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Full Length Research Paper

Gender responsiveness in infrastructure provision for African cities: The case of Kampala in Uganda

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Urban service delivery in cities of Africa is undergoing transformation in the quest to improve access and coverage while reducing the urban infrastructure deficit. This is mainly signaled by the gradual shift to integrated urban planning functions and decision-making spheres within the institutional set-up of city authorities. This paper builds on a triangulated study in Kampala city to argue that urban planning functions should not only be integrated but also responsive to gender needs, as an inclusive pathway to sustained provision of infrastructure. The study found out that the utilization of infrastructure and the associated aspects of service delivery are socially preconditioned by socio-economic preferences that are based on gender differentials in mobility needs. Women preferred infrastructure that offers personal security, flexible mobility, hygiene and physical comfort, whereas men were primarily concerned about alternative travel routes for punctuality, safety while on the road, convenience and quicker connectivity to public utilities. But planning at city level has neither integrated nor transcended the physical, economic and environmental accounts of infrastructure and service provision to include gender responsiveness. This ultimately leads to delivery outcomes that are less aligned to variations in women's compared to men's end-user expectations. The paper concludes with a step-wise framework for conceptualizing how urban planning can be gender responsive together with examples on real-life applications in the context of African cities.

Key words: Infrastructure, services, gender, urban planning, African cities.

INTRODUCTION

Urban services and infrastructure provision are an essential part for Africa's sustainability in city transformation (Ndulu, 2006; Kessides, 2006; Foster and Briceño-Garmendia, 2010). Despite the long term investment in infrastructure, urban Africa is characterized by infrastructure and service provision deficiencies that hamper livability and economic growth (AfDB, 2103). Dabla-Noris et al. (2012) observe that closing Africa's infrastructure deficiencies in terms of coverage and access would increase per capita growth and economic performance by 2.2 percentage points. Countries like Mauritius in North Africa, which have gone through transformation in infrastructure provision, have realized the economic gains associated with an innovative shift

from traditional urban service provision strategies to those that embrace the new horizons of demand for smart, climate compatible and knowledge-based city services (Khadaroo and Seetanah, 2008; Holt, 2012; urban planning functions and decision-making spheres (McRobbie, 2002; Mudambi, 2008; van Stigt, 2013; Connelly et al., 2013), but also responsiveness along gender and social group characteristics with informal Anttiroiko et al., 2013). Such a shift not only requires the promotion of economic restructuring for integration of settlements inadvertently marginalized (Abbott, 2002; Winayanti and Lang, 2004; Harrison, 2006; Mayer, 2009; Buyana, 2012).

Many a time, however, the use of gender responsive

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approaches to urban planning and its implications on infrastructure and service delivery has been sought with limited effort in both developed and developing cities (Dempsey et al., 2011; Nwaka, 2005; Yigitcanlar et al., 2008). It is the physical, economic and environmental aspects of a given city that always take center stage in processes of integrating urban planning functions (Cappiello et al., 2011; Helm and Tindall 2009; Hoehner et al., 2003; Thompson, 2002). The gender and urban planning discourse too has for a long time largely focused on women-specific concerns within social service sectors (water, health and education). Less emphasis has been laid on infrastructure as a point of departure to understanding the required transformation in urban service delivery. For instance, Rakodi (1991) and Turner et al. (1995) presented a gendered critique on urban planning, with a focus on the distribution of economic opportunities through gender-aware decision-making processes. But these critiques overlooked the usefulness of infrastructure in providing physical and visual clues to women and men as they explore the said socio-economic opportunities.

Whitzman et al. (2013) and Wekerle (2013) drew insights on how urban design can be attuned to community-level prevention of violence against women, but this did not wholly represent how gendered segments in urban populations use infrastructure and services to meet their livability needs in cities. Therefore if urban planning is to be engendered broadly, there is need to provide the required depth of analysis on a wide range of infrastructure and attendant service delivery sectors, in which women's compared to men's city-specific needs can be discerned. Such in-depth and sector-specific gender analysis can create possibilities for aligning planners' views with end-user needs on different forms of urban infrastructure provision. The ultimate advantage lies in bringing about infrastructural designs and service provision aspects that are responsive to the priorities of different social groupings amongst city residents. This is the issue that the proponents of participatory urban planning have emphasized by contending that innovativeness in planning cycles should largely focus on pathways that offer meaningful and functional partnerships with the local population in setting service provision priorities (Garcia-Ramon et al., 2004).

Even amongst women, the nature of constraints faced with regard to intra-urban mobility and personal security differ not only on account of poverty status and type of settlement in the city, but also according to age, household characteristics, degree of engagement in income-generating activities (Chant, 2013; McIlwaine, 2013; Lacey et al., 2013). This implies that it is limiting to assume that women-specific issues can be tackled using programmes that are separate from those targeted at other city residents. This is because it undermines the relational understanding of women's interface compared to men's with regard to the needs that are associated with

living and working in the city. Therefore urban planning in Africa has to embrace both integrated and gender responsive approaches, as an inclusive pathway to sustained provision of city services and infrastructure.

Framework for urban services and infrastructure provision in Kampala city Uganda

Planning for urban infrastructure and services in Kampala is within a framework of policies, laws and regulation in Uganda. The Local Governments Act (1997), the Physical Planning Act (2010) and Kampala Capital City Authority Act (2010) provide the modalities on how different departments in the city authority come into play in the provision of services. Characteristic to these policies and laws is the decentralization of services and their provision by local governments, with policy oversight from central government agencies. In addition to decentralization, urban services and general approach to urban development is by sectors with limited integration of urban planning functions. Thus it is common in the administrative structures of the city to have designated offices to sectors including water, transport, road works, health and schools among others. This two-pronged approach to urban service delivery has yielded two implementation approaches to urban service delivery. These include the project-based and the sector-wide approaches. The project-based approach is considered realistic and relatively easier to monitor when specific projects are identified and activities planned out with associated investments. Currently, urban infrastructure provision in Uganda and Kampala in particular follows this implementation approach. This approach is associated with local government level and lower scales of implementation.

