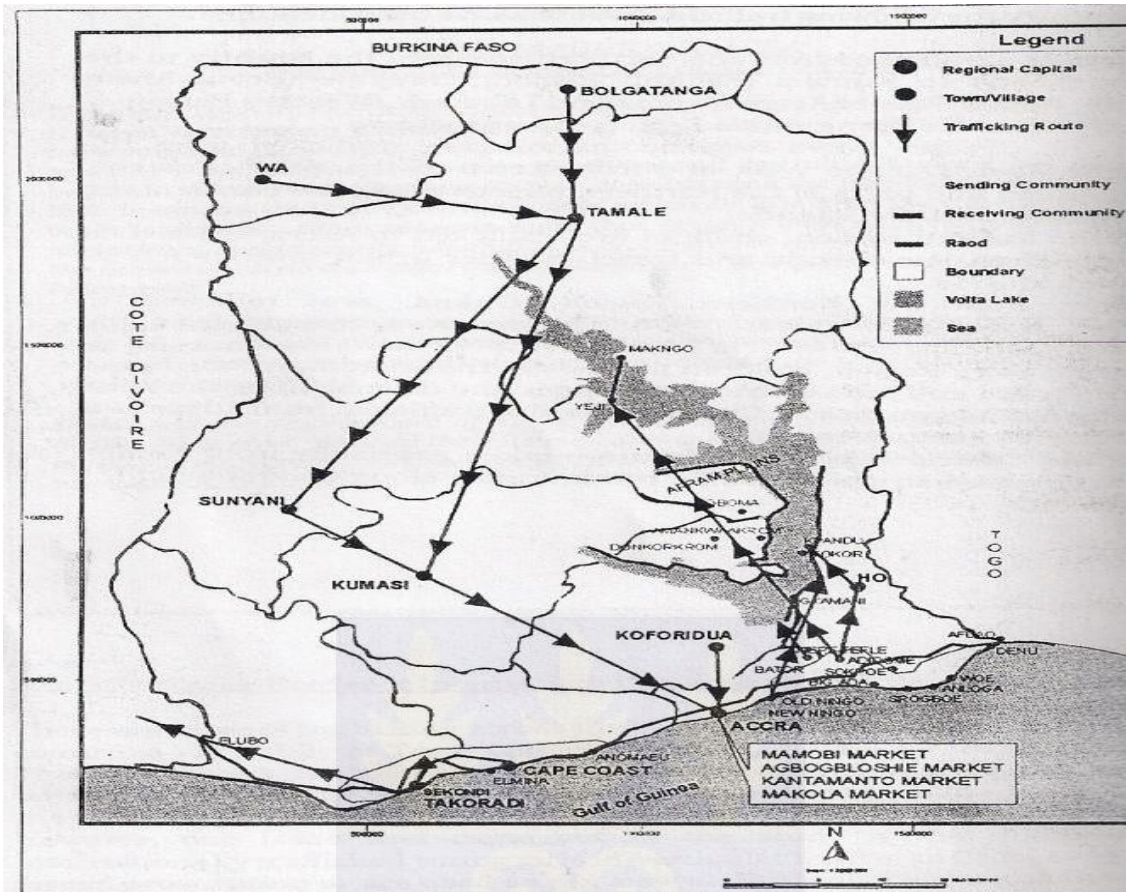


Figure 1: Map of Ghana Showing General Migration Pattern in Ghana

2.4 Theorizing Migration

Migration has evolved over the past three decades, however, there is no single encompassing theory of migration but only a heap of competing theories attempting to explain one aspect of migration or the other (Haas, 2010 ; Kurekova, 2011). According to Kurekova (2011), these theories examine the “ the origins of migration; the directionality and continuity of migrant flows; the utilization of immigrant labour; and the socio-cultural adaptation of migrants” in isolation or a combination of two. No theory answers all the main dimensions of migration. The most dominant theories of migration include the neoclassical theory, the new economics theory of migration, world system theory and the dual labour market theory as the network theory of migration. These theories are interrogated further below.

2.4.1 The neoclassical theory

The basic assumption of this theory is that migration is driven by wages. In simple term, it is because the migrants are not having enough economic compensation for their labour in the sending region that they migrate to areas perceived to have high wages. Adopting a rational view of profit seeking, the proponents contend migration is a product of geographic differentials in demand and supply of labour and the consequent difference in wage. The central argument of the neoclassical theory is wage and economic wellbeing. According to Bauer and Zimmermann (1999) there is a linear mathematical relationship between wage differentials and migration flows. The migrant is therefore seen as rational and seeks to maximize his benefits and gains. This theory has however been criticized for being economic centric. Again, it ignores the importance of politics and policies as well social barrier that has direct bearing on the decision of the migrant. These criticism gave rise to a new theoretical framework for examining the migration.

2.4.2 The new economic theory of migration

Unlike the neoclassical which emphasis the individual migrant seeking to maximise profit, this theory stresses the role the role family and households in decision to migrate. The basic argument is “migrant decisions are not based purely on individual utility-maximizing calculations but are rather a household response to both income risk and to the failures of a variety of markets – labour market, credit market, or insurance market”(Kurekova, 2011 p 7). Essentially, the decision to migrate is not just an economic one but a social decision which require the approval of the family. The main critique of this theory is its short-sightedness and the assumption that decision are subject to approval of external factors other than the migrant himself.

2.4.3 The world system theory

This theory views migration from a global perspective and attribute the pattern of migration to changing world structures. Theory blames global political and economic inequality for migration. This theory differs slightly from the neoclassical theory owing to its acknowledgment of political factors and its global outlook. The theory denies that individuals truly have free choice in making migration decisions and present them in more deterministic forms, as pressured into movement as an outcome of broader structural processes (H. De Haas, 2010).

2.4.4 Network theory

The network theory of migration does not look at the determinants which initiate migration but rather at what perpetuates migration in time and space (Massey et al. 1993). They defined Migrant networks as “sets of interpersonal ties that connects migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas via ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin” (Massey et al. 1993: 448). Clearly, one can argue that the presence of these forms of ties have the tendency to boost migration given the fact that it reduces the cost and risks involved. This enables migrants to get access to jobs, information, financial assistance, accommodation etc. at the destination region (Taylor, 1986; Massey, 1998). These forms of networks are noted as a form of social capital, which a readily assured form of capital for the poor which helps them in getting the other forms of capital.

Migrant networks which often evolve into institutional frameworks help to explain why migration continues even when wage differentials or recruitment policies cease to exist. The existence of a Diasporas or networks is likely to influence the decisions of migrants when they choose their destinations (Dustmann and Glitz 2005). Thus, networks are key to explaining the variations in the spatial distribution of migrants. The network theory also helps to explain the reasons why migration patterns are not evenly distributed across

countries, but rather how they tend to form so-called migration regimes (Faist 2000). Network theory is similar to migration systems theory, propounded by Magobunje (1990). This theory's main assumption is that migration changes the social, cultural, economic, and institutional conditions at both origin and destination countries and that it forms a complete gap for development within which the migration processes operate (de Haas 2007). Migration systems theory has its source from geography, while migration network theory has its source from sociological and anthropological (Castles & Miller, 1993). This theory emphasizes the role of social networks in influencing the destination choice. It argues that even if the economic incentives (wage differential) are declining or declining, migrants still choose certain destinations because of the existence of a diaspora and social connections (Dustmann & Glitz, 2005).

The above theories of migration have been collectively critiqued for not being able to explain lack of migration (Kurekova, 2011). Again, all of them overly focus on the receiving (destination) countries and not on conditions in the sending country. This is what Kurekova (2011) calls the receiving country bias theories.

2.5 Other Relevant Theories in Explaining the Relationship between Conflict and Migration

2.5.1 Conflict Theory

Conflict theory, propounded by Karl Marx, argues that society is in a state of conflict due to competition for limited resources. He argues that individuals and groups within a society interact on the basis of conflict rather than consensus. This means that in order for social order to prevail, domination and power are rather used instead of broad unanimity and conformity. Thus, contradictions in interests and conflict over scarce resources between groups are the foundation of a society. The theory emphasizes power differentials such as class conflict. According to this theory, those with much power and wealth would always

like to hold on to power by any means possible, more importantly via suppressing the poor and powerless in the society. With this theory, conflict is perceived as means of attaining change, given the fact that it enables people to see contradictions in their needs, helps a group establish its identity, enhances internal cohesion in groups and can result in the creation of new rules and laws when they resolve their differences. Sometimes, it results in the creation of new conflicts and contradictions.

This theory has been very useful in explaining various social issues such as revolutions and wars, wealth and poverty, domestic violence and discrimination. It perceives capitalism as the cause of democracy and civil rights rather people calling for social order. The major tenets of this theory are social inequality in the resource distribution and how conflicts exist between rich and poor in the society. The bourgeoisie represents the minority but wealthy in the society whereas the proletariat represents the majority who are within the working class or poor. Capitalism gives the bourgeoisie the impetus to use their wealth and power to oppress the proletariat. With the condition of the proletariat worsening, they become conscious of this disparity and revolt, thereby resulting in a conflict.

The study aims at highlighting the relevance of the conflict theory in providing an in-depth comprehension of conflict and migration nexus. Within the context of this study, the conflict in Bawku are mostly centred on dominance and power between two dominant ethnic groups in Bawku; the Mamprusi's and Kusasi's. One group claims to be the dominant ethnic group and the real custodians of Bawku, thus should be the chief and exercise control over all the land and resources. This results in violent clashes between the two groups when one feels disgruntled and revolt seeking justice. Some form of mediation and conflict resolution are always championed by various religious bodies, Non-governmental Organisations and government, however, the nature of the conflict makes it intractable in resolving it.

2.5.2 Risk Theory

There is no single definition to “risk”. It denotes probabilities with losses and gains. Yates (1992) defines risk as the likelihood of loss or gains (as cited in Teye, 2005). Rundmo and Iverson (2004) defined risk as a subjective examination of the likelihood for a specific occurrence of a negative event and the perceived consequences of this event to the individual. Risk is generally referred to as the possibility of a range of possible outcomes resulting from a decision or cause of action (Johnston et al. 2000). Risk theory has been applied by many scholars in many contexts, especially in relation to behavioural changes in health and safety measures. It has been applied in health prevention studies on sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS (Teye, 2005) and other road safety campaign studies (Rundmo & Iverson, 2004). The risk perception of an individual is a social construct and does not depend only on the knowledge but also on the control that the people feel they have on their own. In some instances, people tend to neglect risk, because they have prior experiences or have gone through higher risks, especially within high-risk societies. The constant exposure to violent clashes in a community that has witnessed a series of conflicts may not compel people to migrate from the conflict since they have been exposed to more severe violent clashes.

In some situations, individuals may be aware of how to prevent certain risk factors but if the measures to prevent them are not possible, they may not have any option than to be affected. For instance, individuals who have been exposed to an intractable conflict area may opt to migrate but if the necessary conditions to aid them in migrating from the conflict zone are not viable, the people may have no option than to stay. Again, within the risk optimization or homeostasis perspective, individuals may seek to adjust rather than eliminate the risks they face in everyday life. Wild (2002) is of the view that people are strategists and planners who aim to optimise the level of risk. In any circumstances, people accept a certain level

of subjectively estimated risk to their safety and other things they value, in exchange for the benefits they hope to receive from that event. People are certainly aware that the actions they pursue will result in a loss but it is the gravity of the loss that is of importance. If the severity of the loss is conceived as small compared to the benefits, then the likelihood of taking on the action is greater (Wilde, 1994; Bernadi, 2002). There are reported variations in risk between individuals (Wilde, 1994). Some of these variations include those as a result of age, gender, occupation, level of education, socio-economic status of the individual, cultural values and the state of the economy. Gender relation is a very important factor that shape risk perception and management, especially among women.

Another approach is the situated rationality approach which considers the fact that, the willingness of an individual to undertake a particular risk which may appear rational to him/her but may appear irrational to others. For instance, the unwillingness of someone to migrate during the conflict as a result of the violent associated with the conflict may appear irrational to someone who does not live in Bawku but may appear very rational to those there, since they have prior experiences of these events and can accommodate it.

2.6 Contribution of conflicts and economic factors to out-migration

This section examines the general causes of migration with emphasis on conflict, climate change and economic triggers.

2.6.1 Causes of migration

The decision to migrate is often embedded in multifaceted factors (Dewind et al., 2008). There are often underlying reasons that mediate the migration pattern and destination (see Amodio & Chiovelli, 2013; Croll et al., 2009 ; Haas, 2010 ; Adaawen & Owusu, 2013) and the final decision to migration is often a reaction to inability to cope with the prevailing

circumstance. These circumstance include conflicts, cultural practice, poverty and environmental change (Lacroix, 2008; DISCAP, 2014 ;Prasad, 2004)

2.6.2 Conflict and Migration

According to Croll et al. (2009), a significant number of migration in sub-Saharan African are as a result of forced migration. In fact the authors claim one in every refugees in the world today are or from Africa. Croll et al.(2009)makes an interesting distinction between forced migration and refugees. To them, the term ‘refugees’ refers to people migrating internationally in order to flee political violence, war, civil conflicts and persecution based on race, religion, nationality, or political opinions while forced migration is the direct result of other environmental factors such as climate change, economic mismanagement that compel people to migrate as a livelihood adaptation strategy. Even though the distinction is not clear, it separates migration as a result of hostile armed conflicts from other subtle triggers. However, it is very problematic to extricate the impact of armed conflict from the impacts of economic opportunities and environmental change (Croll et al., 2009; Akokpari, 1998) as they are oftem mutually reinforcing in most cases.

Political instability has been a major driver of forced migrationn in Sub-Saharan Africa, especially between 1960 and 2000 (see Akokpari, 1998; De Haas, 2014;Kaderi, 2013;Lucas, 2013). Using mathematical modeling to ascertain the frequency of migration in apartheid and post apartheid south africa, Amodio & Chiovelli (2013,p 17) argue that:

“Conflict causes displacement of individuals and households. High non-state conflict incidence in 1991 could be framed as a push factor that positively affected individuals’ propensity to migrate out of the district after 1991. By the same token, expectations about low non-state conflict incidence in 1996 can be conceptualized as a pull factor in the same framework.”

They further established that “for instance in 1991 apartheid era the rate migration was about 9% compared to less than 2% in 2002”. State instituted and protected racial segregation was a driver of conflict and consequently migration.

State actors can also cause conflicts when their actions lead to perceived or real bias and alienation of other groups. Liberia is a recent classic illustration. The Liberian crisis is rooted in the state's blatant exhibition of partiality in distributing resources among Liberians. The demise of President William Tolbert's demise birthed the beginning of Liberia's troubles. It was spawned by his failure to accord equal opportunities to the country's sixteen ethnic groups. As Ofuately-Kodjoe (1994) cited in (Akokpari, 1998) argues, Tolbert entrenched Americo-Liberian dominance in both politics and the economy and growing disaffection for his regime culminated in a military coup that elevated Samuel Doe to power in 1979. Doe, also embarked on the same line of elevating his ethnic group, the Krahn appointing his cronies top political and military positions to the marginalization of the others, especially the Gio and Mino tribes. Gios and Manos eventually formed an alliance that overthrew him under the leadership of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). This subsequently plunged the country into civil war in 1990. By 1991, besides the thousands displaced internally, over 700,000 Liberians had fled to Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Ghana.

2.6.3 The environment and migration

Even though migration resulting from environmental has contributed little to refugees, there is growing literature of the influence of climate change and variability on migration. "State responsibility for the creation of refugees results not only from its failure to mediate or mitigate conflicts, but also in the adoption of ad hoc environmental policies thereby proactively and reactively inducing refugees and migration" (Akokpari, 1998 p 221).

Croll et al. (2009 p 26) in a study of migration and displacement in sub-Saharan Africa concluded that "environmental factors, including natural hazards, significantly contribute towards forced migration from SSA, but rather in an indirect manner". The study found that "unless natural disasters, environmental degradation and resource scarcity substantially

affect either conflict or economic opportunities, their impact on emigration from SSA countries are not likely to be substantial”.

Similarly, Suhrke (1993) contend that even though environmental change may indirectly contribute towards conflict by reducing average income, increasing risk of disaster and consequent increased of income instability or by making the environment less pleasant or healthy.

2.6.4 Economic causes of migration

According to Todaro & Stephen, (2012), contradiction in economic opportunities drives people to move from economically depressed areas to areas where the migrant perceive that will offer higher returns on their labour. Migration is seen as economic decision with the sole aim of alleviation poverty through increasing income and security of income. Migration also provides access to financial capital for starting a new business, in addition to giving the migrant an opportunity to tapping on to the knowledge and resources provided (Rotha, 2010). Migrant remittance to the global has been found to reduce poverty and stimulate economic growth and improve acces to social services such health and education (see Haas, 2014 ;Adaawen & Owusu, 2013 Lacroix, 2008 Oecd, 2014). A 10% increase in remittances has been found to induce as high as 3.5% decline in absolute poverty in receiving regions. Migration is therefore seen as an effective tool to leverage livelihoods and diversity income while improving the welfare of the migrant and his family back home. Evidence from the South East Asia and Mexico show that increase in remittance has a direct positive “accumulation of assets in farm equipment, promote self-employment and increase small business investments in migrant-sending areas” (Rotha, 2010 p3)

Relating finding from Pakistan, Rotha argues that the decision to migrate is not tied to the immediate economic benefit of the migrant but that it enhances the chances of their children been better educated and predisposes them to better health care and standard to living.