The second implementation approach is the sector-wide approach which recently been introduced at national level. This approach is characterized by national priorities and needs assessment within a sector where planning and design of infrastructure is at national level. However, often implementation is accomplished through projects whether these are designed as pilot projects or on off projects. Project-based approach has been critiqued because it is usually not linked with follow up on pilot projects to complete the cycle and coverage. This leaves some communities un-serviced compared to the communities in which pilot activities are implemented. But the urban services and infrastructure developed in piloted communities become unsustainable in relatively short time periods due to the usually overwhelming demand and use. At the national level, urban infrastructure development is not integrated to provide better services nor spatially for a balanced development. There is a concentration of infrastructure investment in the central region and Kampala city gets a biggest share of investments while other major towns remain under-funded. But the

services and infrastructure development have not corresponded to the 4.9 percent annual growth rate of the city living service gaps and accentuating urban poverty (Okwi et al., 2003), in which 16 percent of Kampala's population is estimated to be under the poverty line. It is this framework that provided the basis for a triangulated study in Kampala city, on how gendered the demand of services and infrastructure is.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Kampala is Uganda's capital and only city, occupied by 40% of the national urban population (UBOS, 2002). The mandate of delivering services and infrastructure is under Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), which until 2011 was known as Kampala City Council (KCC). This mandate is derived from the KCCA Act (2010), which also entails the transfer of planning and service delivery functions to five administrative divisions in the city including Kawempe, Makindye, Nakawa, Rubaga and Central division. Together with KCCA, these divisions through their political and technical teams ought to plan and deliver a number of services including sanitized neighborhood environments, safe and comfortable public transport, user-friendly physical infrastructure, protection and restoration of green areas, provision of recreation facilities and other services that are expected to enhance livability in the city.

The study therefore undertook an end-user service satisfaction survey across the five city divisions with a focus on urban sanitation at neighborhood scale; public transport; physical infrastructure; and recreation services. The choice of these urban sectors enabled the capturing of gender differentials in residential, travel, working and leisure needs. A survey questionnaire was used to capture data on such gender needs as well as the levels of awareness, access and satisfaction with city infrastructure and services by sex of the respondent. Purposive sampling was chosen to reliably permit the selection of female and male respondents, who have at one time accessed one or more city service. One hundred (100) respondents were interviewed in each division but since many of these had to be contacted from home, at the work place or from urban traffic, the survey acquired a response outcome of 470 out of the expected 500 respondents (244 male and 226 female respondents).

Data processing was done using descriptive statistics on the level of awareness, access and satisfaction with city services and infrastructure. The survey data was complimented with two separate-sex focus groups with city residents in order to profile and rank gender roles, mobility needs and preferences around the utilization of infrastructure. Additionally, key informant interviews were undertaken amongst planning departments in KCAA. The departments included physical planning and works, engineering, environmental services, labor, gender and community development. Analysis of focus group and interview data was conducted as conversations were being carried out. This allowed immediate grouping of responses to ultimately triangulate end-users', service providers' and planners' experiences on the delivery of services and infrastructure in Kampala city.

RESULTS

Gender and the Utilization of Infrastructure in Kampala city

In Kampala city, the utilization of infrastructure is socially preconditioned by differentials in the mobility needs of

women relative to men, which are based on the social differentiations in their domestic and commercial roles. From the separate-sex focus groups, we found out that women have triple gender roles: domestic care taking; income provision through participation in paid work; and communal roles that involve networking at neighborhood level as a way building new or maintaining already existing social capital. Men on the other hand, mainly focus on the search for paid work around the city and are much less involved in domestic care.

This three-layered profiling of women's roles into domestic, commercial and communal was associated with shorter but multiple trips. This is because women usually prefer jobs or self-employment stationed nearer to the areas of residence for a walkable distance between home and the workplace. For this reason, women depend much on the available pedestrian footpath network, although a number of them opt for public Omni buses and private means if the travel involves reaching out to the city center or up-country. This kind of mobility pattern underlies women's preference for infrastructure that offers personal security, flexible mobility, hygiene and physical comfort.

Men's greater presence in search for paid employment and the related aspects of family provisioning, makes them travel longer but fewer trips. We found out that men highly depend on cycling and driving to access places of work and back home, except in situations where walking is done at neighborhood level and along the streets in the city center. Therefore men were largely concerned about alternative travel routes for punctuality, safety in usage, convenience and quicker connectivity to public utilities. The study concluded that the utilization of infrastructure and the associated service delivery aspects are socially preconditioned by socio-economic preferences, which are determined by gender differentials in mobility needs.

Satisfaction with services and infrastructure in the city

Sanitation services

Since urban environmental service provisioning is predominated by sanitation and waste management systems, we studied end-user satisfaction with sanitation services in Kampala. These mainly involve the removal of liquid and solid waste from commercial and residential areas by private and public entities to landfill centers in the peripheral parts of the city. The provision of community-level sensitization on public hygiene and installation of supportive environmental infrastructure follows including drainage systems, public toilets and waste skips. But from an end-use perspective, rating of performance in the sanitation sector was very low. Most of the male respondents (50.0%) and female respondents (51.0%) said that sanitation in the city is bad, as indicated in Table 1. The challenge according to officials from

Table 1. Rate of satisfaction with sanitation services.