2.7 Migrants and Peace Building

Conflict resolution has evolved especially in the last three decades. In the 1990s the main conflict approach was an interventionist state from the national level to resolve local conflict. This saw the use to state security apparatus and international involvement of peace keeping operation (Noagah, 2013). This approach was exogenous but filled with potency due to the resource that it possesses. The effectiveness of this approach has been questioned since it has failed to resolve conflicts in Africa such the Congo War, Somalia and the Cote d'Ivoire.

Migrants play a key role in conflict management owing to their influence on the local economy the home regions through remittance and diffusion of new culture (Croll et al., 2009). They exert an enormous influence in happenings at home since most often they tend to be the bread winners. Conflicts in Burundi, Rwanda and the democratic republic of Congo, Mali and Niger exacerbated migrant activities. For instance, the recent northern Mali insurrections were instigated by those returning from Libya with weapons after the demised leader of that country (Lohmann, 2011 ; Brahim, 2012). Thus migrant role in conflict escalation cannot be over emphasized. Other hand migrants have the potential to diffuse conflict even limited literature exist to support this claim (Sinatti et al., 2010). This research aims to fill this research gap by assessing the contribution (or potential) of migrants to the peacebuilding process in Bawku.

In recent times, a more participatory approach has been proposed in solving conflicts. This approach has been preferred due to its inherent advantage of collaborative problem solving

methodology by giving the contending factions an opportunity to freely speak about their differences and generate options for solving the challenge (Okoh, 2005). In addition, the participatory approach allows for honest and open communication which serves as a credible building block for trust-building an essential ingredient in resolving conflict (Okoh, 2005; Chambers, 1994). This is a bottom-up approach to conflict resolution and it is people driven and actors centered. It embraces the complexity of the factors that produce the rivalry while acknowledging the multiple reality and truths. In the study of forest resource conflicts Beierle & Cayford (2001) contend that when people participate in the process of resolving their differences it makes them own the process they are thus committed psychologically to keep that which they have built. Again they found that across all the cases studied there was a high degree of effectiveness in influencing decision towards building consensus, building trust and ultimately resolving the conflicts. Policies imposed without local participation are bound to fail. This explains why most African conflicts tend to drag on for decades without end in sight. Top-down approach and center-driven policies often ignore the local complexities and mistrust (Matiru & Casey, 2000; Emery & Oughton, 2011).



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the study area and the methodology for the study. Specifically, it provides an overview of the methods the study adopted including the research method, the data collection methods, how the data was managed and analysed and the sampling technique as well as the sample size. In addition, the chapter also provides a description of the study area including demographic characteristics, physical characteristics, spatial characteristics, economic activities and social services.

3.1 Description of the Study area

This section provides a brief profile of the study area based on information from the Ghana Statistical Services and those published on the websites of the Ministry of Local Government and the Ministry of Finance.

The Bawku Municipal Assembly is one of the three Municipalities in the Upper East Region of Ghana. The then Bawku East District Assembly was elevated to a Municipality status with Legislative Instrument (L.I) 1798 in 2004. However, with the creation of two new districts; Binduri and Pusiga from the Municipality, a new Legislative Instrument (L.I) 2144 was enacted in 2012 establishing the Municipality with new geographical boundaries but with the capital town still being Bawku. The Bawku Municipality is located in the north-eastern part of the Upper East Region. It shares boundaries with Pusiga, Garu-Tempene, Binduri and Bawku West Districts to the north, east, west and south respectively (GSS, 2012). The Municipality has twenty electoral areas and three zonal councils. Following the creation of two districts from the Bawku Municipality, the geographical boundaries and the number of electoral areas has been reduced and therefore the General House which is the

highest Administrative and Legislative body in the municipality currently has a total membership of thirty three (33) Honourable Members comprising Twenty (20) elected members and eleven (11) appointed members. The Executive Committee of the Assembly is made of Thirteen (13) members chaired by the Municipal Chief Executive. The Traditional Authority is represented by the Bawku Traditional Council under the presidency of the Bawku-Naba, the Paramount Chief of the Bawku Traditional area. The membership of the Traditional authority is made of the Chiefs of the various ethnic groups in the town and the advisor to the Bawku-Naba.

According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, the population of the Municipality is estimated at 217,791 which represent 20.8% of the total population of the Upper East Region. By sex aggregation the male population constitutes 47.9% while the female population is 52%. The Municipality is sparsely populated with a population density of 169 persons per sq. km. The occupational distribution in the Bawku municipality shows that agriculture is the dominant occupation followed by commerce, service sector and industry. Agriculture employs over 70% whilst commerce, service and industry/manufacturing sectors employ about 15%, 9% and 5% of the labour force respectively. Agriculture is the major economic activity in terms of employment and rural income generation in the Municipality. About 70% of the working population are engaged in this sector which constitutes the main source of household income. There are three (3) prominent types of farming activities in the Municipality. These are food cropping, livestock farming and cash cropping. The most predominant of these is food cropping and cash crop production. Livestock farming especially Poultry (guinea fowl) plays a significant role in improving the income levels of the people although it is carried out on a limited scale. Food cropping in the municipality is however done on a subsistence basis and the main crops cultivated

include millet, sorghum, maize, rice, groundnuts, leafy vegetables and pepper. Cash crops cultivated in the communities included onion, tomatoes, water melon and soya beans.

Although, the Municipality is endowed with vast arable land which is conducive for large scale farming, crop yields especially staple food production is generally low as compared to other Districts within the Upper East region. A lot of factors such as erratic rainfall, soil infertility, bush fires, lack of farm inputs, livestock epidemics outbreak and seasonal price variation of local production have contributed to low agriculture production in the municipality. Consequently, food insecurity has been a problem especially during the dry season. In terms of agro processing, the Bawku Municipal Assembly has no large-scale manufacturing industries. However, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in the Municipality has over the years trained mostly women on new technologies in food processing. The municipality is therefore characterized by small-scale food processing.

The Bawku municipality is regarded as the commercial hub of the Upper East Region. Commodities traded locally in the Bawku market range from foodstuffs, livestock to manufactured goods. Trading with other parts of the country is evidenced by the truck loads of animals and birds as well as foodstuffs to the south on market days. In return, traders travel to Techiman, Kumasi, Tamale, Accra and Tema every day to bring in manufactured goods. The Bawku Municipality has a strategic location due to its proximity to the eastern part of Burkina Faso and the Northern part of Togo. Also it is easy to cross from Bawku into Mali and Niger. The manufacturing industry in the Municipality is however characterized by small-scale craft and manufacturing in smock weaving, pottery, blacksmithing, cotton ginning/spinning/weaving. There are also a few auto-mechanic and carpentry shops in the municipality. The population within the township is served with portable water largely from mechanized boreholes whiles a number of hand pumps, hand dug wells and scattered small dams provide water to the rural communities. The

Municipality has a total of 269km of feeder road network with 85km being considered as engineered and 184km as un-engineered roads. Also, 44km of the feeder roads is made up of gravel surface and 140km with earth surface. The road network in the municipality is not the best as compared to other parts of the country.

3.2 Research Approach

This study adopted the mixed method approach in data collection and analysis. The mixed method is explained as the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Johnson et al., 2007). Also, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010) argue that a combination, of quantitative and qualitative methods allows for a more robust statistical analysis because the mixed method takes advantage of the inherent strengths of qualitative and quantitative methods (see Creswell, 2009; Thornhill, 2009; Greene, 2007).

Strauss and Corbin (1998), describe qualitative research as one that produce findings that are not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. According to Richie and Lewis (2003), qualitative research aims at providing an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants by learning about their social and material circumstances, their experiences, perspectives and histories. Another unique feature of qualitative research is that it involves conducting research in the natural settings of subjects and making sense of phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative methods consist of three kinds of data collection; In-depth, Open-ended interviews; direct observation; and written documents, including such sources as open-ended written items on questionnaires and personal diaries (Labuschagne, 2003). According to Gummesson (2000) qualitative method provides more detailed information compared to the quantitative study. However, some scholars have argued that

qualitative methods do not allow for generalizations and predictions as compared to quantitative methods (Bryman, 2001; Teye, 2012).

According to Collis and Hussey (2009), quantitative methods are concerned with numbers or quantification in data collection and analysis. Strauss and Corbin (1998) indicate that quantitative methods produce findings that are arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. Quantitative methods are suitable for studies that require the presentation of findings in the form of rates, percentages and graphs (Teye, 2012). The use of questionnaire survey is a typical illustration of quantitative method. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argue that quantitative research focuses on hypothesis testing, prediction and other robust statistical analysis. Bryman (2001) indicates that quantitative method allows for generalisations to be made about any population being studied. However one of the fundamental weaknesses associated with the quantitative method is that the instrument used for data collection must consist of clear and unambiguous questions (Frankiel and Allen (2003). Another important weakness according to Byman (2001) is that quantitative method does not provide detailed information about the target population or research area understudy. Given the fact that the study seeks to analyse quantifiable data and generalise findings and also provide detailed account of peoples' perceptions, emotions, beliefs, experience and behaviour (Branen, 1992), the study adopted the mixed method approach.

3.3 Sources of Data

Both primary and secondary data were relied on for achieving the objectives of the study. The study relied on household questionnaire survey, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions for garnering primary data. The secondary data were sourced from books, journals, articles, etc. on conflict and migration

3.3.1 Questionnaire Survey

The study was based on a household survey and thus the information garnered covered the characteristics of respondents, their migration intentions, and their migration patterns. The semi structured questionnaire was in two folds, one for the respondents in Bawku and the other for relatives of respondents who migrated during the conflict and living outside Bawku. A semi-structured questionnaire comprising closed ended and open ended questions was used to collect data from the respondents. The questionnaire was divided into five sections; Sections A, B, C, D and E. Questions in Section A covered the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. Age, Sex, Marital status, Place of residence and Occupation were some of the socio-demographic variables in Section A. Questions in Sections B covered when and why respondents left Bawku and their experiences at the destination. Section C comprised social network characteristics and migration agency. Questions in Section D covered remittances, return migration and economic development. Section E covered citizens of Bawku's contribution to the peace building initiatives and efforts in Bawku. The questionnaire was first pretested at Bunkprugu, a town in Northern region. The area was chosen because it has similar characteristics with Bawku and there are reported incidence of conflict in the region. This aided in the correction of minor errors in the questionnaire, restating of certain questions to enhance easy translation in the local dialect. Four field assistants were employed to assist in the data collection. Data collection was conducted within a month, from May to June.

3.3.1.1 Sampling Approach and Sample size

A systematic random sampling method was employed in selecting respondents for the questionnaire survey. A total of one hundred and eighty (180) respondents were selected in Bawku for the questionnaire survey. As part of the questions in the questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate if any member of their relatives migrated during the

conflict. Out of the 180 respondents sampled, 88 respondents indicated that they have relatives who migrated outside Bawku during the conflict. The contacts of the various relatives who migrated were obtained from the respondents and follow-up visits made to interview these respondents. In situations where getting access to these respondents were very difficult, the interviews were conducted on phone and recorded for transcription. Out of the 88 respondents, only 80 respondents could be contacted and interviewed.

3.3.2 In-depth Interviews

Sandals, Lewis, and Thornhill (2012) delineate an interview as a purposeful conversation between two people which gives the interviewer an opportunity to ask questions, to which the interviewee responds. Some scholars have indicated that in-depth interviews provide detailed information and allow respondents to provide individual accounts of a specific event or phenomenon (Richie and Lewis, 2003, Labuschagne, 2003). In this study, a semi structured interview guide was used to obtain information from the participants particularly on the some of the reasons some Bawku citizens have left the town, the causes of the Bawku Conflict and Peace building initiatives in the town. Also, the interview guide was used to obtain views on the contribution of Bawku citizens who reside outside Bawku to the Peace building initiatives and economic development in the municipality. The study conducted eight separate in-depth interviews with respondents living outside Bawku.

In addition, eight (8) in-depth interviewees or key informants were interviewed. The interviewees were the Municipal Chief Executive, two (2) Religious leaders comprising a clergyman and an Imam, two (2) Elders one a Mamprusi and the other a Kusasi, A representative of an NGO or CSO working to bring about peace in the area as well as two (2) head teachers each from a schools on both sides of the ethnic divide.

3.3.3 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group also known as group discussions involve a group interview in which members respond to questions asked by a moderator (Moriarty, 2011) According to Richie and Lewis (2003), focus group discussions give participants more opportunity to refine what they have to say. The authors also indicate that focus group discussions provide a social context within which a phenomenon is experienced and they display the way in which context can shape people's views, showing how data are generated through conversation with others. They further indicate that focus group discussions provide an opportunity for differences between participants to be directly and explicitly discussed. This study adopted focus group discussions because of the advantages associated with its use as mentioned earlier. In this study, a semi structured interview guide was used to conduct focus group discussions in Bawku. Furthermore, a total of twenty four (24) persons above 18 years participated in the focus group discussions; eight (8) persons per each focus group. In view of this, three focus group discussions were held at Bawku, one for the males, one for the female group and lastly one for the mixed group. The decision to conduct separate focus for males and females is largely because some women may not be forthcoming with their views when they are in the mix of males because of the cultural implications. Surprisingly, the females were very vocal when they were together with the males. The focus group guide consisted of questions that covered causes of the Bawku conflict, its effect of the natives and the town, peace building initiatives and their effectiveness as well as challenges and how the migration of Bawku natives has contributed to peace and economic development in Bawku.

3.4 Data Analysis

Quantitative and qualitative approaches were used in analyzing the data collected. The data collected were analysed using the SPSS software version 20. The SPSS statistical software was used to enter the questionnaire data and to provide descriptive statistics such as

frequencies and measures of central tendencies. Cross tabulations and Pearson's Chi-square test of association were computed to test for relationship between variables, while binary logistic regressions were computed to test for variables that can predict migration intentions of respondents of Bawku. The qualitative analysis was in the form of narratives and direct quotations on specific themes that reflect the views and experiences of the participants who were involved in the in-depth interview and focus group discussions.

3.5 Ethical considerations

The consent of the respondents and participants was sought by explaining the purpose of the study to them and assuring them of confidentiality and anonymity. Also the respondents and participants were told that their participation was voluntary and that there were no financial rewards for accepting to participate in the study. Each respondent or participant signed a consent form as evidence of consent before participating in the study. Data on the contacts and names of the respondents were not collected. Consequently, names used or mentioned in the study are pseudonyms.

3.6 Researcher Positionality

Mohammed (2001) is of the view that the kind of phenomenon researched and the characteristics of a researcher can affect the researcher's access to informants and the type of data to be garnered (as cited in Teye 2012). In most circumstances where the issues researched are sensitive, the quality of data collected and depth of insight given are mostly contingent on the characteristics of the researcher such as gender, age, socio-cultural and ideological background; that is if he/she is to be treated as an insider or outsider. Access to information is often guaranteed in situations where the researcher is treated as part of the community and thus, an insider. The researcher is a native of Bawku. Because he is an insider (Mohammed, 2001), it was easier to have access to the respondents and participants. As a result, the people were willing to participate in the study and were very forthcoming

with their views on the various issues examined by the study. However, the researcher was not directly involved in the household survey but played a key role during the qualitative facet of the data collection process. Trained and competent research assistants were engaged for the purpose of data collection.



CHAPTER FOUR

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS AND MIGRATION

HISTORY OF RESPONDENTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of field data results based on background characteristics of respondents and their migration trajectories in Bawku due to the conflict. The first section discusses the background characteristics of respondents' including sex, age, level of education, marital status, household size and religion. In addition, the migration history and trajectories of respondents in Bawku are further discussed in this chapter.

4.1 Background Characteristics of Respondents

Out of the 180 respondents sampled in Bawku, 65.6 percent were males and 34.4 percent females (see Table 4.1). With regards to the out-migrants, out of the 80 respondents sampled, 58.8 percent were males and 41.2 percent were females. Also, 39.4 percent and 35 percent of respondents (residents) sampled were between the ages of 15-25 years and 26-35 years respectively. Respondents aged 65 years and above (1.1%) were the least represented age group together with those between the ages of 46-55 years (3.9%) and 56-65 years (3.9%). With respect to the out-migrants, a lot of respondents sampled were within the ages of 26-35 years (47.5%) and 36-45 years (35%) respectively. With regards to the marital status of respondents sampled in Bawku, 3.3 percent were widowed and 2.2 percent were either divorced or cohabiting (see table 4.1). Additionally, 41.7 percent were married whereas as majority (50.6%) were single. This could be attributed to the age structure of the sampled respondents where majority were within the ages of 15-25 years. Likewise those sampled in Bawku, majority of out-migrants were single (53.7%) than those married (46.2%). This suggest that respondents who were single or unattached migrated than those married.