Sex of the respondent	Rating your satisfaction with sanitation services					Total
	Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Not able to tell	
Male	2.4%	11.4%	23.3%	50.0%	12.9%	100.0%
Female		6.1%	33.7%	51.0%	9.2%	100.0%

KCCA is environmentally irresponsible behavior amongst end-users, who keep throwing plastics in drainage channels and illegally dumping other waste on the streets. This leads to clogging of drainages, flash floods during heavy rains, contamination of air, water sources and exposure to diseases, malaria and cholera in particular.

The end-users, however, attributed the low ratings of performance to hygiene and sanitation difficulties in neighborhoods and the city center. Although KCCA has raised awareness and involved community members in hygiene promotion and sanitation, the study discovered that women do not have inadequate provision of toiletries (especially sanitary bins) in public toilets whereas the men noted that the entry-charge of using a public toilet is most times not reallocated to better the services and improving the environmental quality around public facilities. The physical security and integrity of women around such facilities is constrained due to inadequate lighting, thereby a reduction in the levels of utilization at night. Furthermore, public toilets are not user-friendly for the disabled due to access-steps and toilet seats that are not aligned to their physical impairments. Accordingly, livability in sanitation terms is constrained by a combination of factors that include environmentally insensitive behavior and flaws in the design of infrastructure among others. .

Urban transportation

We surveyed female relative to male end-users of public transportation to establish satisfaction from a gendered view point but also performance of the operationalization of public transport. Public transport in Kampala comprises 16 seater Omni buses in addition to passenger buses operated by town companies. The biggest share of passengers and trips of motorized transport is by the omni buses at 39%, followed by motor cycles at 8.9% and bus services at 0.1% (ROM, KCCA, 2011). Based on this distribution, users of transportation services indicated that all modes of transportation are blind about specific gender needs in public transportation. The gender groups identified as negatively affected are the pregnant women, elderly, PWDs while certain gaps in public transportation affect the entire population.

A close look at the bus services, users acknowledged that all vehicles operated on this service are gender insensitive because the design does not meet the

boarding, sitting and disembarking needs of physically challenged persons and pregnant women. This is because of high steps for boarding and alighting while the disabled would find it difficult to board with wheel chairs and clutches in addition to the bus corridors not being wide enough to accommodate wheel chairs. For omni buses, the disabled group cannot use the service due to space limits. In addition to specific gendered needs around design of the vehicles used in transport, there are issues around operations the critical one being bus stops which are non-existent on many of the roads and where they exist, they are used and crowded by omni buses for picking passengers. The gender dimension of this shortcoming is a public transport system which is devoid of facilities that would bring about convenience, effective and efficient public transportation for all social groups. As part of operations, omni buses stop just anywhere and everywhere and this has affected traffic flow and inconveniences that translate into high costs associated with traffic jams and delays. According to a recent study by the Ministry of Works and Transport (2012), the average travel speed is 2.5 km per min in Kampala region. This speed is low and the trips are too time-consuming; when we consider intra-city trips, traffic delays at peak hours increases this time. The design of gender sensitive buses would have to utilize kneeling buses with wide corridors to enable use by the mentioned gender groups who need help, support and time to use the service.

Another issue for transportation services relates to road signage and usage. The signage placing is characterized by competition for space on and off the carriage way with advertisement. Walking and cycling take the biggest share of transportation in Kampala with 43% of all trips according to the 2011 study by ROM and KCCA. Yet pedestrians and cyclists compete with motorized transportation for space on the roads. Analyzed data indicate a fair to low satisfaction rating about adequacy of pavements usually utilized by cyclists and pedestrians. In practical gendered sense, the dominance of youths, low income earners and women as users of pavement spaces for walking and cycling is undoubted. These experiences are reinforced by the low levels of satisfaction with the transportation network that were captured from the survey and presented in Table 2. The table shows that only 1.4 and 1.9% of the female and male respondents respectively indicated "very good", in regards to public transport in Kampala city.

Table 2. Rate of satisfaction with transport services.

Sex of the respondent	Rating your satisfaction with transport network					Total
	Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Not able to tell	
Male	1.4%	17.7%	43.2%	32.7%	5.0%	100.0%
Female	1.9%	21.2%	39.9%	30.8%	6.3%	100.0%

This low level of rating on satisfaction with public transport was also attributed to persistent limitations in safety while travelling to, from and within the city. Both female and male respondents expressed concerns about competition for space on and off the carriage. The observation made is that the city road network is characterized by absence of segregated lanes for pedestrians, motorists and cyclists. This shortfall partly explains the prevalence of road accidents amongst pedestrians and cyclists. Records obtained from the Uganda Police Headquarters in Kampala (2011) showed that in 2009, pedestrians and motorcyclists were the highest number of victims in road accidents. At Kira Road police station in Nakawa division, for example, 43% of the accidents recorded affected pedestrians whereas 21% affected passengers in vehicles. A similar pattern was recorded at another police station in Kawempe division, where 32% of the accidents recorded had pedestrians as the victims and 25% were passengers. Respondents admitted that road crashes have time and labor consequences for women as custodians of family health who must take care of the injured and shoulder the household economic burden in case the main income generator dies.

The study revealed that women's mobility is constrained by narrow sidewalks and the absence of pedestrian precincts, as they take short but multiple trips that maintain the household at neighborhood level. For the men, overcrowding and delays associated with traffic congestion mean that they have to take longer travel times and cannot rely on driving to take them to their destinations. Results of the survey on constraints showed that the overriding burden in transport amongst males is time constraints stemming from traffic congestion, represented by 72% of men's responses compared to 19% of the female responses. These gendered patterns and experiences signify the usefulness of comprehensive and accurate gender disaggregated information on urban transportation, as the entry point towards placement of end-user expectations at the center of delivering services and infrastructure.