Moreover, majority of respondents sampled in Bawku (69.4%) had attained some form tertiary level education whereas a small fraction of respondents (0.6%) had attained some form of middle school or JHS education. Apart from majority of respondents who had attained tertiary education, 23.3 percent of the respondents had received some form secondary, vocational or technical education. This suggests that a preponderance of the respondents sampled for the quantitative facet of the study had achieved standard education and as such responses from them could be relevant, insightful and suited to the context of the objectives of the study. With regards to the out-migrants, majority (48.7%) had attained tertiary education while those with no formal education were the least represented group (see Table 4.5). Given the fact that the area is a Muslim dominated area, it is not surprising that 81 percent and 85 percent of residents of Bawku and out-migrants were Muslims respectively.

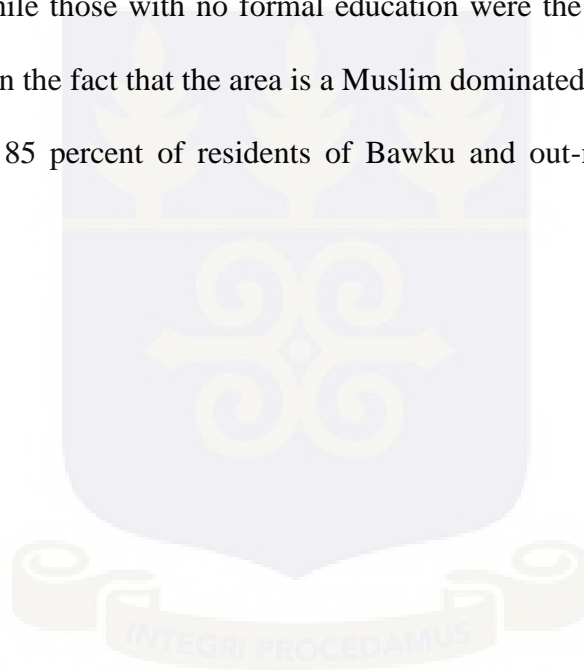


Table 4.1: Distribution of Residents and Out-migrants by Sex, Age, Marital Status, Level of Education and religion

Demographic Variables	Residents (N=180)		<i>Out-Migrants</i> (N=80)	
Sex				
Male	118	(65.6%)	47	(58.8%)
Female	62	(34.4%)	33	(41.2%)
Age				
15-25 years	71	(39.4%)	9	(11.3%)
26-35 years	63	(35.0%)	38	(47.5%)
36-45 years	30	(16.7%)	28	(35%)
46-55 years	7	(3.9%)	5	(6.2%)
56-65	7	(3.9%)	0	(0.0%)
65 years & above	2	(1.1%)	0	(0.0%)
Marital Status				
Married	75	(41.7%)	37	(46.2%)
Divorced	4	(2.2%)	0	(0.0%)
Single	91	(50.6%)	43	(53.7%)
Living with Partner	4	(2.2%)	0	(0.0%)
Widowed	6	(3.3%)	0	(0.0%)
Level of Education				
No formal	8	(4.4%)	3	(3.8%)
Elementary/Primary	4	(2.2%)	14	(17.5%)
Middle school/JHS	1	(0.6%)	6	(7.5%)
SHS/Vocational/Technical	42	(23.3%)	18	(22.5%)
Tertiary	125	(69.4%)	39	(48.7%)
Religion				
Christianity	31	(17.2%)	7	(8.8%)
Muslim	146	(81.1%)	68	(85%)
Traditional	2	(1.1%)	5	(6.2%)
Others	1	(0.6%)	0	(0.0%)

Source: Field Data (2016)

4.2 Historical Patterns of Migration from Bawku

Migration has been central to development and policy directives for many decades. It is widely known that people migrate for several reasons (Anarfi et al., 2005; Quartey, 2006). Of key topical concern is the influence of conflict on migration in Africa. Migration has been noted as response to conflict (Williams & Pradhan, 2009). Within the risk optimization and homeostasis viewpoint, an individual may opt to optimize or eliminate the risks he or she is confronted with in everyday life. This suggests that individuals who have been exposed to an intractable conflict area may opt to migrate. However, if the necessary

conditions to enhance their migration from the conflict zone are not feasible, the people may have no option than to stay. In view of this, an attempt was made to ascertain if respondents sampled in Bawku migrated from Bawku during the conflict. Evidence of this is presented in Figure 2. Out of the 180 respondents sampled, 48.9 percent indicated that they migrated whereas 51.1 percent did not migrate out of Bawku during the conflict. This suggests that more than half of the respondents sampled in Bawku did not migrate from Bawku during the conflict. This is in consonance with the situated rationality approach where the willingness of an individual to undertake a particular risk which may appear rational to him/her but may appear irrational to others. For instance, the unwillingness of someone to migrate during the conflict as a result of the violent associated with the conflict may appear irrational to someone who does not live in Bawku but may appear very rational to those there, since they have prior experiences of these events and can accommodate it.

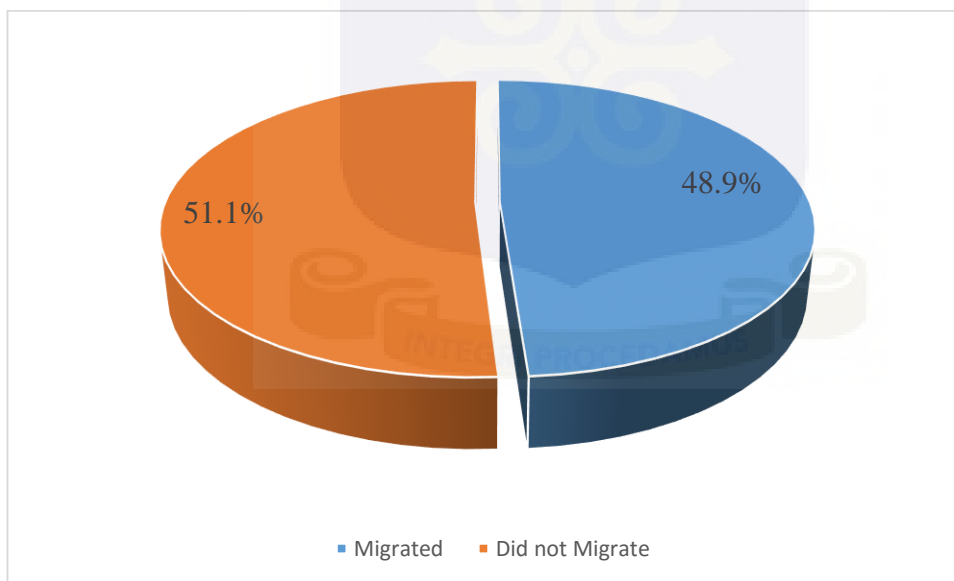


Figure 2: Distribution of Respondents Sampled in Bawku by their Migration History Due to the Conflict (N=180)

Source: Field Data (2016)

The study by Williams and Pradhan (2009) suggests that there are gender differences in migration during conflict. To them, there are two specific reason why men and woman

respond to conflict differently by migrating. Firstly, they experience different rates of victimisation and risk and secondly, there are variation in their cognitive processing of fear of victimisation. Men are often victims of assault, imprisonment, forced enrolment and abduction, though women become victims of rape and assault. The study further suggests that men are likely to be at actual risk of danger and women are likely to perceive danger. Also, gender relation is one of the very important factors that shape risk perception and management, especially among women. Additionally, there are reported variations in risk between individuals (Wilde, 1994). Some of these variations include those as a result of age, gender, occupation, level of education, socio-economic status of the individual, cultural values and the state of the economy.

In view of this an attempt was made to assess the relationship between the background characteristics of respondents such as sex, age, marital status, level of education and religion, and whether they migrated out of Bawku during the conflict. As a result, cross tabulations and chi square test of independence were computed to ascertain these relationships. This is presented in Table 4.2. Comparatively, more females (38.7%) migrated than males (28.8%). This mirrors the findings of Williams and Pradhan (2009) which predict that women have higher rates of migration than men. The result of the chi square test shows that there is no relationship between sex of respondents and whether they migrated out of Bawku (χ^2 statistic = 1.823, df = 1, p = 0.177 > 0.05). The results indicate that the out-migration of respondents from Bawku as a result of the conflict has no association with whether respondent was a male or female.

Also, majority of respondents between the ages of 36-45 years (40%) and 15-25 years (38%) migrated out of Bawku than those within the ages of 56-65 years (14.3%) and 65 years and above. However, the chi-square test shows that age of respondents has no significant relationship with whether respondents migrated out of Bawku because of the conflict or not

(χ^2 statistic = 5.295, df = 5, p = 0.381 > 0.05). Additionally, respondents level of education (p=0.210) and their religion (p=0.684) have no significant association with whether they migrated out of Bawku during the conflict. During the qualitative facet of the study, most of the respondents who did not migrate during the conflict revealed they opted not to migrate because they had no relative or someone they could stay with outside Bawku. Others also were of the view that they have strong family ties in Bawku and decided to stay than migrate either temporary or permanently. One woman interviewed revealed that:

“I decided to stay in Possum (suburb of Bawku) during the fight (conflict) because I had nowhere to go. I cannot go and stay on the streets like some people when they go to Accra or Kumasi. As such, my husband and two children are also here so we decided to stay but know how to go about our duties and prevent any wahala (problem) (35 year old trader, Individual Interview)

The views of this woman resonate with the network theory of migration where the existence of networks or relations has the tendency to influence the decisions of migrants in terms of choosing their destination (Dustmann & Glitz, 2005). This suggests that strong family ties and lack of networks outside the point of origin played a significant role in influencing the migration intentions of this respondent, even in the face of conflict. Some respondents were also of the view that they opted to stay because they did not feel threatened by the conflict.

Table 4.2: Relationship between the Background Characteristics of Respondents Sampled in Bawku (Residents) and their Migration History Due to Conflict

Background Characteristics	Conflict-induced migration	
	Migrated N=58 (32.2%)	Did not Migrate N=122 (67.8%)
Sex		
Male	28.8%	71.2%
Female	38.7%	61.3%
	χ^2 statistic = 1.823, df = 1, p = 0.177 > 0.05	
Age		
15-25 years	38%	62%
26-35 years	25.4%	74.6%
36-45 years	40%	60%
46-55 years	28.6%	71.4%
56-65	14.3%	85.7%
65 years & above	0.0%	100%
	χ^2 statistic = 5.295, df = 5, p = 0.381 > 0.05	
Marital Status		
Married	29.3%	70.7%
Divorced	0.0%	100%
Single	38.5%	61.5%
Living with Partner	25%	75%
Widowed	0.0%	100%
	χ^2 statistic = 6.758, df = 4, p = 0.149 > 0.05	
Level of Education		
No formal	25%	75%
Elementary/Primary	75%	25%
Middle school/JHS	100%	0.0%
SHS/Vocational/Technical	33.3%	66.7%
Tertiary	30.4%	69.6%
	χ^2 statistic = 5.860, df = 4, p = 0.210 > 0.05	
Religion		
Christianity	38.7%	61.3%
Muslim	30.8%	69.2%
Traditional	50%	50%
Others	0.0%	100%
	χ^2 statistic = 1.493, df = 3, p = 0.684 > 0.05	

Source: Field data (2016)

Out of the respondents that migrated during the conflict, some indicated that migrating out of Bawku was the only option because the conflict was within the community they lived in and thus felt threatened. More so, they had relatives outside Bawku whom they could live with temporarily or relocate permanently so migrating was a convenient option for them. Consistent with this is the push-pull theory of migration where conflict within the point of origin could serve as a push factor for people to migrate, and the existence of peace within the destination region also serves as a pull factor for migrants. In these instances, the existence of networks outside Bawku increased the social capital of these respondents thus motivated their migration outside Bawku during the conflict.

Moreover, an attempt was made to ascertain the destination regions of respondents that migrated during the conflict. This was examined in relation to destination regions of both returned migrants (58 respondents sampled who migrated during the conflict) and current migrants (80 relatives of respondents that migrated). This is presented in Table 4.3. The results in Table 4.3 show that Greater Accra served as the major destination region for both returned migrants (50%) and current migrants (26.1%), though 26 percent of current migrants or out-migrants migrated to other communities in Upper East region. Even though Northern and Brong Ahafo region are geographically closer to Bawku than Ashanti region, Ashanti region also served as a major destination region for 17 percent of current migrants and returned migrants respectively. The Upper West region (6.9%) Brong Ahafo region (6.9%) and Western region (0.0%) were the least represented destination regions returned migrants migrated to (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Percentage Distribution of Destination Regions of Returned Migrants & Current Migrants

Destination Regions	Current Migrants (N=80)	Returned Migrants (N=58)
Upper East (except Bawku)	26.1	10.3
Upper West	6.8	6.9
Northern	3.4	8.6
Greater Accra	26.1	50
Ashanti	17	17.3
Brong Ahafo	4.5	6.9
Western	3.4	0
Outside Ghana	3.4	0
Others	9.1	0
Total	100	100

Source: Field data (2016)

Against this background, this study sought the need to examine the kind of networks respondents had outside Bawku, since destination region of migrants are often influenced by the form of association or networks they have in that region. The network theory gives much credence to the role of families, friends, acquaintances, and other associated contacts play in assisting migrants to settle or prevent them from settling in their destination. Once more, this was examined in relation to networks of returned migrants and current migrants (out-migrants). This is presented in Figure 2. Figure 3 shows that Uncles were the major point of call for both returned migrants (31%) and current migrants (43.8%) when they migrated outside Bawku during the conflict. With regards to returned migrants, siblings (29.3%) and parents (13.8%) were their major contacts when they migrated whereas friends (28.8%) were the major people current migrants stayed with when they migrated. The results also suggest that 21.3 percent of current migrants had no one to stay with when they migrated. This shows that these respondents had no one to depend on for shelter, thus were leaving on the street or sought shelter on their own. Yakubu, a 25 year old out-migrant who now resides in Kumasi indicated that

“I had nowhere to go to when I moved to Kumasi after the fight (conflict). So when I came to Kumasi, I slept at Kejetia for months before I started working as a cleaner

at the station. It was there that my boss gave me somewhere to stay for some time”
(Personal Interview)

The views expressed by Yakubu suggest that these forms of network provide a safety net for these migrants to be able to settle and adapt. On the basis of this finding, it is clear that families play a significant role in the influencing the migration trajectory of respondents, especially in terms of their destination.

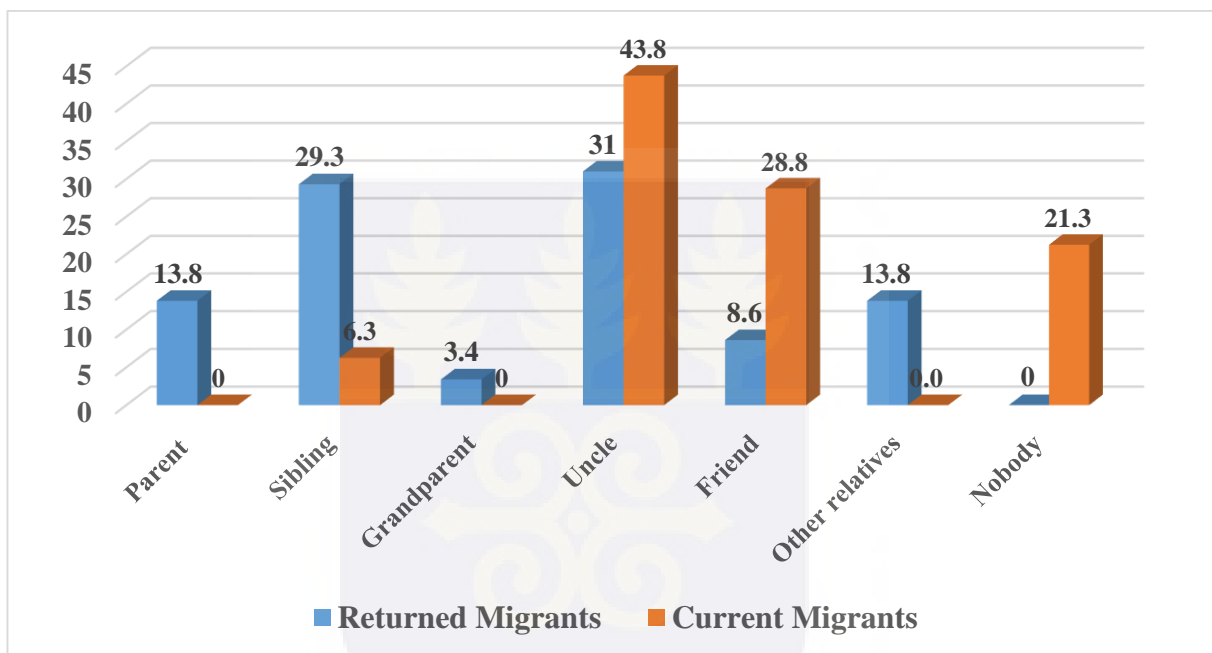


Figure 3: Percentage Distribution of Returned Migrants (n=58) and Current Migrants (n=80) by People They Stayed with When they first Migrated
Source: Field data (2016)

Anecdotal evidence suggests that the ability to secure funds to finance one’s migration plays a significant role in influencing rate of migration. This has an influence on the intention of people to migrate or stay in the advent of conflict. In view of this, the study sought the need to examine if respondents financed their own migration from Bawku during the conflict. This is presented in Figure 4. Out of the 58 respondents that migrated during the conflict, 48.3 percent financed their migration during the conflict relative to 51.7 percent who did not finance their migration from Bawku.