Urban physical infrastructure

Study findings revealed that signage on roads, in and around buildings together with street lighting are not reliable in providing physical and visual clues to women and men for easing passage and access to other city

services. Women said that it is usual to forego a travel if the street or neighborhood access road is not well-lit or if there is a perceived threat of getting lost or failing to find parking while shopping due to overcrowdings in the city center. Men on the other hand are usually victims of injuries and sometimes fatalities because they sit in the driving wheel and have to ensure the safety of pedestrians, other motorists and cyclists at road junctions and on the main streets of the city, due to inadequate lighting or failure to adhere to directional signage or the absence of it. Narrow pavements were also noted to be a limitation when seeking to overtake a person ahead of you or crossing from one road side to another. Respondents in the survey further noted that road signage is more dedicated to cars than pedestrians. They were also quick to note that even the available signage is not well maintained and sometimes obscured by advertisements and election posters, thus giving an impression of mess and negligence. These concerns underlie the variations in satisfaction ratings, as presented in Table 3.

Data further indicated that the rating for ramps that ease of movement among persons with disabilities, is poor, with over 57.4% of the respondents rating as so. But the gender statistics indicate a higher proportion of female respondents rating their satisfaction with ramps as poor compared to men (Table 4). This was further attributed to women's concerns about drainage works at neighborhood level that have no ramps, which hampers movement by disabled family members. The study also found out that sight impaired people move around the city with difficulty requiring support. For example, sound signals at road junctions with traffic lights are not installed. Sight-impaired road users would have to rely on other road users to get to know where it is safe to pass, which in some cases may not be available. In addition on-road guides for sight impaired people are also not installed like proper kerbs for them to know at what point they would when walking. Whereas this can be defrayed during day when pedestrian population is at its highest and can offer help to the blind, in the evenings and night, the blind would get serious problems.

Recreation and social amenities

Part of the legally prescribed functions for KCCA is planning recreation parks, tree planting, green corridors and other environmental-friendly areas. This requires well-

Table 3. Satisfaction with visibility of the signage for road users.

Sex of the respondent	Satisfaction with visibility of the signage for road users					Total
	Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Not able to tell	
Male	1.8%	22.6%	38.9%	31.7%	5.0%	100.0%
Female	1.4%	23.2%	35.3%	34.3%	5.8%	100.0%

Table 4. Rate your satisfaction with ramps for physically impaired.

Sex of the respondent	Satisfaction with ramps for physically impaired					Total
	Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Not able to tell	
Male	0.5%	9.9%	27.5%	54.1%	8.1%	100.0%
Female	0.5%	6.3%	24.0%	61.1%	8.2%	100.0%

maintained, lit and furnished green areas, squares, parks, entertainment halls, and play fields are a binding factor between environmental and physical development planning for the city. From the focus groups, we found out that the location of a household determines women's access to leisure facilities and choice of travel means as well as number of hours to be spent on leisure activities. Respondents argued that since women are the primary care takers of the home, their preference usually lies in recreation facilities that are nearer to their residence or within the neighborhood. Women at the lower scale of income rely on neighborhood routes to access entertainment centers in the evenings, and therefore safety on such routes is a leisure need. Women in relatively higher income groups can afford recreation facilities that are located far away from their homes, and therefore need well-lit streets and buildings to guarantee their physical integrity and safety from sexual violence while walking, cycling or driving back home in the night.

As child care takers, women said that they need play fields nearer to homesteads or within recreation centers that can guarantee safe and amenable access by boys and girls, especially during weekends and school holidays. Interviews with urban service-users also showed that good lighting and landscaping creates active spaces for women to rest and not feel isolated during their chain of trips and varied destinations at neighborhood level. On the contrary, men were more concerned about the prices of family leisure trips because most green areas and entertainment centers are now privately owned with entry user fees. Respondents argued that prices for family leisure trips are high, especially for low income groups, and therefore men prefer shorter and cheaper travel to recreation centers.

Urban service providers in KCCA noted that commercial developments within the center and at neighborhood scale should be the area of focus in responding to leisure needs while sustaining green spaces. However, during the survey we observed that commercial developments in Kampala have to a greater extent undermined the ways

in which integrated urban land use can be applied to respond to leisure needs. There is a huge neglect of social amenities that they have been left to private sector. Though this might not be a problem, guidelines are yet to be in place on how private providers can value compatibility of land uses. Such guidelines according to the key informants should focus on interdependence between the natural and built environment in the recreation sector. However, an interviewee commented that it is increasing becoming a hard-to-implement principle due influence peddling during the approval of commercial and residential developments at KCCA.

Urban planning services

Urban planning in Kampala is one of the dodgiest activities for the city authority. It is this institutional structure and processes which are meant to guide at strategic and local-level configuration and development of urban space. The planning acts are the basis for supporting social, economic, political and now environmental amenities. From the key informant interviews, there is limited strategic urban planning piecemeal planning that characterizes local-level development. KCCA, urban planning is meant to guide housing development, structure plans, detailed plans and neighborhood plans to provide the basic services at different scales. This connection includes critical infrastructure but the focus in this section is on physical payout and amenities that enable utilization of gendered spaces. Kampala now has a recently approved Physical Development Plan that is a broad framework for spatial development. At city-wide level planning focuses on strategic location of land use and activities, infrastructure, environmental conservation and promotion of economic activity. At neighborhood level planning considers issues including accessibility, circulation network, physical infrastructure, connectivity and local economic opportunities. At site or plot level, planning looks at specific issues like provision for kitchen,

bath places space utilization and adequacy in a house.

From interviews with planners in KCCA, development in the city is largely occurring informally and not aligned with the spatial plan. In addition such development is also inadequate in responding to the needs of women relative to men in respect to housing, safe community roads and amenities. On this back drop of systemic failure of planning at all levels, there is an amenity deficit and need that many people in Kampala have taken individual ingenuity to fill the gap. The result is a cumulative imprint of informal neighborhoods characterized by conflicts and poor conditions of living that have pushed the majority to marginal places such as low lying areas prone to flooding. The gendered impacts of failed planning and inadequate livability in the city are far reaching with female dwellers exposed to various forms of gender violence during day and at night (Boomsma and Steg, 2012). The linkage between systemic failure of planning and gender violence is partly shown by the rating of safety on community roads. The majority respondents of 80% rated safety as fair or poor and the gender differentials on the same rating indicate a slightly differing rate between women and men by 2%. This close rating points to the wider effect of safety to all social groups and categories in the city which speaks to a normative call for engendering the city infrastructure to enable livability in Kampala. From in-depth interviews, it was established for example most people in slum areas are single mothers and that livelihood strategies are very much locale based in the neighborhood.

The challenges of raising children in informal settlements with no basic infrastructure are far reaching let alone the specific challenges around leaving a backyard with skeletal drainage characterized by flowing grey water that exposes the children, the disabled and women to environmental health risks (Lwasa et al., 2009). In line with proposals regarding gendered needs of infrastructure, urban planning needs to respond in a more innovative way that considers affordability, social inclusiveness and sustenance minimum housing and neighborhood level service standards to support these groups. The standards can be used as a tool for mainstreaming gender concerns but also for evaluation of progress. For community level infrastructure planning is done but implementation does not cater for pedestrian precincts.

According to the planners in KCCA, an eight (8) meters of carriage way of a road reserve of 20 meters is commonly implemented because the compensation requirements to occupiers of the land. This implies a limitation in adequately responding to the desired reduction in competition amongst the gendered groups of road-users on the carriage way.

DISCUSSION

From the study findings, it is clear that critical urban

infrastructure and ancillary furniture is inadequate and this has profound impacts on the utilization needs of females relative to males in the city. Female users of the infrastructure are exposed to differing risks whether these are adults, girls, and persons with disabilities. The gendered needs around the use of infrastructure ought to be standardized, enforced, maintained and replaced periodically to reduce the impacts created by the deficit. Standardization will require urban specific policies, ordinances and regulations that should be reinforced by a backbone of effectively integrated institutional structures that are responsive to gender differentials in mobility needs and how this can be taken care of in infrastructure design and provision, which would ultimately be beneficial to the entire public and restore urban quality of life.

The need for gender responsive planning: A step-wise framework for African cities

Sustained response to the women's and men's infrastructure and service provision constraints in Kampala city provide a basis for why and how gender responsiveness can be a central account in urban planning process. This would have to involve disaggregating end-user demand for services and infrastructure by sex, location and connectivity to public utilities, thus deepening the analysis on needs to inform the design of plans, programmes and policy decisions that respond accordingly. But the capacity to conceive, design and deliver infrastructure and services that are customized to differentials in women's relative to men's needs, is still lacking amongst planners in Kampala city. The study found out that several capacity building workshops and trainings have been conducted for this purpose in KCCA on an annual basis, but at the time of the study there was no indication of applying the knowledge and skills gained to the routine procedures of economic, physical and environmental planning, yet not less than 15% of the annual local government capacity building fund had been on KCCA alone, since 2001.

If the knowledge acquired could be effectively used to mainstream gender into planning, processes such as procurement and contracts management, which is one of the key interfaces between service providers and end-user demands, could involve tasking the physical planning and works departments to input gender considerations into the Bill of Quantities (BoQs) for contractors. Examples of such gender considerations include signage that provides visual and physical clues for all gendered categories of road users (pedestrians, motorist and cyclists), obliging construction firms to comply with the stipulated width and length of pedestrian precincts, the positioning and design of signage and providing equal employment opportunities to female and male casual laborers while ensuring that the design of urban spaces caters for the physically impaired, adequate lighting

within and outside the building, parking slots for wheel chair users, door-way signs and toilets that have sanitary bins for women's comfort.

To achieve this, we propose a framework for gender responsive planning at city level as below;

a) Conceptual planning and design; in all urban sectors, one of the initial steps in service provision is the thinking behind the design of a plan and or its strategy, a process known as conceptualization. This step is very crucial in gender responsive planning because it is where tools for baselines and situational analyzes need to be disaggregated to ensure capture of gender differentials in needs and design requirements for a planned infrastructure, service and or system. At this stage, the gender needs are identified, detailed according to sex, location and socio-economic status. This leads to the attainment of gender disaggregated data and analysis for proper identification of differentials in needs by urban sector and category of end-user.

b) Installation and implementation; following design is installation for infrastructure and or implementation if it is more of a procedure or system like decision making processes. At this stage is the importance of supervision to ensure that gender responsive designs, for example road signage that heeds to differences in language proficiency and visualization, are adhered to during installation. Gender responsive planning is implemented at this stage. A key function is the procuring of services and or equipment that is aligned to gender needs, something that is often thought of as an additional cost, yet if well understood and appreciated from the end-user point of view, can be budgeted for using the available resource envelope. In KCCA, it is common for procurement and financial processes to consider gender mainstreaming as an issue that is either irrelevant in physical work or a donor-driven requirement that needs a separate budget. However, it is costlier to neglect end-user demands than investing a service or infrastructure that is not user-friendly in strategic terms.