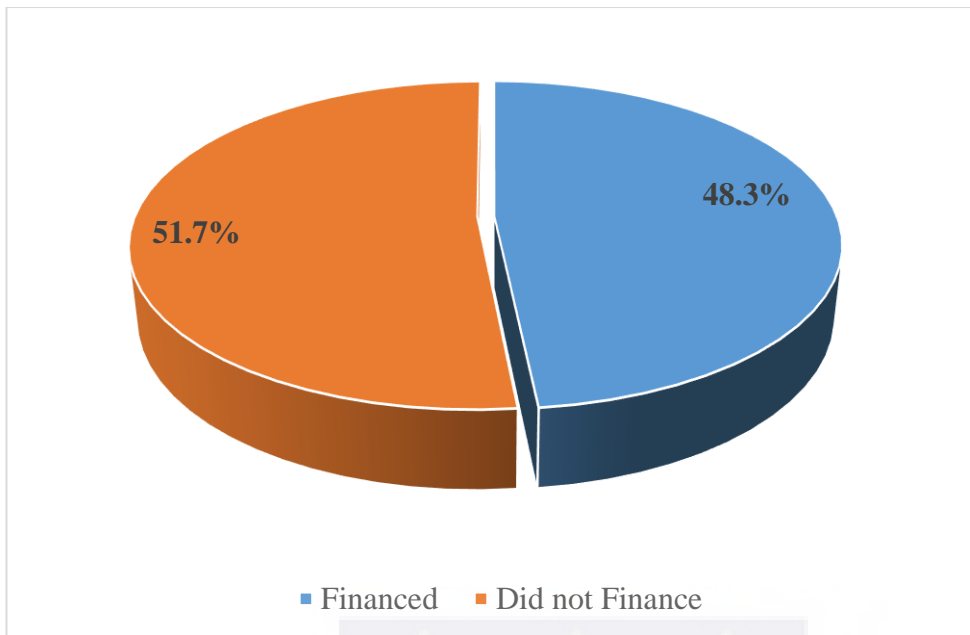


Figure 4: Financing of Migration from Bawku during the Conflict
Source: Field data (2016)

Hence, the study sought the need to assess the relationship between the background characteristics of respondents (returned migrants) such as sex, age, marital status, level of education and religion, and whether they financed their migration from Bawku during the conflict. As a result, cross tabulations and chi square test of independence were computed to ascertain these relationships. Evidence of this is presented in Table 4.4. Surprisingly, majority of females (58.3%) financed their migration from Bawku because of the conflict than males (41.2%). Nonetheless, the chi square test shows that sex of respondents has no significant relationship with whether they will finance they financed their own migration from Bawku or not (χ^2 statistic = 1.658, df = 1, $p = 0.198 > 0.05$). Also, respondents aged 45 and above that migrated revealed that they did not finance their migration from Bawku during the conflict (see Table 4.4). This is very surprising considering the fact that they are within the active labour force group and could be considered as dependent. On the other hand, majority of respondents within the ages of 15-25 years (70.4%) indicated that they financed their migration. In view of this, the analysis revealed that age of respondents has a

significant relationship with whether they financed their migration from Bawku during the conflict (χ^2 statistic = 13.011, df = 4, p = 0.011 < 0.05).

Table 4.4: Relationship between the Background Characteristics of Respondents (Returned Migrants) and Funding of Migration from Bawku Due to Conflict

Background Characteristics	Finance for Migration Due to Conflict	
	Financed N=28 (48.3%)	Did not Finance N=30 (51.7%)
Sex		
Male	41.2%	58.8%
Female	58.3%	41.7%
	χ^2 statistic = 1.658, df = 1, p = 0.198 > 0.05	
Age		
15-25 years	70.4%	29.6%
26-35 years	43.8%	56.2%
36-45 years	16.7%	83.3%
46-55 years	0.0%	100%
56-65	0.0%	100%
	χ^2 statistic = 13.011, df = 4, p = 0.011 < 0.05	
Marital Status		
Married	27.3%	72.7%
Single	60%	40%
Living with Partner	0.0%	100%
	χ^2 statistic = 6.885, df = 2, p = 0.032 < 0.05	
Level of Education		
No formal	0.0%	100%
Elementary/Primary	0.0%	100%
Middle school/JHS	100%	0.0%
SHS/Vocational/Technical	28.6%	71.4%
Tertiary	60.5%	39.5%
	χ^2 statistic = 10.199, df = 4, p = 0.037 < 0.05	
Religion		
Christianity	33.3%	66.7%
Muslim	53.3%	46.7%
Traditional	0.0%	100%
	χ^2 statistic = 2.467, df = 2, p = 0.291 > 0.05	

Source: Field data (2016)

With respect to respondent's marital status, respondents who were single (60%) financed their migration than those who were married (27.3%). Consequently, marital status of

respondents ($p=0.03<0.05$) and their level of education ($p=0.03<0.05$) have a significant relationship with whether they financed their migration from Bawku during the conflict. This suggests that one's marital status has an association with whether they finance their migration or not, as a significant proportion of respondents who were single financed their migration than those married. It could be because those who were married had their migration financed by their spouses whereas those single are independent thus had to bear the cost themselves. Furthermore, respondents' level of education has a significant association with the source of funding considering the fact that majority of those who had attained tertiary (60.5%) financed their migration from Bawku than those with no formal or elementary education. On the other hand, respondents' religion showed no significant relationship with whether respondents financed their migration from Bawku.

4.2.1 Reasons why Migrants Returned to Bawku

Within the context of conflict and migration, one of the cardinal interest of most stakeholders and organisation engaged in peace-building and development is the re-integration of migrants and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) back into the conflict affected areas, especially in the wake of tranquillity. Return migration has also been given much credence as an effective measure to bring about development within the home countries (Fransen, 2015). In view of this, the study sought the need to ascertain the time returned migrants spent outside Bawku as a result of the conflict and the time since they returned. This is presented in Table 4.5. Out of the 58 respondents that migrated during the conflict, 43.1 percent and 31 percent representing the significant majority spent 1-3 years and 4-6 years outside Bawku respectively, while those that spent 10 years and above were the least represented (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5: Distribution of Respondents (Those who migrated) by Years

Years	Years spent Outside Bawku	
Less than a year	7	(12.1%)
1-3 years	25	(43.1%)
4-6 years	18	(31.0%)
7-9 years	7	(12.1%)
10 & above	1	(1.7%)
Total	58	(100%)

Source: **Source: Field data (2016)**

Evidence from most studies reviewed suggest that returned migrants are often motivated by stronger family ties, prevailing economic prospects like employments or job opportunities, the existence of peace or tranquillity and other social conditions. The existence of these prospects usually influence migrants to return to their point of origin. Against this backdrop, an attempt was made to assess the reasons why respondents relocated back to Bawku. The analysis presented in Table 4.6 shows that, 29.3 percent and 22.4 percent of respondents were of the view that the need to further their education and the existence of employment opportunities in Bawku served as factors for them to relocate back respectively. Also, 17.2 percent of respondents revealed that they had relatives back home thus felt the need to come back to Bawku after peace prevailed in the region. Moreover, relative peace within the study area served as a motivating factor for 17.2 percent of respondents that relocated back to Bawku. Some respondents also cited frequent visits, religious and faith based reasons as some reasons why they returned to Bawku.

Table 4.6: Reasons Why Respondents (Residents) Relocated Back to Bawku.

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
Employment	13	22.4
Education	17	29.3
Relative peace	10	17.2
Family	10	17.2
Visit	4	6.9
Others	4	6.9
Total	58	100

Source: Field data (2016)

During the qualitative facet of the study via focus group discussions, some respondents were of the view that they returned because of the existence of some tranquillity in the region after the intervention of some stake holders. A respondent revealed that

“I came back about 4 years ago after my brother-in-law informed me of some calmness that has been restored in the Sabon-Gari (a suburb of Bawku). I decided to come back and continue with life here because it is not easy to live in Accra” (A 43 year old farmer, male, focus group discussion)

The views of this respondent lend support to the view that in the wake of relative peace, the existence of harsh economic and social conditions at the destination regions often compel migrants to return to their point of origin whenever circumstances that caused their emigration become non-existent. Also, some were of the view that they migrated and left behind their family and their farms. Even though they had settled in Kumasi and working, they opted to come back because of their families left behind. One woman reported

“I travelled to Kumasi when they started fighting. I left my two sons with my mother who was old to take care of them while I find a job to do and send her money. I had to return to take care of them when my mother couldn't take care of them anymore and I couldn't bring them here to Kumasi with me (31 year old Trader, Focus Group Discussion)

The economic impact of migration has been central in most migration discourse. Of key relevance is the impact migration has on employment, both as a pull and push factor. Considering the impact of conflict on economic and social activities in most conflict-prone

areas, the study sought the need to examine the employment status of respondents before and after the conflict. This was meant to provide further construction on the socio-economic background of respondents before and after the conflict. Evidence of this is presented in Table 4.7. Out of the 180 respondents sampled, 41.1 percent were employed before the conflict compared with 49.4 percent employed after the conflict. In view of this, those unemployed before the conflict decreased from 58.9 percent to 50.6 percent. This shows that the reported number of respondents employed increased by 8.3 percent after the conflict. Even though conflicts are usually associated with disruption in economic and social activities and decline in living standards, worsening poverty levels, these findings suggest increased levels of employment among respondents. This could be aligned with the progressive interventions by government, other NGOs, religious/faith based organisations, the traditional authorities to foster peace and enhance development within the region.

Table 4.7: Distribution of Respondents' Employment Status Before and After the Conflict in Bawku

Employment Status	Employed	Unemployed	Total (n=180)
Before conflict	74 (41.1%)	106 (58.9%)	180 (100%)
After Conflict	89 (49.4%)	91 (50.6%)	180 (100%)

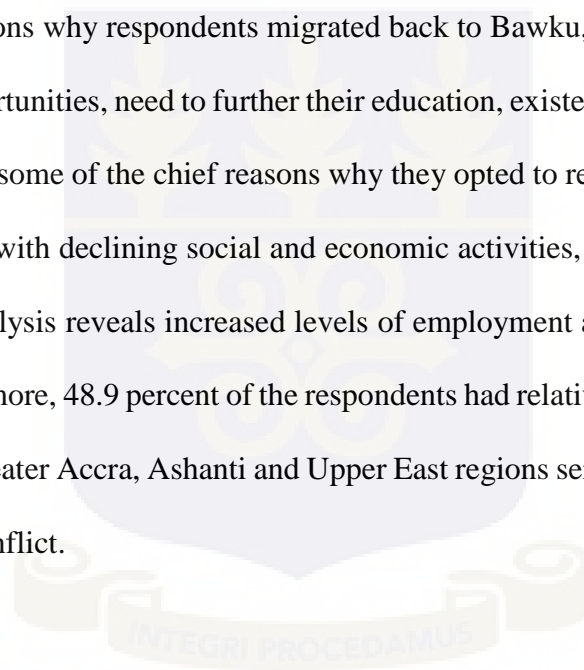
Source: Field data (2016)

4.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined the background characteristics of respondents, the profile of migrants and patterns of migration as a result of the conflict in Bawku. The results of the analysis show that majority of respondents sampled were males and within the youthful age group (15-35 years). Given the youthful age structure of the respondents, majority of them were single while those widowed, cohabiting or divorced were the least represented in terms of marital status. Also, majority of respondents had attained some form of tertiary education, thus information garnered for the study was relevant to achieving the objectives of the study. Comparatively, majority of respondents did not migrate out of Bawku during the conflict as

against those that migrated. Lack of networks or relations outside Bawku and strong family ties in Bawku mostly accounted for reasons why respondents did not migrate. Greater Accra and Ashanti region were the major destination regions of migrants, albeit some also moved to other parts of Upper East region. Taking much cognisance of the role networks helps in explaining patterns of migration, the results of the analysis show that family relations played a major role in influencing the destination region of respondents, as uncles, siblings and parents played a significant role as host of respondents when they first migrated out of Bawku. Moreover, majority of those that migrated were not self-financed.

With regards to reasons why respondents migrated back to Bawku, they cited the existence of employment opportunities, need to further their education, existence of relative peace and strong family ties as some of the chief reasons why they opted to return. Although conflicts are often associated with declining social and economic activities, it is very surprising that the results of the analysis reveals increased levels of employment among respondents after the conflict. Furthermore, 48.9 percent of the respondents had relatives who migrated during the conflict, with Greater Accra, Ashanti and Upper East regions serving as their destination region during the conflict.



CHAPTER FIVE

RELATIVE CONTRIBUTION OF CONFLICT AND OTHER ECONOMIC FACTORS TO OUT-MIGRATION IN BAWKU

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis and discussion of results on the relative contributions of conflict and other economic factors to out-migration in Bawku. Particularly, it underscores the role of conflict as a major push factor for out-migration and a primary cause for a declining economic and social conditions, thereby influencing out-migration in Bawku.

5.1 Contribution of Conflicts to Out-migration in Bawku

Dewind et al. (2008) opine that the decision to migrate is often influenced by myriads of factors. More often than not, migration is often triggered by an individual's inability to cope with a prevailing circumstances such as conflicts, unacceptable cultural practices, poverty and environmental change, and the existences of better prospects within the destination region (Prasad, 2004; Lacroix, 2008; DISCAP, 2014). Given the fact that perceived or experienced violence has the tendency to influence people's perception about threat, migration becomes an inevitable option for people to avoid these threats (Williams & Pradhan, 2009). Towards the ascertainment of respondents intensions of migrating out of Bawku in the event of the conflict reoccurring, respondents were asked if they feel any insecurity threats in Bawku. This was to examine their migration intensions (see Figure 5). Out of the 180 respondents sampled in Bawku, 63.9 percent were of the view that there is no insecurity threat in Bawku as at the time of the survey whereas 36.1 percent held a converse view.

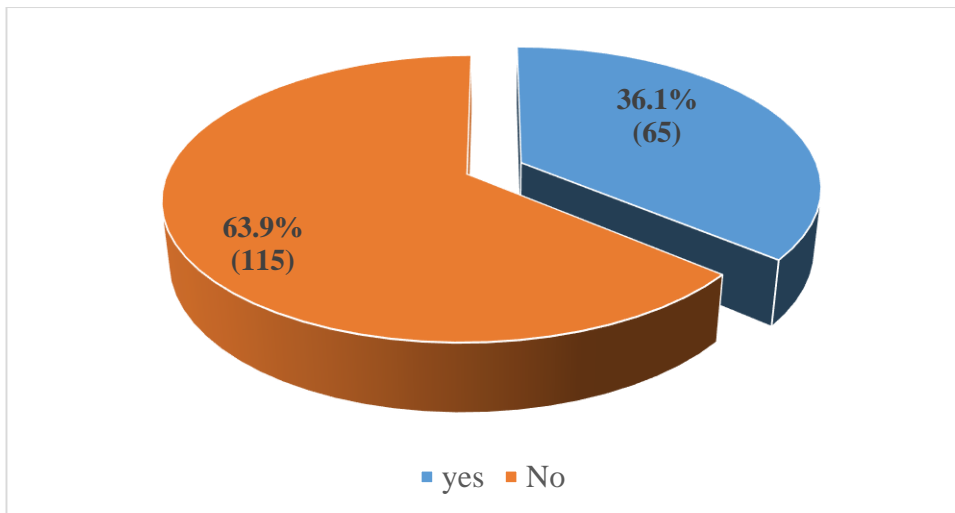


Figure 5: Distribution of Respondents Sampled in Bawku by their Perception of Insecurity Threats in Bawku

Source: Feld data (2016)

Although majority of respondents revealed that they feel secured in the region, the responses from the remaining 36.1 percent (65) suggests that they feel unsafe. This could be aligned with the fact that these respondents may be within the various conflict-hotspot zones, or were engaged in the conflict. Of the number that feels threatened and unsafe, majority (50.8%) were of the view that they feel unsafe because of the unstable and potentially dangerous nature of the resolution of the conflict and 15.4 percent bemoaned the actions of security personnel within conflict zone. Also, some respondents (10.8%) indicated that they feel unsafe because of the restrictions imposed on their movements and 4.6 percent attributed their trepidation to the political tension in the country, given the fact that it was an election year. Some respondents revealed during the focus group discussion that despite the conflict resolution and peace which prevails in Bawku now, there are some factions within Bawku who are still not satisfied with the agreements and thus, in the event of the slightest misunderstanding, conflict would ensue. One man reported

“I still think some of the people got quite and agreed not to fight again because their leaders said so. But I have friends who were not satisfied with what happened and they are ready to retaliate if anyone starts anything funny. (46 year old, male, Focus Group Discussion)

Table 5.1: Reasons for Insecurity Threats in Bawku

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
Volatility of conflict resolution	33	50.8
Actions of security personnel	10	15.4
Limitations in movement	7	10.8
Fear of attack	6	9.2
Post conflict trauma	6	9.2
Political tension	3	4.6
Total	65	100

Source: Field data (2016)

A binary logistic regression analysis was performed to assess prediction of migration intention of respondents in the advent of any conflict as a function of sex and their migration history, i.e. whether they migrated during the conflict. The result of the logistic regression is presented in the table 5.2

Table 5.2 Summary of the Results of the Logistic Regression Analysis

Independent Variables	(β)	Wald	Df	Sig	Odd ratios
Sex					
Male	0.282	0.659	1	0.42	1.33
Female (Reference category)					1.00
Migration History					
Migrated	1.136	11.325	1	0.001	3.12
Did not migrate (Reference category)					1.00
Constant	-1.233	14.5	1	0.0001	0.29

Source: Field data, 2016

The results indicate that only migration history was a significant predictor of migration intentions of respondents in respect of insecurity threats and conflict ($p=0.001$). The odd ratios suggest that respondents who migrated during the conflict are three (3) times more likely to migrate compared to those who did not migrate (1.00). Put differently, respondents who migrated during the conflict are 3.12 times more likely to migrate again than those who did not migrate in the wake of perceived security threats. Even though sex was not a

significant predictor of migration intentions, the odd ratios suggests that males (1.33) are more likely to migrate than females (1.00).