c) Operationalization; this stage is characterized by detailing the procedures and arrangements for putting into operation the designed and implemented infrastructure or service action plan. Operationalization includes rules of use, modalities for operation, incentives and penalties for female relative to male users. This requires close monitoring for compliance including security against vandalism and theft in the case of urban furniture, like phone booths for real-time communication while on travel around the city. It is at the operationalization stage that differences in end-user needs are neglected, for example enforcing rules of designated spaces for disabled persons in parking slots to ensure that they access these spaces. Whereas many a time regulations and rules exist, city authorities in Kampala city have perpetually lamented about enforcement challenges. This an area for improvement and change if planning is to be successful but it stems from the whole

set of activities required for operationalization.

d) Evaluation; at this stage, the aim is to track progress on the results gained from at the earlier steps of gender responsive planning. Such results may have been planned or unplanned, but the essence to gain feedback for purposes re-aligning the gender responsive planning process to consolidate the gains made in the interim and devise strategies for addressing the challenges that have emerged. This further interlinks the earlier stages of gender responsive planning through a feedback loop, for purposes of continuous improvement in the design and delivery of services and infrastructure.

Conclusion

Gender responsive planning is an approach to improving the delivery of infrastructure and services in African cities. It provides an entry point for understanding how the physical, environmental and economic aspects of cities can be integrated to positively affect the lives of women and men. This is because approach has the potential to match planners' ideas about service delivery with end-user needs, something that is crucial in ensuring that the design of physical and social spaces in cities is guided by decisions that are based on the ideals and preferences of city residents (Simonsen, 1996; van dijk et al., 2011; van den Berg, 2012). Gender responsive planning further makes women and men not only community-level participants but also partners in shaping the urban planning agenda. This is an issue that has been earlier emphasized by participatory urban planning, as a pathway to improving the quality of places in ways that offer a sense of not only livability but also belonging and ownership to the local population (Garcia-Ramon et al., 2004).

However, striking a balance between the idea of gender responsive planning and with the emerging demand for green, inclusive and safe cities is something that African planners ought to consider (French and Lalande, 2013; Werna, 2013; Klodawsky, 2013). Such a balance is obtainable if planning processes follow a holistic path, where end-user needs are the basis for defining how green, inclusive, gender responsive and safe a given city should be and further analyzing how planning processes can be adjusted to take on priorities that benefit the entire urban population. Although the application of such multi-faceted and pluralistic urban planning has been critiqued for being generalisitic and un-standardized (Cao and Zhang, 2013; Ng and Xu, 2014), there is need for African cities to appreciate and understand how the integrated nature of urban planning functions and gender responsiveness in particular, can support the innovative use of information about service end-user needs in the design and implementation of programmes for effective response in different urban sectors. This is what underlies the step-wise framework for applying gender responsiveness to urban planning processes. And since the study findings reveal how the

use of services and infrastructure is gendered, it is then rational for African cities to adopt the framework while designing city infrastructure and related service delivery programmes.

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Full Length Research Paper

Does international migration represent a mechanism for status enhancement or status loss? Evidence from international return migrants to Ghana

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The issue of return migration has been neglected in most migration studies in Africa. Meanwhile, there has been a growing recognition that migration, both internal and international can offer an important route out of poverty for many people from developing countries. To unravel some of these hypotheses, data from a survey involving 120 return migrants in the Berekum Municipality, Ghana, were used to examine the socio-economic conditions of Ghanaian migrants. The study adopted a quantitative approach to research involving simple random sampling approach. The instrument used for the data collection was an interview schedule, made up of both open and closed-ended questions. The results revealed that most of the return migrants saved large sums of money towards their return and a large percentage of them had access to formal financial credit obtained primarily through banks which prior to their departure was almost impossible. Also, it was found from the results that returnees who traveled to Germany had the highest financial status followed by those who traveled to Israel. Regarding the returnees' social capital formation, the results revealed that a higher percentage had acquired valuable foreign values, attitudes and ideas and had become socially connected with improved social networks upon return. It was further discovered that most of the returnees were highly influential in decision-making in their localities compared to the period before departure. But returnees who had longest duration of stay overseas were found to have had the highest level of influence in decision-making compared to those who had shorter stays abroad. The study recommends that government through a multi-sectorial approach should evolve and implement comprehensive programmes such as post-arrival counseling and start-up support for returnees to ensure adequate utilization of returnees' financial and social capital resources for national development.

Key words: Return migrants, socio-economic conditions, Berekum, Ghana.

INTRODUCTION

Back in the 1970s, the conventional wisdom was that migration undermines the prospects for local economic development and yields a state of stagnation and dependency (Massey et al., 1998). Migration from poor countries was at the time seen as little but a development

of underdevelopment (Frank, 1966). This pessimistic attitude has now been turned on its head. The last decade has seen a sudden and widespread reappraisal of the so-called 'migration-development nexus' (Nyberg-Sørensen et al., 2003). Migration, both internal and

international according to Black et al. (2003) can offer an important route out of poverty for many people from developing countries. It constitutes a virtuous interaction in which development is enhanced particularly in the sending country (Weinstein, 2001).

The Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM, 2005) argues that migrants make a valuable economic, political, social and cultural contribution to the societies they have left behind. The UN report in 2006 goes one step further, asserting that international migration constitutes an ideal means of promoting co-development, that is, the coordinated or concerted improvement of economic conditions in both areas of origin and areas of destination based on the complementarities between them. The contribution of migrants to the development of their origin country results from a combination of the resources they transfer upon their return and the returns obtained from those resources (OECD, 2008). Those resources can be of three kinds: first, migrants bring back with them the education and working experience they acquired abroad; second, they may come back with financial capital, in the form of savings accumulated during their stay abroad which they may repatriate in various degrees of liquidity. Finally, they have specific social capital obtained from their migration experience which could take the form of networks, foreign values, attitudes and ideas (Tiemoko, 2003; OECD, 2008).

One reason for this is that the optimistic view on migration fits well with current development discourse which Marc Duffield (2010) identifies as the liberal way of development. A key characteristic of the optimistic paradigm is that development should be based on individuals' and households' adaptive self-reliance (Duffield, 2010). Studies regarding the interrelations between international migration and development (Castles and Delgado, 2008; De Haas, 2010; Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002) suggest that migration effects can be examined at three main levels namely the individual, the family, household, kin group or local community level, and the wider regional, district or national levels. The present study assesses the socio-economic implications of international migration and return at the individual migrant level using international return migrants resident in the Berekum Municipality of Ghana. This is done by looking at the returnees' financial and social capital formation as well as their access to essential household utilities. The assessment compares the returnees' living conditions prior to their departure abroad with that of their current living conditions at return using the capitals enumerated above as the key indicators. The aim was to ascertain whether international migration and return represent an important survival mechanism for extricating people out of poverty in developing countries like Ghana. Although studies abound on this subject matter in Ghana, the focus

has been on return migrants' human capital formation and accumulation of consumer durable goods (Yendaw et al., 2012) and utilization of returnees' human, financial and social capitals in small business development (Black et al., 2003). Thus, it appears no deliberate systematic academic inquiry assesses return migrants' financial and social capital formation as well as their access to essential household utilities in Ghana.

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Tanle (2012) and Weeks (1999) define migration as any temporary or permanent change in the usual place of residence across space in a given time period. That is, the detachment from the organization of activities at one place and the movement of the total round of activities to another (Goldscheider, 1971). Migration has time and space dimensions which are often used to classify migrants (Yendaw, 2012). For instance, in terms of time dimension, migration can be classified as seasonal or permanent; and spatially, it could be designated as internal or international while internal migration is further classified into four components namely, rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-rural and urban-urban. International return migration, which is the focus of this study, refers to the act of a person returning to his or her country of citizenship after having been international migrant in another country and who is intends to stay in his/her own country for at least one year (United Nations Statistics Division, 1998; IOM, 2004).

Theories on return migration in the 1970s viewed the returnee as a migrant who returned home because of a failed migration exposure that did not yield the desired outcome (Cassarino, 2004). For instance, the neoclassical migration model viewed the return decisions of migrants as the outcome of a failed migration experience which did not accomplish the expected benefits. In other words, in a neoclassical stance, return migration exclusively involves labour migrants who miscalculated the costs of migration due to imperfect information before departure and who did not reap the benefits of higher earnings. Return migration, therefore, occurs as a consequence of their failed experiences abroad or because their human capital was not rewarded as expected.

However, by the 1990s the focus regarding migrants' reasons for returning to their origin societies shifted greatly. Return then was understood as a successful experience abroad where the migrant accomplished the goals of higher income and the accumulation of savings while remitting part of their income to the household; acquisition of higher education, skills, and foreign work experience; as well as the accumulation of social capital in the form of networks, values and attitudes (Cassarino,

2004). From the perspective of the new economics model, international migration and return is viewed as a calculated strategy that aims to mitigate credit market imperfections at origin in which migration serves to accumulate sufficient savings to provide the capital, or at least the collateral required to obtain a credit for investment at home, in particular in business activities. Once they have achieved the target level of savings, migrants return to their home countries (Stark, 1991; Mesnard, 2004).

One of the most debated issues has been that of human capital gains for emigration countries through the return of migrants (Ammassari and Black, 2001; Hunger, 2004). The human capital model of socioeconomic attainment views migration as a form of investment whereby the individual initiates a geographical move with the expectation of drawing net cumulative gains over his or her working life (Wilson, 1985). Brain gain generally denotes expatriates returning from abroad with highly skilled technical or intellectual expertise, which creates a positive outcome because they often bring back skills and/or norms (Ardovino and Brown, 2008). Brain gain usually has a positive connotation in the migration literature because migrants can potentially bring back skills and/or norms and implement them in their home society. Gmelch (1980) has distinguished two perspectives from which this question may be measured or approached. On the one hand, the actual social and economic conditions of returnees can be examined, looking at returnees' financial situation in terms of their earnings and savings, their access to essential household utilities, their level of participation in social networks and associations as well as the values, attitudes and ideas returnees have learnt while abroad. On the other hand, the return migrants own perceptions can be measured based on their degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction before and after the migration experience.

This study adapts the cause-effect framework propounded by King (2000). The two key implications of return migration according to the cause-effect model relates to the human and social capitals gained abroad through education, training and gain on-the-job skills and the financial capital that is injected into the home region through remittances and savings. Even though the various propositions advanced in the causes and effects framework were found insightful, variables concerning the socio-economic conditions of returnees were not well articulated in its level of analysis. More so, other variables involving the causes of return migration as discussed in the conceptual framework (Figure 1) are also considered unrelated to the present study objective and thus the need for the adaptation of the model. In that regard, some variables which the original framework did not include as part of its analysis were added and these

included the return migrants' access to essential household utilities and financial credit at return as well as the social capital they have accumulated while abroad (Figure 1).

As shown in Figure 1, the section labeled 'socio-economic status' explained all the variables which are required for this investigation and are broadly categorized into economic and social factors. Within the context of this study, household utilities deal with the returnees' access to essential household utilities such as clean water and energy resources for cooking and drinking before departure and after return. Access to financial credit looks at whether respondents after their return have easy access to loans from formal financial institutions such as banks. Social capital formation, on the other hand, consists of the returnees' level of social connection and power as well as acquisition of valuable foreign values, attitudes and ideas.