The study by Kendie et al. (2014) suggests that factors such as chieftaincy disputes, increasing demand for land for agricultural purposes and political interference accounts for the outbreak of conflict in the region. As a result, this negatively affects the local market economy, as trade is substantially affected. An attempt was then made to assess perception of respondents about the causes of the conflict in Bawku. In order to gain a comprehensive understanding about the causes of the conflict, relatives of respondents who migrated out of Bawku because of the conflict were asked to indicate the causes of the conflict. The result of this analysis is presented in Table 5.3.

Out of 80 respondents, 45 percent and 27.4 percent strongly agreed with the fact that chieftaincy disputes and the role of political actors were the major causes of the conflicts in Bawku respectively. Again, 43.8% and 35 percent of respondents of respondents disagreed with the view that poverty and the role of ethnic minority were the causes of conflicts in Bawku respectively. In all, chieftaincy disputes, influence of political actors and elite natives and poverty were reported as the main causes of the conflict in Bawku. This finding is consistent with study by Kendie et al. (2014) which attributed chieftaincy disputes, increasing demand for land for agricultural purposes owing to high population density in Bawku and political interference as the causes of the conflict between the Kusasis and Mamprusis in the region.

Table 5.3: Distribution of Causes of the Conflict in Bawku by Current Migrants

Causes	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total N=80
Colonial Administration	8.8	17.5	22.5	31.2	20	100
Chieftaincy Disputes	45	40	8.8	6.2	0	100
Political actors	27.4	41.3	16.3	12.5	2.5	100
Ethnic minority	1.2	2.5	22.5	35	38.8	100
Unemployment & Poverty	11.2	32.5	7.5	43.8	5	100
Elite natives	6.2	36.3	23.8	26.2	7.5	100

Source: Field data (2016)

5.2 Effect of Conflict on Socio-Economic Activities in Bawku

The effect of conflicts on the physical, social and mental and economic well-being of people are well documented in the literature. Apart from the psychological effect, there are issues of disruption of social and economic activities, decline in economic performance and high standard of living. In view of this, the study sought the need to examine the effect of socio-economic effect of conflict in Bawku. The study relied heavily on the subjective views of respondents in Bawku and those outside Bawku. The effect of conflict on the socio-economic activities of Bawku was assessed on the basis of the nature of business before and after the conflict, nature of agriculture activities after the conflict, respondent's access to land for farming, and the challenges respondents are confronted in the marketing of their farm produce.

With regards to the nature of businesses before the conflict, out of the 180 respondents sampled, majority (64.4%) and 28.9 percent were of the view that business was very good and good respectively before the conflict whereas 6.5 percent indicated that business was fair (see Figure 6). On the nature of business after the conflict, 43.3 percent and 30.6 percent of respondents were of the view that business has been poor and very poor respectively. Comparatively, this suggests that majority of respondents reported a decline in business activities after the conflict. Although other economic factors could be attributed to the

worsened nature of business activities, there is no doubt that the conflict in Bawku played a major role in the poor nature of business activities in the study area.

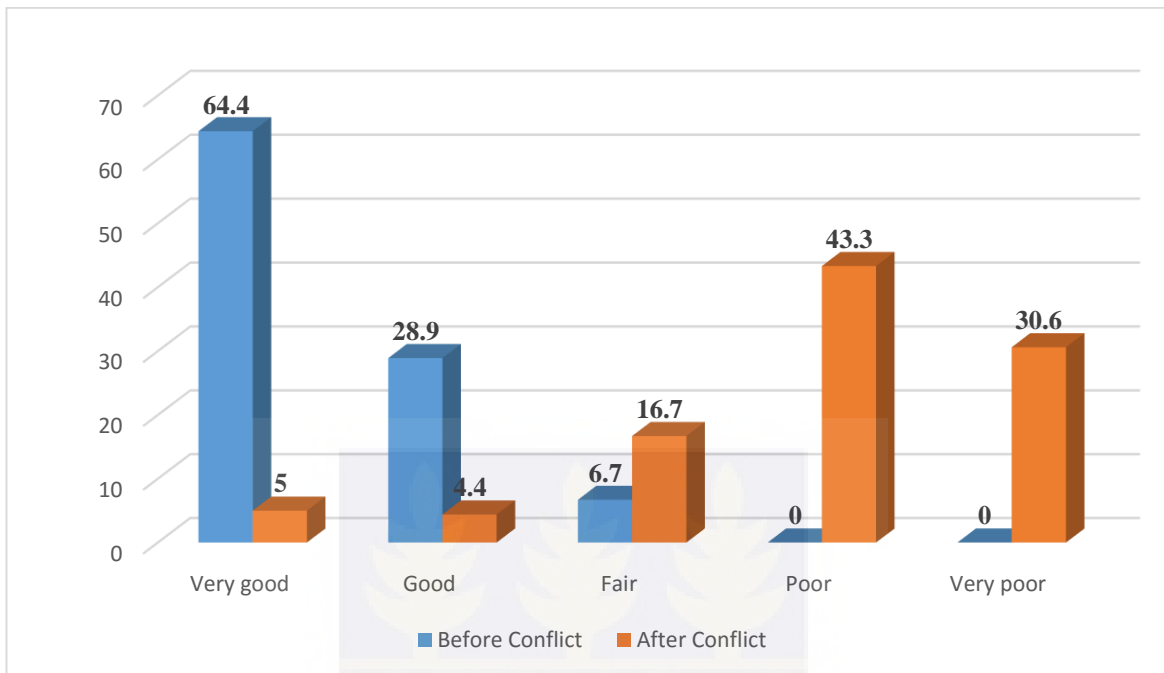


Figure 6: Nature of Business Activities in Bawku Before and After the Conflict
Source: Field data (2016)

The study further sought to ascertain from respondents whether agricultural activities in Bawku has improved after the conflict. The results of the analysis are presented in Figure 7. Majority (82.8%) of respondents sampled were of the view that agriculture has not improved after the conflict as against 17.2 percent who reported that there has been significant improvement in agricultural activities in Bawku (see Figure 7).

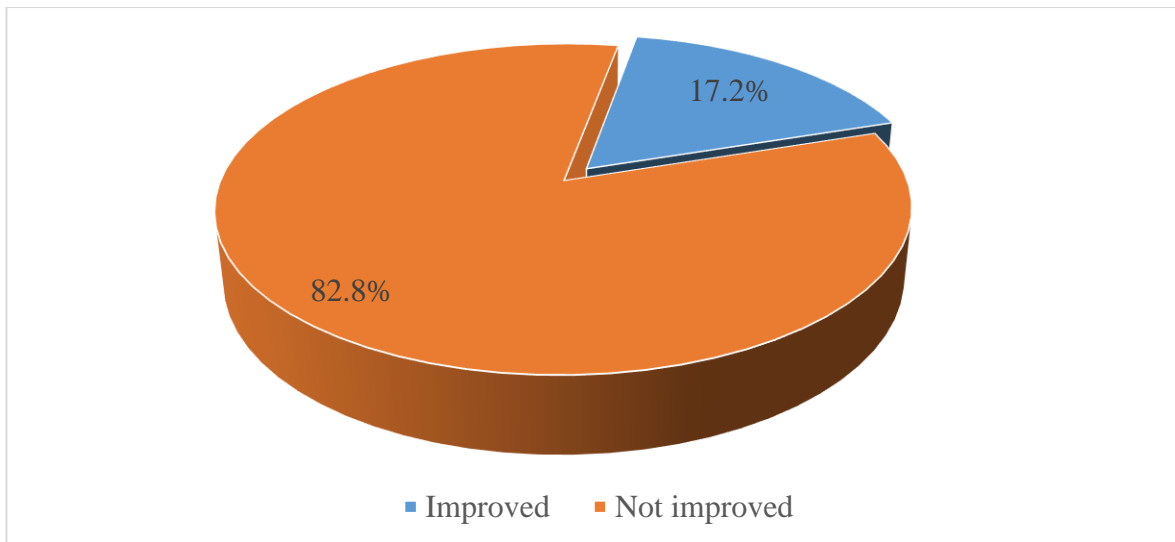


Figure 7: Distribution of Respondents by their Perceptions about the Improvement in Agricultural Activities after the Conflict in Bawku.

Source: Field data (2016)

Against the backdrop that agriculture has not improved after the conflict, the study made an attempt to find out if respondents have easy access to land for farming in their communities, given the fact that access to land for farming is very important to agriculture and could also serve as a push factor for migration. This was assessed in relation to background characteristics of respondents such as sex, age, marital status and level of education. Cross tabulations and chi square test of independence were computed to assess relationships between variables. Undoubtedly, these demographic characteristics could have an influence on respondents' access to land within the study area. This is presented in Table 5.4.

Out of the 180 respondents sampled, 26.1 percent indicated that they have easy access to land while 73.9 percent were of the view that they do not have access to land for farming in Bawku. With access to land as an integral and prerequisite to sustainable farming in Bawku, it's not surprising that agriculture has not received any significant improvement after the conflict. More so, lack of access to arable lands for farming could also serve as a push factor for people within the study area to migrate. Additionally, the results from Table 5.4 shows that of the number that had access to land, females (37.1%) have easy access to land than

males (20.3%). In view of this, the chi square test shows that there is a significant relationship between sex of respondents and their easy access to land after the conflict (χ^2 statistic = 5.916 df = 1, $p = 0.015 < 0.05$). This shows that females had easy access to land than males. This could be because the lands they used for farming were not within conflict zones and also easily made accessible for planting vegetables and other crops which doesn't take much time to grow.

Also, age of respondents had no significant relationship with access to land (χ^2 statistic = 3.922, df = 5, $p = 0.561 > 0.05$), although respondents within the ages of 56-65 years (42.9%), 36-45 years (33.3%) had easy access to land than those within the ages of 15-35 years. In addition, respondents marital status has no significant relationship with their access to land for farming in Bawku (χ^2 statistic = 4.560, df = 4, $p = 0.335 > 0.05$), even though none of the respondents divorced had easy access to land (see Table 5.3). This suggests that marital status has no relationship with whether respondents have easy access to land for farming within the study area or not. Furthermore, respondents' level of education showed no significant relationship with access to land in Bawku for farming (χ^2 statistic = 8.264 df = 4, $p = 0.82 > 0.05$).

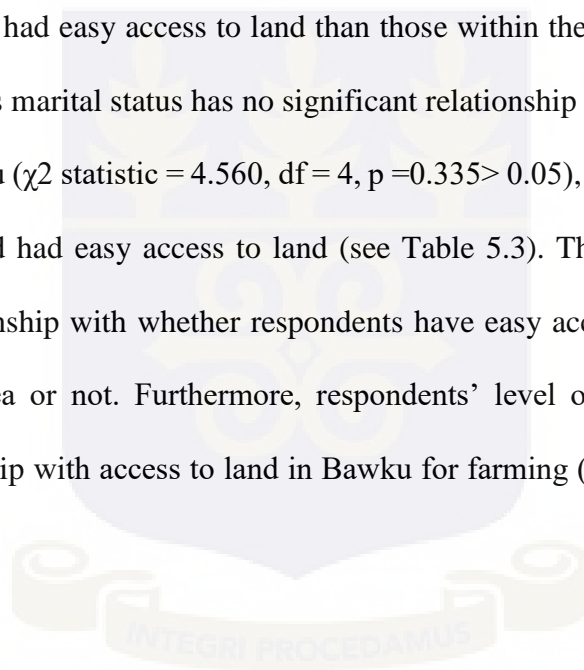


Table 5.4: Relationship between Background Characteristics of Respondents Sampled in Bawku (N=180) and Access to Land for Farming in Bawku

Background Characteristics	Access to Land	
	Yes N= 47 (26.1%)	No N=133 (73.9%)
Sex		
Male	24 (20.3%)	94 (79.7%)
Female	23 (37.1%)	39 (62.9%)
	χ^2 statistic = 5.916 df = 1, p =0.015<0.05	
Age		
15-25 years	19 (26.8%)	52 (73.2%)
26-35 years	13 (20.6%)	50 (79.4%)
36-45 years	10 (33.3%)	20 (66.7%)
46-55 years	1 (14.3%)	6 (85.7%)
56-65 years	3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)
65 years & above	1 (50.0%)	1 (50.0%)
	χ^2 statistic = 3.922, df = 5, p =0.561> 0.05	
Marital Status		
Married	20 (26.7%)	55 (73.3%)
Divorced	0 (0.0%)	4 (100%)
Single	22 (24.2%)	69 (75.8%)
Living with Partner	2 (50%)	2 (50.0%)
Widowed	3 (50%)	3 (50.0%)
	χ^2 statistic = 4.560, df = 4, p =0.335> 0.05	
Level of Education		
No formal	4 (50.0%)	4 (50.0%)
Elementary/Primary	3 (75.0%)	1 (25.0%)
Middle school/JHS	0 (0.0%)	1 (100%)
SHS/Vocational/Technical	9 (21.4%)	33 (78.6%)
Tertiary	31 (24.8%)	94 (75.2%)
	χ^2 statistic = 8.264 df = 4, p =0.82> 0.05	

Source: Field data (2016)

Note: Figures in parenthesis represent percentages

Against the background that majority of respondents did not have easy access to land, further attempts were made at examining reasons for limited access to land. This is presented in Table 5.5. Out of 133 respondents who indicated that they do not have easy access to land in Bawku for farming, 33.1 percent attributed restriction of movement due to tribal boundaries as the reason why they do not have easy access to land and 22.6 percent

attributed it to insecurity or fear of being attacked when they access these lands. More so, 31.6 percent were of the view that land disputes and confiscation of land as a result of the conflict are the reasons why they do not have access to land for farming in Bawku.

Table 5.5 Reasons for Limited Access to Land as Reported by Respondents

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
Insecurity or fear of Attack	30	22.6
Land disputes and confiscation of land	42	31.6
Restriction of movement / tribal boundaries	44	33.1
not farming	16	8.9
Others	1	6
Total	133	100

Source: Field data (2016)

During the qualitative facet of the study some respondents revealed that, even in circumstances where some people offered to give their lands to them to farm on they were scared to do so because of fear of being attacked, especially in circumstances where such lands are not within their immediate environment. Others were of the view that even though land abounds in Bawku, the sensitive nature of the conflict and other family feuds pose a major barrier to them. One of the respondent revealed that:

“.....I use to farm on a land close to Kpalwega before the conflict but I have not being able to go there again after the fight (conflict). Our people were engaged in a terrible fight with the people there so now I can't even go back there to farm. The people certainly know me so they won't spare when I go there, especially if I go there alone to farm (37 year old male, Individual Interview).

Certainly the views expressed by this respondent suggest that conflict within these areas prevents people from having access to land to farm on. In this instance, individuals' source of livelihood is threatened and thus, may serve as a catalyst for migrating out of Bawku.

Furthermore, the effect of conflict on the marketing of agriculture produce was examined. Given the gravity of the conflict on the social and economic development of the region, the study examined whether respondents are confronted with some challenges in the marketing

of their produce. This was examined in relation to demographic characteristics of respondents such as sex, age, marital status, and respondents' level of education. In addition, cross tabulation and chi square test of independence were computed to account for relationship between these variables. This is presented in Table 5.6.

Out of the 180 respondents sampled, 45.6 percent indicated that they face some challenges in the marketing of their produce after the conflict compared with 54.4 percent who revealed that they do not face any challenges. This shows that comparatively majority of respondents do not face any form of challenges in the marketing of their produce after the conflict. In relation to the sex of respondents, majority of males (52.5%) indicated that they are confronted with challenges in the marketing of their produce as compared to females (32.3%). As a result, the chi square test shows that there is significant relationship between sex of respondents and whether they face challenges in the marketing of their produce. This suggests that the challenges respondents are confronted with in the selling of their produce has an association with whether one is a male or female, considering the fact that more males faces challenges in the marketing of their produce. This could be attributed to the fact that within our cultural space, females are more abreast with the market forces and have less challenges in selling their produce compared to men who are mostly well-versed at the production chain of the continuum.

On the other hand, the results in Table 5.5 show that age of respondents showed no significant relationship with whether they face challenges in the marketing of their produce (χ^2 statistic = 8.340, df = 5, p = 0.138 > 0.05), despite the fact that majority of respondents within the ages 26-35 years (55.6%) and 56-65 years (57.1%) indicated that they face challenges in the marketing of their produce. In terms of marital status, majority of respondents who were widowed (66.7%) and divorced (100%) were of the view that they are confronted with challenges in the marketing of their produce, albeit there is no

significant relationship between the two variables (χ^2 statistic = 7.092, df = 4, p =0.131> 0.05). In addition, respondents' level of education also showed no significant relationship with whether they are confronted with challenges in the selling of their produce (χ^2 statistic = 2.158, df = 4, p =0.707> 0.05).

Table 5.6: Relationship between Background Characteristics of Respondents and Challenges in the Marketing of Produce

Background Characteristics	Challenges in Marketing Produce	
	Yes N= 82 (45.6%)	No N=98 (54.4%)
Sex		
Male	62 (52.5%)	56 (47.5%)
Female	20 (32.3%)	42 (67.7%)
	χ^2 statistic = 6.743 df = 1, p =0.009<0.05	
Age		
15-25 years	32 (45.1%)	39 (54.9%)
26-35 years	35 (55.6%)	28 (44.4%)
36-45 years	9 (30%)	21 (70.0%)
46-55 years	2 (28.6%)	5 (71.4%)
56-65 years	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)
65 years & above	0 (0.0%)	2 (100%)
	χ^2 statistic = 8.340, df = 5, p =0.138> 0.05	
Marital Status		
Married	31 (41.3%)	44 (58.7%)
Divorced	4 (100%)	0 (0.0%)
Single	42 (46.2%)	49 (53.8%)
Living with Partner	1 (25%)	3 (75%)
Widowed	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)
	χ^2 statistic = 7.092, df = 4, p =0.131> 0.05	
Level of Education		
No formal	3 (37.5%)	5 (62.5%)
Elementary/Primary	1 (25%)	3 (75%)
Middle school/JHS	1 (100%)	0 (0.0%)
SHS/Vocational/Technical	20 (47.6%)	22 (52.4%)
Tertiary	57 (45.6%)	68 (54.4%)
	χ^2 statistic = 2.158, df = 4, p =0.707> 0.05	

Source: Field data (2016)

Note: Figures in parenthesis represents percentages

An attempt was made to examine the various challenges that confront respondents in the marketing of their produce. Out of the 82 respondents who indicated that they face challenges in the marketing of their produce, 31.7 percent were of the view that restrictions and limitation in movement because of tribal boundaries pose as the major hindrance to the marketing of their produce and 22 percent bemoaned insecurity as a major barrier to the marketing of their produce (see Table 5.7). With chieftaincy and tribal disputes as major underlying causes of the conflict, it is unsurprising that 9.8 percent of respondents reported discriminatory purchases among the populace as one of the main challenges that confronts them in the marketing of their produce. One of the respondent interviewed reported that:

“.....It will surprise you how people will come to the market and only buy from someone from their town or tribe. Even when they know they don't have what they are looking but you have some, they won't buy from you, especially if they regard you as an enemy” (33 year old trader, female, Individual Interview)

Additionally, 12.2 percent of the respondents indicated that low prices of goods is one of the major challenges they face in the marketing of their produce. This is basically because they are often forced to sell their produce at a lower price and cannot make any profit or at worse break even. They often incur losses coupled with low sales of produce. Furthermore, 13.4 percent of respondents revealed that a decrease in the population size owing to high rate of migration has caused a reduction in the market size, thus poses a major barrier to the marketing of their produce. Lastly, 11 percent bemoaned high cost of production and transportation as a barrier to the marketing of their produce.

Table 5.7: Challenges to the Marketing of Produce as Reported by Respondents

Challenges	Frequency	Percentages
Discriminatory Purchases	8	9.8
Limitation in Movement	26	31.7
Insecurity	18	22
Low prices	10	12.2
Reduction in population	11	13.4
High cost of production and transportation	9	11
Total	82	100

Source: Field data (2016)

Against the backdrop of obtaining comprehensive perspectives of respondents about the effects of the conflict in Bawku, relatives of respondents who migrated out of Bawku because of the conflict were asked to indicate the effects of the conflict in the study area. This was meant to ascertain their perspectives about the effect of the conflict, its impact on migration and compare with the views expressed by respondents in Bawku. This is presented Table 5.8. Generally, majority of respondents agreed to the fact that the conflict in Bawku has resulted in high cost of living (61.2%), preference for schools outside Bawku because of the hostile nature of Bawku (62.5%), the collapse of schools in the area (60%), Lack of employment opportunities (50%), the mass exodus from Bawku (55%) and the trepidation of engaging in business in Bawku. On the impact of conflict on schools in Bawku, only 18.8 percent remained neutral on the effect of conflict on the collapse of schools in Bawku. Put differently, respondents were of the view that the conflict in the region has impacted heavily on economic activities, resulted in high cost of living, increase rate of unemployment, resulting in mass emigration from Bawku and negative effect on education. This suggests that the conflict has impacted negatively on the socio-economic development of Bawku.

Table 5.8: Perceptions about the Effects of the Conflict in Bawku

Effects	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total N=80
Collapse of businesses	40%	40%	7.4%	1.3%	1.3%	100%
Mass exodus from Bawku	35%	55%	3.8%	2.4%	3.8%	100%
High Cost of Living	15%	61.2%	8.8%	12%	0%	100%
Preference for Schools outside Bawku	27.5%	62.5%	6.3%	1.2%	2.5%	100%
Collapse of Schools	12.4%	60%	18.8%	8.8%	0%	100%
Lack of employment opportunities	45%	50%	2.5%	0%	2.5%	100%
Scared of doing business with natives	28.8%	55%	6.2%	10%	0%	100%

Source: Field data (2016)

5.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined the relative contribution of conflict and other economic factors to out-migration in Bawku. Specifically, it assessed the contribution of conflict to outmigration in Bawku, respondents' perception about the causes of the conflict in Bawku; the effect of the conflict on the socio-economic development of Bawku, drawing on the views of both respondents in Bawku and those living outside Bawku. The results of the analysis revealed that majority of respondents were still living in fear of the conflict recurring. This was largely because of the volatile nature of the conflict resolution, the actions of security personnel within the region, political tension, and restrictions imposed on movement because of some boundary disputes. Majority of respondents living outside Bawku attributed chieftaincy disputes, influence of various political actors and elite natives and poverty as the main causes of the conflict in Bawku.

The results of the analysis also showed that business activities in Bawku have been very poor after the conflict, albeit other economic factors could be linked to the poor state of business in the study area as reported by respondents. Also, majority of respondents were

of the view that agricultural activities in Bawku have declined after the conflict. This could be because majority of respondents did not have easy access to land for farming and were confronted with various challenges in the marketing of their produce. The analysis also showed that males were confronted with challenges in the marketing of their produce than females. In terms of reasons for limited access to land for farming, majority of respondents bemoaned land disputes, tribal boundary disputes and fear of attack as some of the reasons why they do not have easy access to land for farming. On the other hand, respondents living outside were of the view that the conflict in Bawku impacted heavily on the socio-economic activities in the region resulting in high cost of living, high rate of unemployment, collapse of most schools, all resulting in mass migration from the region.



CHAPTER SIX

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MIGRANTS TO CONFLICT, REINTEGRATION, AND PEACE BUILDING IN BAWKU

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis and discussion of results on the contributions of migrants and other stakeholders like NGO's, the government, religious/faith-based organisations to the reintegration of displaced persons or returned migrants into Bawku. It also analyses and discusses the contributions of these stakeholders to social infrastructure development in Bawku. More importantly, it highlights the contributions of migrants in the form of peace building and remittances to the socio-economic development in Bawku.

6.1 Contribution of Organisations to Reintegration in Bawku

One of the direct consequences of conflict is the displacement of affected people. These affected persons are more often than not compelled to migrate to other areas to seek shelter. As a result, reintegration has been central in most conflict resolution discourse. This is mostly geared towards reintegrating migrants or displaced persons into the society, giving them a source of livelihood and equipping them with the necessary skills to be independent. Against this backdrop, an attempt was made at finding out from respondents if they were aware of any program to reintegrate returned migrants or internally displaced person into Bawku. This was examined in relation to demographic characteristics of respondents such as sex, age, marital status, and respondents' level of education. In addition, cross tabulation and chi square test of independence were computed to account for relationship between these variables. Evidence of this is presented in Table 6.1.

Out of the 180 respondents sampled, 55 respondents representing 30.6 percent indicated that they are aware of programs to reintegrate returned migrants or internally displaced persons into the society as compared to 69.4 percent (125) who were not aware of such

interventions. In relation to sex of respondents, more males (38.1%) were aware of the measures of reintegration compared to females (16.1%), though majority of both sexes were not aware of such measures. In view of this the chi square test showed that there is a significant relationship between sex of respondents and their awareness of reintegration intervention measures in Bawku (χ^2 statistic = 9.28 df = 1, $p = 0.002 < 0.05$). In addition, respondents level of education has a significant relationship with their awareness (χ^2 statistic = 17.01, df = 4, $p = 0.002 < 0.05$), as all the respondents with elementary/primary (100%) and Middle School/JHS (100%) were aware of such reintegration intervention measures. On the other hand, age of respondents ($p = 0.054$) and marital status ($p = 0.33$) showed no significant relationship with their awareness of intervention measures to reintegrate migrant and internally displaced persons in Bawku. This suggests that only sex of respondents and level of education has a relationship with their awareness.

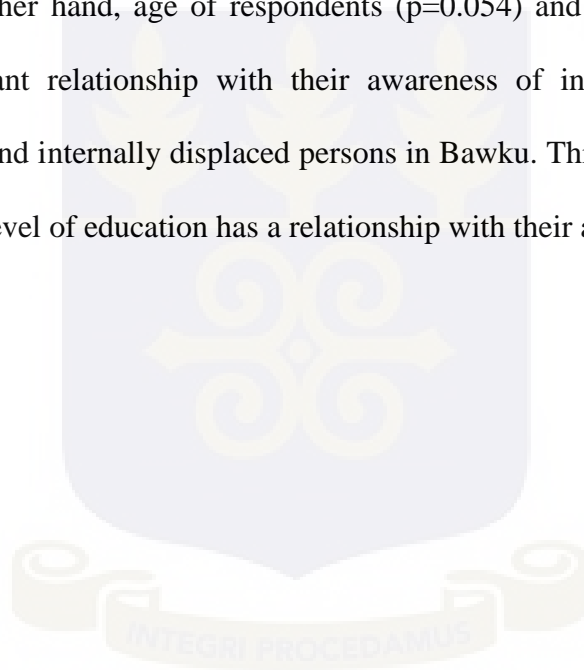


Table 6.1: Relationship between Background Characteristics of Respondents and Awareness of Reintegration Intervention Measures in Bawku after the Conflict

Background Characteristics	Awareness of Reintegration Measures	
	Yes N= 55 (30.6%)	No N=125 (69.4%)
Sex		
Male	45 (38.1%)	73 (61.9%)
Female	10 (16.1%)	52 (83.9%)
	χ^2 statistic = 9.28 df = 1, p =0.002<0.05	
Age		
15-25 years	18 (25.4%)	53 (74.6%)
26-35 years	19 (30.2%)	44 (69.8%)
36-45 years	14 (46.7%)	16 (53.3%)
46-55 years	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)
56-65 years	0 (0.0%)	7 (100%)
65 years & above	0 (0.0%)	2 (100%)
	χ^2 statistic = 10.872, df = 5, p =0.054> 0.05	
Marital Status		
Married	21 (28.0%)	54 (72.0%)
Divorced	3 (75.0%)	1 (25.0%)
Single	29 (31.9%)	62 (68.1%)
Living with Partner	1 (25.0%)	3 (75%)
Widowed	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)
	χ^2 statistic = 4.632, df = 4, p =0.327> 0.05	
Level of Education		
No formal	2 (25.0%)	6 (75.0%)
Elementary/Primary	4 (100%)	0 (0.0%)
Middle school/JHS	1 (100%)	0 (0.0%)
SHS/Vocational/Technical	18 (42.9%)	24 (57.1%)
Tertiary	30 (24.0%)	95 (76.0%)
	χ^2 statistic = 17.01, df = 4, p =0.002< 0.05	

Source: Field data (2016)

Note: Figures in parenthesis represent percentages

Of the number who were aware of such interventions, further attempts were made at ascertaining the various institutions involved in these interventions in Bawku. This is presented in Table 6.2. Out of the 55 respondents who indicated that they were aware of such interventions, majority (63.7%) revealed that these interventions were undertaken by NGOs in Bawku, followed by Government (20%), and Faith-based organisations (10.9%).

The various associations or groups in Bawku and donor agencies were the least represented institutions involved in such reintegration initiatives (see Table 6.2). The role of NGOs in poverty reduction, social and economic development in Northern Ghana cannot be underestimated, thus it is not surprising that majority of respondents reported NGOs as the organisation actively involved in the reintegration of returned migrants or internally displaced persons into the society.

Table 6.2 Institutions Involved in Reintegration Intervention Program in Bawku

Institutions	Frequency	Percentage
NGO	35	63.7
Government	11	20
Bawku Associations	1	1.8
Donor Agencies	1	1.8
Religious/Faith Based Organisations	6	10.9
Others	1	1.8
Total	55	100

Source: Field data (2016)

Respondents were further asked to indicate the mode of intervention carried out by these institutions towards the reintegration of returned migrants and internally displaced persons into Bawku. The results presented in Table 6.3 show that majority of the respondents who were aware of reintegration intervention program indicated that, these intervention take the form of peace talks organised in most communities in a bid to educate and sensitive the populace on the need for peace building and tolerance. Also, 25.5 percent revealed that the interventions undertaken by the organisations are in the form of provision of relief items and shelter for the internally displaced persons within the society. Moreover, 18.2 percent of respondents reported job creation as an intervention program aimed at reintegrating returned migrants and internally displaced persons into the society. Lastly, 7.2 percent of respondents reported provision of security as an intervention measure undertaken by the government towards assuring the populace of security and peace, and towards the enhancing

their reintegration. Preferably, one would have expected the provision of relief items and shelter, job creation and security to remain central to the reintegration intervention measures but it was brought to the fore by a significant majority of respondents that peace talks was the major intervention mode undertaken by these institutions. On the whole, it is meant to reduce the rate of migration from Bawku.

Table 6.3 Forms of interventions Undertaken by Institutions

Mode of Intervention	Frequency	Percentage
Provision of security	4	7.2
Relief Items & Shelter	14	25.5
Peace talks and education	26	47.3
Job creation	10	18.2
Others	1	1.8
Total	55	100

Source: Field data (2016)

Towards the realisation of development goals and a reduction in the rate of migration, a lot of emphasis has been placed on the need to develop the social infrastructure of any geographic space. Aside the social and economic gains associated with the development of such infrastructure, it is also meant to enhance reintegration and prevent internal migration. Lack of social amenities, lack of educational facilities and opportunities at the source region often compel people to migrate in search of better prospects elsewhere. In view of this, the study sought the need to examine respondents' awareness of any attempt by government to develop the social infrastructure of Bawku after the conflict. This is presented in Figure 8.

Out of the 180 respondents sampled, 60 representing 33.3 percent indicated that they were aware of social infrastructure developments undertaken by the government after the conflict in Bawku. This suggests that majority of the respondents sampled were not aware of any social infrastructural development embarked on by the government after the conflict.

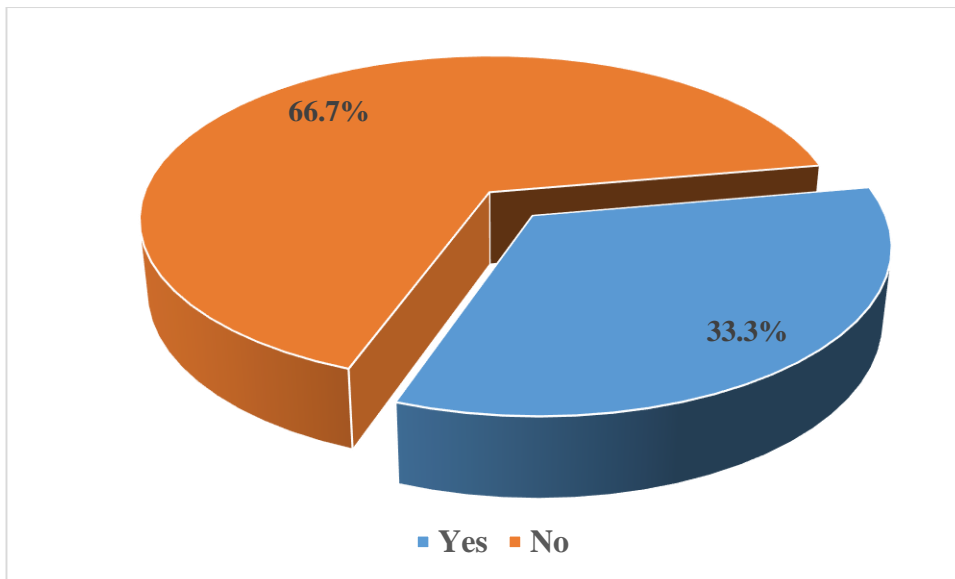


Figure 8: Distribution of Respondents Knowledge & Awareness of Social Infrastructure Development by Government in Bawku after the Conflict
Source: Field data (2016)

On the type of social infrastructure that has been developed, 38.3 percent out of the 60 respondents sampled indicated that the government has developed the educational facilities in Bawku. Also, 23.3 percent were of the view that there has been road construction and street lights mounted on each of the principal streets of Bawku (see Table 6.4). One woman interviewed reported:

“They (the government) are trying to develop the place now. Some roads are been tarred now and I can see they have erected street lights on the main roads and even in the communities where the fight (conflict) started from. (38 year old male farmer, Individual interview)

Even though such developmental initiatives could not be necessarily linked to the aftermath of the conflict but politically motivated or part of the governments development plan, most of the respondents were directly relating these initiatives to the conflict and reintegration intervention measures. Additionally, 13.3 percent of respondents reported that health facilities have been established and 8.3 percent reported the construction of boreholes as some of the infrastructure development the government have undertaken in Bawku after the

conflict. In all, Bawku has received some infrastructure development after the conflict and thus, it serves as a motivating factor for migrants to return and be reintegrated into the society. Given the fact that these basic social infrastructure are been developed, it prevents out-migration.

Table 6.4: Distribution of Various types of Social Infrastructure Developed in Bawku after the Conflict

Type of infrastructure	Frequency	Percentage
Boreholes	5	8.3
Educational facilities	23	38.3
Road construction & street lights	14	23.3
Health facilities	8	13.3
Market centres	3	5
Community centres	4	6.6
Others	3	5
Total	60	100

Source: Field data (2016)

6.2 Contributions of Respondents and Organisations to Peace Building in Bawku

Hitherto, conflict resolution and peace building was an interventionist approach via the use of state security apparatus and international forces (Noagah, 2013). This exogenous approach has however failed to resolve conflict amicably in most countries. On the backdrop of the inherent challenges in this approach, participatory approach to conflict resolution and peace building has been championed by various stakeholders and organisations. This is a bottom-up approach to conflict resolution and it is people driven and actors centered. This approach cultures honesty and open communication among contending factions and gives them the opportunity to freely speak about their differences and generate options for solving the challenge (Okoh, 2005). This serves as a credible building block for trust-building, an essential ingredient in resolving conflict (Okoh, 2005; Chambers, 1994). Against this backdrop, an attempt was made to examine the contribution of respondents towards conflict

resolution and lasting peace in Bawku. Evidence of the results of the analysis is presented in Table 6.5.

Out of the 180 respondents sampled, 65.6 percent were of the view that they often engage in peace talks and education on conflict among the youth and with the various ethnic groups, especially the leaders to sensitive them on the need for peace to prevail and enhance progress and development in Bawku. Some respondents revealed, they often engage the services of various religious leaders in the communities considering the fact that they are revered by all and sundry. Others also revealed during the focus group discussions that they belong to various associations in Bawku, so it makes it easier for them to organize community meetings and other forums for such purposes. One of the respondents interviewed who was the youth leader of the Possum community reported that:

“With the help of some NGOs, we are able to organize periodic community meetings with the community members and the leaders of the various ethnic groups where we try to resolve every grievance that may result in any conflict. The chiefs also play major roles in this exercise. (43 year old, Youth leader, Possum, Individual Interview)

Table 6.5: Roles played by Various Ethnic group towards Peace Building in Bawku

Measures	Frequency	Percentage
Peace talk and conflict education	118	65.6
Employment opportunities	16	8.9
Resolve Chieftaincy disputes	2	1.1
Discourage Discrimination	16	8.9
Inter-ethnic marriages	12	6.7
Organise inter-ethnic games	10	5.6
Total	180	100

Source: Field data (2016)

Also, 6.7 percent of the respondents indicated that they encourage inter-ethnic marriages, especially among the Mamprusi’s and Kusasi’s which will aid in unionizing the two factions often involved in conflict in the region. Moreover, 5.7 percent of the respondents indicated that inter-ethnic games which are often organised in Bawku also helps in peace building in

the Bawku. The resolution of chieftaincy disputes was also reported as some measure that aids in peace building in the region (see Table 6.5). In all, education and sensitization of the populace about the benefits of maintaining peace and order was the main measure adopted by respondents towards peace building. These influence decisions towards building consensus, trust and ultimately resolving conflict, should it arise. This is consistent with the views of Beierle & Cayford (2001), when people participate in the process of resolving their differences it makes them own the process they are thus committed psychologically to keep that which they have built. This suggests that when the local institutions are effective and respected, it enhances peace building and conflict resolution.

6.3 Contributions of Current Migrants in the Form of Remittances

Within the migration-development discourse, migration has the tendency to contribute positively to economic development and peace building in conflict-affected areas (Fransen, 2015). Remittances play a key role in the economic development of a region. Globally, remittances from migrants have been found to reduce poverty and stimulate economic growth and improve access to social services such as health and education (see Lacroix, 2008; Adaawen & Owusu, 2013; ; Haas, 2014; Oecd, 2014). A 10% increase in remittances has been found to induce as high as 3.5% decline in absolute poverty in receiving regions. Migration is therefore seen as an effective tool to leverage livelihoods and diversify income while improving the welfare of the migrant and his family back home. In view of this, an attempt was made at finding out from respondents living outside Bawku if they send remittances back home. This was examined in relation to demographic characteristics of respondents such as sex, age, marital status, and respondents' level of education. In addition, cross tabulation and chi square test of independence were computed to examine the relationship between these variables. Evidence of this is presented in Table 6.6.

Out of the 80 relatives of respondents who migrated during the conflict, 72 representing 90 percent of the respondents indicated that they send remittances home whereas 10 percent indicated that they do not send remittances to their relatives. This shows that majority of respondents who migrated send remittances to their relatives. In relation to sex of respondents, even though the chi square test shows no significant relationship between sex of respondents and whether they send remittances home (χ^2 statistic = 1.656 df = 1, $p = 0.20 > 0.05$), more males (93.6%) send remittances to Bawku than females (84.8). In terms of the age of respondents, majority of respondents above the ages of 25 years send remittances home than those within the ages of 15-25 years (see Table 6.6). In view of this, the results show a significant relationship between age of respondents and whether they send remittances to relatives in Bawku (χ^2 statistic = 15.543, df = 3, $p = 0.001 < 0.05$). This suggests that the older a migrant living outside Bawku is, the greater the likelihood that they will send remittance home

Unsurprisingly, all the respondents who were married indicated that they send remittances to relatives in Bawku whereas 21.6 percent of those who were single do not send remittances. As a result, the result of the chi square test shows that there is a significant relationship between marital status of respondents and sending of remittances (χ^2 statistic = 10.33, df = 1, $p = 0.001 < 0.05$). This means that married people are more likely to send remittances home. This could be because they have to send money to their spouse, children or other relatives back home.

Lastly, majority of respondents who had attained some form of tertiary education (94.9%) and SHS/Vocational/Technical (94.4%) send remittances more than those with middle school/JHS (50%) and elementary/primary education (85%). In addition, all the respondents with no formal education indicated that they send remittances home (see Table 6.6). Consequently, the chi square test shows that there is a significant relationship between level

of education and whether respondents send remittances to Bawku. This suggests that respondents with high level of education are likely to send remittances.

Table 6.6: Relationship between Background Characteristics of Respondents and Sending of Remittance

Background Characteristics	<u>Remittances</u>			
	Send remittances N= 72 (90%)		Do not send remittances N=8 (10%)	
Sex				
Male	44	(93.6%)	3	(6.4%)
Female	28	(84.8%)	5	(15.2%)
	<u>χ^2 statistic = 1.656 df = 1, p =0.20>0.05</u>			
Age				
15-25 years	5	(56.6%)	4	(44.4%)
26-35 years	34	(89.5%)	4	(10.5%)
36-45 years	28	(100%)	0	(0.0%)
46-55 years	5	(100%)	0	(0.0%)
	<u>χ^2 statistic = 15.543, df = 3, p =0.001< 0.05</u>			
Marital Status				
Single	29	(78.4%)	8	(21.6%)
Married	43	(100%)	0	(0.0%)
	<u>χ^2 statistic = 10.33, df = 1, p =0.001< 0.05</u>			
Level of Education				
No formal	3	(100%)	0	(0.0%)
Elementary/Primary	12	(85%)	2	(14.3%)
Middle school/JHS	3	(50.0%)	3	(50.0%)
SHS/Vocational/Technical	17	(94.4%)	1	(5.6%)
Tertiary	37	(94.9%)	2	(5.1%)
	<u>χ^2 statistic = 12.709, df = 4, p =0.013< 0.05</u>			

Source: Field data (2016)

Note: Figures in parenthesis represent percentages

The study sought the need to ascertain from respondents persons to whom the remittances are sent to and how frequently they send them. This is presented in Figure 9. Out of the 72 respondents that send remittances, 66.7 percentage indicated that they send money to their parents while 12.5 percent send remittances to their spouse. Also, 11 percent send remittances to their siblings and 9.7 reported that they send remittances to other relatives. Put differently, majority of respondents send remittances to their parents and spouse in

Bawku. In addition, 50 percent and 45.8 percent of the respondents indicated that they send the remittances every month and more than once a month respectively. The analysis shows that only 1.4 percent and 2.5 percent of respondents that remit their families in Bawku do so weekly and quarterly respectively. This shows that respondents often send remittances to their relatives' in Bawku. One can therefore conclude that the contribution of remittances sent by migrant cannot be overemphasised, given the frequency with which such remittances are sent.

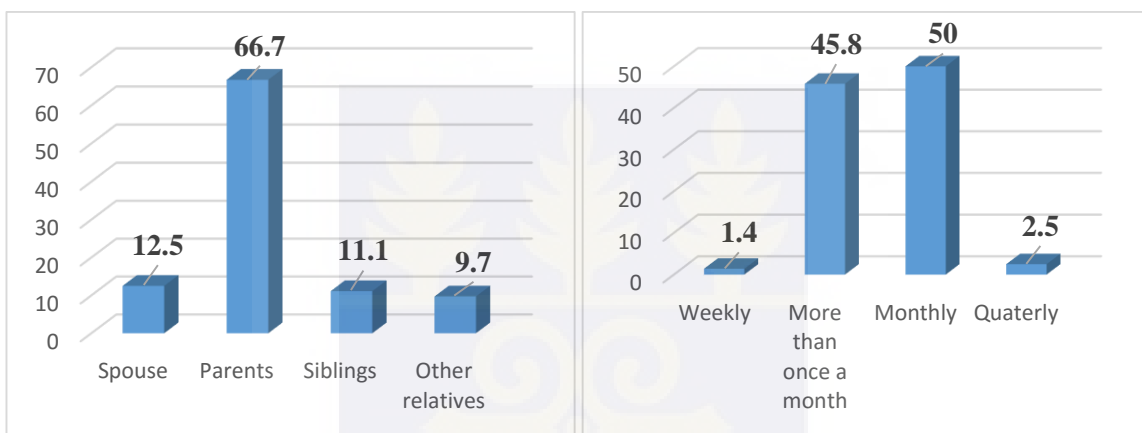


Figure 9: Distribution of respondents by the Persons to whom Remittances are sent to and the Frequency of sending it.

Source: Field data (2016)

Source: Field data (2016)

Furthermore, respondents were asked to indicate the intended purposes of the remittances they send. This is illustrated in Table 6.7. Out of the 72 respondents who send remittances to the family in Bawku, majority of them (54.2%) indicated that these remittances are meant to provide food for their families whereas 6.3 percent revealed that they are for paying of utility bills. Some respondents interviewed were of the view that they are the breadwinners of the family and as such the onus lies on them to provide for the family. Even in circumstances where they are financially constrained, they are forced to borrow money and send to their families. One man interviewed in Accra indicated that:

“I am the only one taking care of my sick mother, wife and three children. I always send them 500 cedis every month for the upkeep of the house. Even when I don’t make enough money at the end of the month, I am forced to borrow from friends to add to what I have so I send to my family. They depend a lot on what I give them so I cannot afford to fail them. When I am not able to send any mother, I ask them to borrow from someone there and I later pay back, sometimes with interest (33 year old driver, Individual Interview)

The views of this respondent suggests that remittances play a key role in the sustenance of the family. In this instance, the remittances sent serve as a safety net for the household, provide some form of insurance against some form of shocks and aid in meeting the basic needs of life (Fransen, 2015). Again, 13.9 percent were of the view that the monies they send are used for paying of school fees and 8.3 percent indicated these monies are meant to support farming activities. Some respondents interviewed in Kumasi were of the view that they left their children with their parents when they migrated to Kumasi and so they send money to them to cater for the education of their children. In this instance, the remittances sent enhances the chances of children of migrants been better educated and thus predisposes them to better health care and standard of living (Rotha, 2010; Fransen, 2015). Some also revealed that they own farmlands in Bawku and have their family members working on these lands. Because of this, they send some money home for them to buy weedicides, fertilizer and other farm inputs. Although they do not send the money regularly, they send it to home to support some farming activities. One woman interviewed in Kumasi narrated that

“My brother gave me some portion of land to farm on before I left so I left in the care of my cousin. I send money home to her to buy chemicals to spray the weeds and sometimes fertiliser when there is need to. When they harvest the crops I get my share so I also send money to them to help with the farming on the land (43 year old trader, Individual Interview)

The views of this respondent is in consonance with the submission of Rotha (2010) who argues that, though the decision to migrate is not tied up to the immediate economic benefit of the migrant, the increase in remittance to the home country has a direct positive effect on

the accumulation of farm equipment, promote self-employment and increase small investments in migrant sending areas. This also suggest that aside the household upkeep, remittances are also invested in income-generating activities such as business and agriculture which aids in engendering economic development in remittance receiving regions (Taylor 1999; Fransen, 2015). Lastly, the results of the analysis show that 16.7 percent send remittances for other purposes like, paying of medical bills, paying of monthly association dues, funeral contributions and other emergencies if need be. This shows that the form of remittances migrants send to their relatives in Bawku plays a significant role in the personal and household upkeep, support education and source of livelihood of the family.

Table 6.7: Purpose of the Remittance

Purpose of the remittance	Frequency	Percentage
Food	39	54.2
Support farming activities	6	8.3
Pay school fees	10	13.9
Pay utility bills	5	6.9
Others	12	16.7
Total	72	100

Source: Field data (2016)

6.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined the contributions of migrants and other organisations to reintegration of returned migrants and internally displaced persons in Bawku. It also examined the contributions of government and other stakeholders to the infrastructure development in Bawku after the conflict. Lastly, it examined the contribution of out-migrants to socio-economic development of Bawku in the form of remittances. The results of the analysis show that majority of respondents were not aware of any intervention measures to reintegrate returned migrants and internally displaced persons into the society. Sex of

respondents and level of education showed a significant relationship with respondents' awareness.

In addition, majority of respondents revealed that NGOs, government and religious/faith based organisations are the various institutions actively involved in such reintegration intervention measures. By order of magnitude, these intervention measures often take the form of peace talks and education, provision of relief items and shelter, job creation, provision of security and others. Although development of social infrastructure are noted to enhance reintegration and prevent internal migration, majority of respondents sampled were not aware of infrastructure development projects undertaken by the government in Bawku. Of the number who were aware of such projects, they indicated that building and revamping of educational facilities, road construction, building of health facilities, sinking of boreholes and market centres are some of the infrastructure development undertaken by the government.

Furthermore, the results of the analyses revealed that organising inter-ethnic games, promoting inter-ethnic marriages, especially among the Kusasi's and Mamprusi's, education and sensitisation about peace were some of the roles the various ethnic groups can play in Bawku to enhance peace building. On the role of out-migrants in the socio-economic development of Bawku, majority of respondents relatives who migrated outside Bawku during the conflict revealed that they send remittances to their relatives in Bawku. Unsurprisingly, respondents' age, marital status and level of education showed a significant relation with whether they send remittances to Bawku or not, as those above the age of 25, married and with high level of education send remittances home than their counterparts. Most of these remittances are sent to parents, spouses and siblings and it is often sent monthly or more than once a month. Majority of respondents revealed that the remittance

are mostly meant for household upkeep, paying of school fees, support farming activities and paying of utility bills.



CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the study's key findings in relation to the study's objectives. Also, this chapter also provides a conclusion based on the findings of the study. Lastly, some recommendations are made based on the findings of the study.

7.1 Summary of Key Findings

This study examined the relationship between conflict and migration in Bawku. Specifically, it examined the historical patterns of conflict-induced migration from Bawku; the relative contribution of conflicts and other economic factors to out-migration in Bawku; and lastly, examined the contributions of emigrants to conflict and peace-building in Bawku. A simple random sampling method was used in selecting 260 respondents comprising of 180 respondents randomly sampled in Bawku and 80 respondents randomly selected outside Bawku for the questionnaire survey, and key in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with respondents, Municipal Chief Executive, two religious leaders, elders of the Mamprusi and Kusasi, and representatives of NGOs and CSO. The key findings of this study are discussed below.

Comparatively, majority of respondents did not migrate out of Bawku during the conflict as against those that migrated. This finding is in consonance with the risk theory which underscores the fact that risk perception of an individual is a social construct and does not depend only on the knowledge but also on the control that the people feel they have on their own. Comparatively, more females (38.7%) migrated than males (28.8%). The results indicate that out-migration of respondents from Bawku as a result of the conflict has no association with whether respondent was a male or female. The findings of this study is in

consonance with the study by Williams and Pradhan (2009) which predicts no gender difference in migration response to incidence of conflict.

Lack of networks or relations outside Bawku and strong family ties in Bawku mostly accounted for reasons why respondents did not migrate. Greater Accra and Ashanti region were the major destination regions of migrants, albeit some also moved to other parts of Upper East region. Taking much cognisance of the role networks play in patterns of migration, the results of the analysis show that family relations played a major role in influencing the destination region of respondents, as uncles, siblings and parents played a significant role as host of respondents when they first migrated out of Bawku. The findings of this study resonate with the study by Dustmann and Glitz (2005) where the existence of networks or relation has the tendency to influence the decision of migrants, especially in terms of choosing their destination region.

Moreover, majority of those that migrated were not self-financed. Majority of females (58.3%) financed their migration from Bawku than males (41.21%), though there were no significant relationship between sex of respondents and whether they financed their migration out of Bawku during the conflict. Surprisingly, 70.4 percent of respondents within the ages of 15-25 years financed their migration from Bawku whereas those within the ages of 46-65 were financed by people other than themselves. The analysis revealed that age of respondents has a significant relationship with whether they financed their migration from Bawku during the conflict. Also, marital status has an association with whether they finance their migration or not, as a significant proportion of respondents who were single (60%) financed their migration than those married (27.3%). Moreover, respondents' level of education has a significant association with the source of funding, considering the fact that majority of those who had attained tertiary (60.5%) financed their migration from Bawku than those with no formal education (0.0%) or elementary education (0.0%).

With regards to reason why respondents migrated back to Bawku, respondents cited the existence of employment opportunities, need to further their education, presence of relative peace and strong family ties as some of the chief reasons why they opted to return. Some respondents also cited frequent visits, religious and faith based reasons as some reasons why they returned to Bawku. Although conflicts are often associated with declining social and economic activities, it is very surprising that the results of the analysis reveal increased levels of employment among respondents after the conflict. The increase levels of employment among the respondents could be aligned with the progressive interventions by government, other NGOs, religious/faith based organisations, the traditional authorities to foster peace and enhance development within the region. Furthermore, 48.9 percent of the respondents had relatives who migrated during the conflict, with Greater Accra, Ashanti and Upper East regions serving as their destination region during the conflict.

The results of the analysis revealed that majority of respondents were still living in fear of the conflict recurring. This was largely because of the volatile nature of the conflict resolution, the actions of security personnel within the region, political tension, and restrictions imposed on movement because of some boundary disputes. Majority of respondents living outside Bawku attributed chieftaincy disputes, influence of various political actors and elite natives and poverty as the main causes of the conflict in Bawku. Comparatively, the results of the analysis showed that business activities in Bawku have been very poor after the conflict, albeit other economic factors like inflation, currency depreciation and high interest rates could be linked to the poor state of business in the study area as reported by respondents. Also, majority of respondents were of the view that agricultural activities in Bawku have declined after the conflict. This could be because majority of respondents did not have easy access to land for farming and were confronted with various challenges in the marketing of their produce.

The analysis also showed that more males were confronted with challenges in the marketing of their produce than females. In terms of reason for limited access to land for farming, majority of respondents bemoaned land disputes, tribal boundary disputes and fear of attack as some of the reasons why they do not have easy access to land for farming. On the other hand, respondents living outside Bawku were of the view that the conflict in Bawku impacted heavily on the socio-economic activities in the region resulting in high cost of living, high rate of unemployment, collapse of most schools, all resulting in mass migration from the region.

The results of the analysis show that majority of respondents were not aware of any intervention measures to reintegrate returned migrants and internally displaced persons into the society. Sex of respondents and level of education showed a significant relationship with respondents' awareness. In addition, majority of respondents revealed that NGOs, government and religious/faith based organisations are the various institutions actively involved in such reintegration measures. By order of magnitude, these intervention measures often take the form of peace talks and education, provision of relief items and shelter, job creation, provision of security and others. Although development of social infrastructure is noted to enhance reintegration and prevent internal migration, majority of respondents sampled were not aware of infrastructure development projects undertaken by the government in Bawku. Of the number who were aware of such projects, they indicated that building and revamping of educational facilities, road construction, building of health facilities, sinking of boreholes and market centres are some of the infrastructure development undertaken by the government.

With regards to the role of the various ethnic groups in fostering peace and unity in Bawku, majority of respondents were of the view that they often engage in peace talks and education on conflict among the youth and with the various ethnic groups, especially the leaders to

sensitive them on the need for peace to prevail and enhance progress and development in Bawku. Also, others also revealed that organising inter-ethnic games, promoting inter-ethnic marriages, especially among the Kusasi's and Mamprusi's,

On the role of out-migrants in the socio-economic development of Bawku, majority of respondents relatives who migrated outside Bawku during the conflict revealed that they send remittances to their relatives in Bawku. Unsurprisingly, respondents' age, marital status and level of education showed a significant relation with whether they send remittances to Bawku or not, as those above the age of 25, married and with high level of education send remittances home than their counterparts. Most of these remittances are sent to parents, spouses and siblings and it is often sent monthly or more than once a month. Majority of respondents revealed that the remittance are mostly meant for household upkeep, paying of school fees, support farming activities and paying of utility bills. These findings of this study resonate with the study by Rotha (2010) in South East Asia and Mexico where increase in remittance has a direct positive impact on the receiving region, in the form of accumulation of assets, promote self-employment and increase business investment in migrant-sending areas. Given that they monies are also sent to cater for the education of their children left behind, it undoubtedly enhances their children's chances of been better educated and predisposes them to better health care and standard of living (Rotha, 2010).

7.2 Conclusion

On the backdrop of the findings of this study, it is evident that though migration is noted as a behavioural response to conflict, lack of networks or relations and strong family ties in Bawku were the chief reasons why majority of people did not migrate from Bawku. In the interim, one key issue of far greater importance is the fact that, the perceived risk associated with these conflict does not depend solely on the knowledge and prior experiences of the

people but control they have over it. This resonates with the risk theory. In addition, consistent with the conflict theory, it is evident that conflicts in Bawku are mostly centred on dominance, power and authority over the land and resources. In terms of migration pattern of conflict induced migrants, family relations play a major role in influencing the destination region of respondents that migrate during the conflict. These findings also resonate with the network theory of migration where the existence of networks or relation has the tendency to influence the decision of migrants, especially in terms of choosing their destination region. Additionally, the existence of relative peace in Bawku and strong family ties influence some respondents to return to Bawku. Even in the midst of relative peace and security, majority of respondents were still apprehensive of the conflict recurring, given the volatile nature of the conflict resolution, the actions of security personnel within the region, political tension, and restrictions imposed on movement because of some boundary disputes. The conflict has impacted negatively on business activities, access to land and agricultural activities in Bawku. This has affected economic activities in Bawku. Although the government, NGOs, and CBOs are engaged in the process of reintegrating the displaced and return migrant into the society, there should be massive development of the social infrastructure of Bawku to aid this exercise. In ensuring lasting peace and unity in the region, it is essential to promote inter-ethnic marriages and empower the local institutions to enhance participatory approach to conflict resolution and peace building. Undeniably, remittances play a key role in improving the welfare of migrants and their family back home, via physical and household upkeep and providing alternative income generating activities.

7.3 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings of the study the following recommendations are made:

1. The bottom-up approach to conflict resolution and peace building should be adopted.

This participatory mode of ensuring peace and unity in the region can be enforced

by active participation of all stakeholders including chiefs, opinion leaders, and leaders of the various ethnic groups, religious leaders and the representatives of the MMDAs. This will give a voice to all parties involved and an amicable solution devised in the advent of any misunderstanding. The capacity of local institutions like chiefs, local groups and assembly members should be enhanced to restore confidence and trust in them to be able to resolve misunderstandings or feuds among the various ethnic groups

2. There should be a concerted effort by the government, NGOs, donor agencies and other organizations to improve the social infrastructure of the people, such water, market centers, schools, recreational facilities etc. This could stimulate growth through the creation of employment opportunities, increase in market size and enhance the local market economy. Again, the need to explore diversification, away from its predominantly agriculture base in order to boost the local economy should be given much cognisance. This could reduce the rate of migration from Bawku in the wake of relative peace in the region.
3. There is the need to promote Inter-ethnic marriages among the various ethnic groups, especially the Mamprusis' and the kusasi's, given the fact that most of the conflict have ensued between these ethnic groups. Also, because most of these conflicts are driven by ethnocentrism and ethnic discrimination, public educational campaign by the National Centre for Civic Education (NCCE) and other agencies would be in order.
4. Also, programs to improve the literacy in the region will also be useful, as this will not only make the people more analytical, tolerant, and even cosmopolitan in their outlook, but will also help them to see through any ethnic-laced underhanded maneuver or brainwashing by power-drunk and deceptive community leaders

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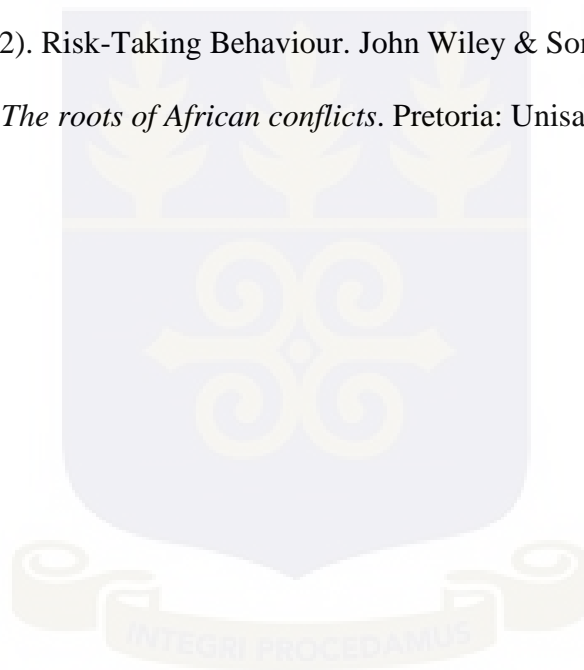
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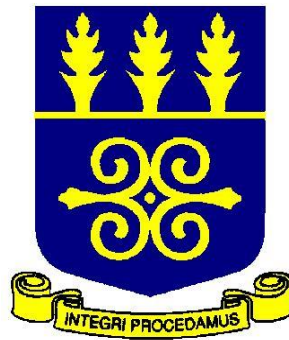
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
CENTER FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

Introduction

My name is Mumuni Yakubu Nambe. I am undertaking this study as part of the requirement for the award of a Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) Degree in Migration Studies at the University of Ghana, Legon. This study examines the impact of Conflict, Migration and Economic Development at Bawku. Consequently, I will be grateful if you could make some time to fill this questionnaire. I wish to assure you that your identity shall remain anonymous and the responses given shall be treated as confidential information.

Please sign here if you wish to participate in the study voluntarily:

.....

Interview Date..... **Community**..... **ID NO**.....

Instruction: Please tick [] and Fill in gaps where necessary.

Section A: Demographic Characteristics

1. Sex of Respondent a. Male [] b. Female []

2. Age of Respondent

3. Marital Status of respondent a. Married [] b. Divorced [] c. Single [] e. Living with partner [] f. Widowed/Widower []
4. Number of children
5. Highest education attained
6. Religion of Respondent
7. Place of Residence
8. Place of Birth
9. Do you have other dependent? a. Yes [] b. No []
- If yes, how many?

SECTION B: Assessing Migration History

10. Did you migrate out of Bawku because of the conflict? a. Yes [] b. No []
11. Whom do you first stayed with when you migrated?.....
12. Did someone finance your migration during the conflict? a. Yes [] b. []
13. How long did you live outside Bawku?
14. How long (years) have you been back in Bawku?
15. Were you employed before conflict? [a] Yes [b] No
16. If yes what activity were you engaged in?
17. Why did you return to Bawku?
18. Are you employed now? a. Yes [] b. No []
19. Do you have a relative who migrated out of Bawku during the conflict?
- a. Yes [] b. No []
20. If yes how long have they been back in Bawku?
21. Was your relative working before leaving Bawku? a. Yes [] b. No []
22. How are they coping now?

SECTION C: Assessing Reintegration, Cost of Living and Socio- Economic

Developments

23. Do you know of any program to reintegrate these return migrants or internally displaced person into the society? a. Yes [] b. No []

24. Who is rolling out these intervention in Bawku? a. NGO [] b. Government [] c. Bawku Association(s) elsewhere [] d. Donor Agencies [] e. Religious/faith based organisations [] others specify

25. In what form(s) are these interventions?.....

26. Do you have any knowledge of attempt by government to develop the social infrastructure of Bawku after the conflict? a. Yes [] b. No []

25. Which infrastructure is being developed in Bawku after the conflict?

.....
.....

27. How was business before the conflict?

28. How is business in Bawku after the conflict?

.....
.....

29. Would you say cost of living is higher now than before the conflict? a. Yes [] b. No []

30. Has the cost of doing business increased after the conflict? a. Yes [] b. No []

31. Has agriculture activities in Bawku seen any significant improvement after the conflict? [a] Yes [b] No

32. Do you have easy access to land for farming after the conflict? a. Yes [] b. No []

33. Do you have any challenges marketing your produce? [a] yes [b] no

34. If yes what are the challenges?

.....;

.....

36. What do you think the youth of the various ethnic groups living in Bawku should do to bring about lasting peace and unity.....

37. what role do you in your opinion think that the various ethnic groups who are residing here in Bawku can play to bring about peace and socio economic development?

.....

.....

38. what can you say is the situation in the last five (5) years about Bawku relative to the conflict?

.....

.....

SECTION D: MIGRATION INTENSIONS OF RESPONDENTS

39. Do you feel any insecurity threats in Bawku now? 1. Yes 2. No

40. If yes, explain

41. Are planning to leave Bawku in the next five (5) years? 1. Yes 2. No

42. 40. If yes, explain

.....

.....

SECTION E: ASSESSING REMITTANCES AND ITS IMPACT

43. Do you receive remittances from your relative who migrated? 1. Yes 2. No

44. If yes, how often?

45. What do you use the remittances for?

46. Through what channel do you receive remittances from relatives?

47. Do you receive other remittances in the form of food? 1. Yes 2. No

48. Where are these remittances sent from? 1. Ghana 2. Abroad

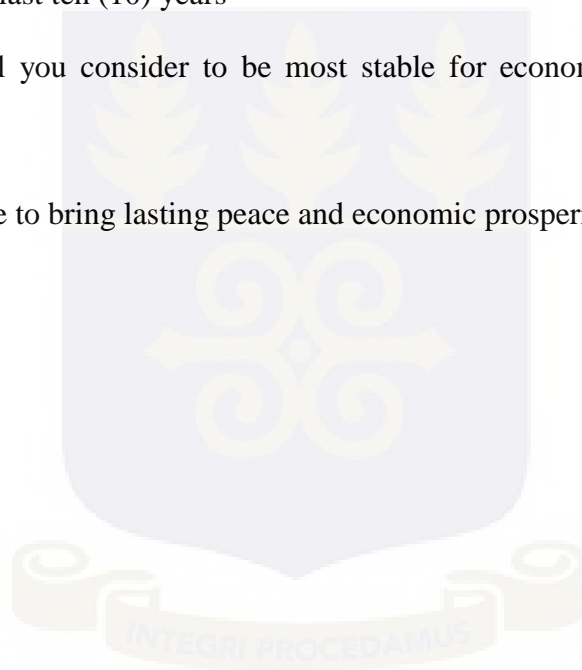
49. If Abroad, which country?

Thank you for your participation and cooperation.



Appendix B: In-Depth Interview Guide

1. How has the Conflict in Bawku affected lives and businesses in general? **Probe for internally displaced persons and the process of their reintegration.**
2. Has there been peace in Bawku in the last ten (10) years and why?
3. How has education and Agriculture been affected in the Municipality as a result of conflict and migration? **Prove for improvement and decline in both sectors**
4. What kind of business development has been noticed in general as a result of the peace in the area in the last ten (10) years
5. What period will you consider to be most stable for economic development in the Municipality?
6. What can be done to bring lasting peace and economic prosperity in the area?



Appendix C: Focus Group Discussion Guide

1. What do you think are the reasons some natives of Bawku are migrating out of the town?
Probe for destinations and why
2. How has migration affected Bawku in terms of economic development and social integration? **Probe for return migrant re-integration**
3. What can you say about the return of internally displaced persons in Bawku as a result of the conflict? How are they coping with life? **Probe for psychological and financial support?**
4. How has Agriculture been affected in the Municipality as a result of conflict and migration? **Probe for farming and livestock arrangements**
5. How has Education been affected as a result of conflict and migration?
6. How have the ethnic groups co-existed within the last ten (10) years?
7. In terms of business activities, do ethnic groups trade amongst themselves? **Probe for type of business they do together.**
8. Do you know of businesses owned by migrants? **Probe for Internal/International migrants and type of businesses**
9. Do migrants contribute to infrastructural development (school, water, clinic, houses etc,) in Bawku? **Probe for channel of contribution: Hometown associations, NGOs, CSOs, Religious or Faith based Organisations/groups**
10. How are Bawku migrants involved in peace building initiatives in Bawku? **Probe for contribution of International Migrants from Bawku**
11. What accounts for the recent peace in Bawku?
12. What do you think must be done to bring lasting peace to Bawku?