Study setting

Berekum Municipality is located in the Western part of the Brong-Ahafo Region in Ghana. It lies between latitude 7° 5' South and 8.00° North and longitudes 2° 25' East and 2° 50' West. The Municipality shares boundaries with the Wenchi Municipality and the Jaman Municipality to the Northeast and Northwest respectively, the Dormaa Municipality to the South and the Sunyani Municipality to the East (Figure 2). Berekum Municipality lies in the semi-equatorial climatic zone which has a mean annual rainfall of between 124 and 175 cm and mean monthly temperatures ranging between 23°C and 33°C with the lowest around August; the highest being observed around March and April. Relative humidity is high averaging between 75 and 80 percent during the rainy seasons and 70 and 80 percent during the dry seasons of the year which is ideal for luxurious vegetative growth. The soils are mostly forest ochrosols which are well-drained and therefore suitable for agricultural activities. The population of the Municipality for the periods 1984 and 2000 were 78,604 and 93,235 respectively. This gives an annual growth rate of 3.3% between 1984 and 2000. According to the 2010 population and housing census, about 51.8 percent of the total population were females while 48.2 per cent were males, giving a sex ratio of 94.4% males to 100 females.

Financial institutions in the Municipality include Ghana Commercial Bank, Agricultural Development Bank, Societe Generale-Social Security Bank and other Rural Banks. There are 74 public and private Junior High schools, eight Senior High schools/Technical Schools, one Teacher Training College and one Nursing Training College. The Municipal health service comprises the

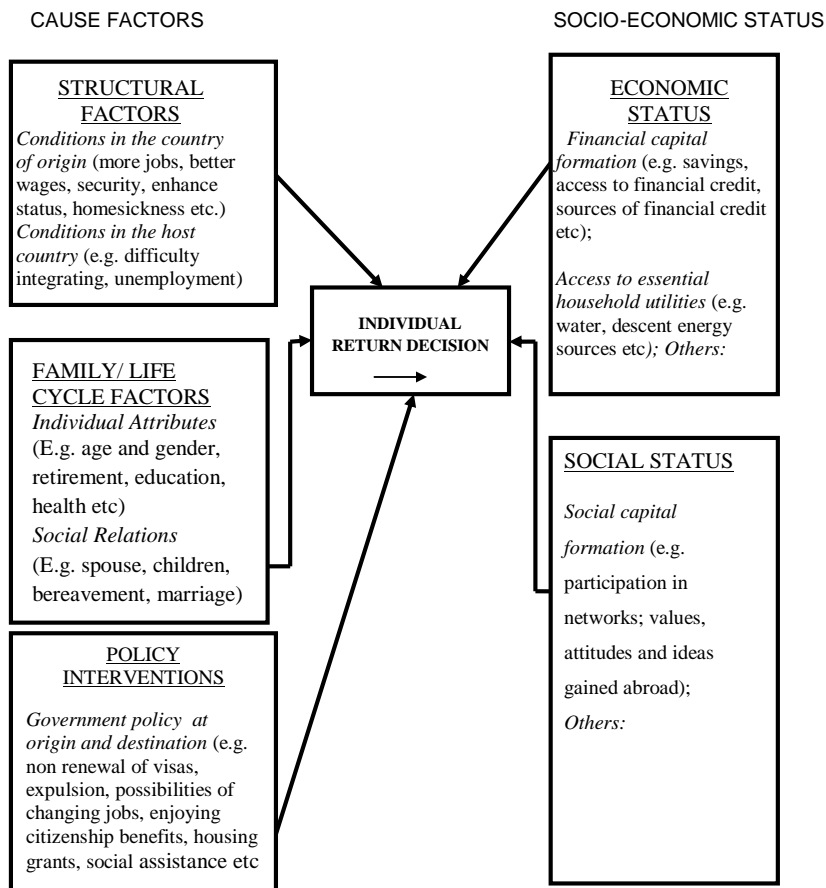


Figure 1. Conceptual framework on return migration. Source: Adapted from King (2000).

Ministry of Health, Mission and Private Hospitals and the community sector. Statistics from a Core Welfare Indicator Questionnaire in 2003 showed that the Berekum Municipality recorded the highest access to health facilities in the Brong Ahafo Region.

Given the favourable physical characteristics of the area such as rainfall, temperatures, humidity and soils, the dominant economic activity in the Berekum Municipality is agriculture (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). It employs closely about 60 percent of the working population. Aside agricultural activities, the people are engaged in non agricultural occupations such as trading, small and large scale businesses, service related occupations, artisan and a few are into construction and manufacturing. Berekum was selected for the study because it is noted nationwide for international migration and return (Anarfi et al., 1999). International migration in the Municipality is generally considered as an integral part of livelihood and advancement strategies for most families (Anarfi et al., 1999; Berekum Municipal

Assembly, 2007).

DATA AND METHODS

The total number of returnees found in the Berekum Municipality as at the time of the survey was 204. This was obtained through a list compiled during a reconnaissance survey using the snowballing approach. Out of the 204 returnees identified, about two thirds (120) were selected for the study due to resource constraints. The unit of analysis for this study was the individual returnee aged 18 years and above. The rationale for interviewing people aged 18 years and above was that in Ghana 18 years is the age of maturity and consent (Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992). The instrument used to collect the data for the study was an interview schedule which covered the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, their financial capital formation, affordability of household facilities/utilities such as safe water and descent energy resources and their social capital formation looking at their level of participation in social networks and association, acquisition of valuable foreign values, attitudes and ideas. The sampling procedure used for the study was simple random, specifically, the lottery method. The main method used in the data collection was a

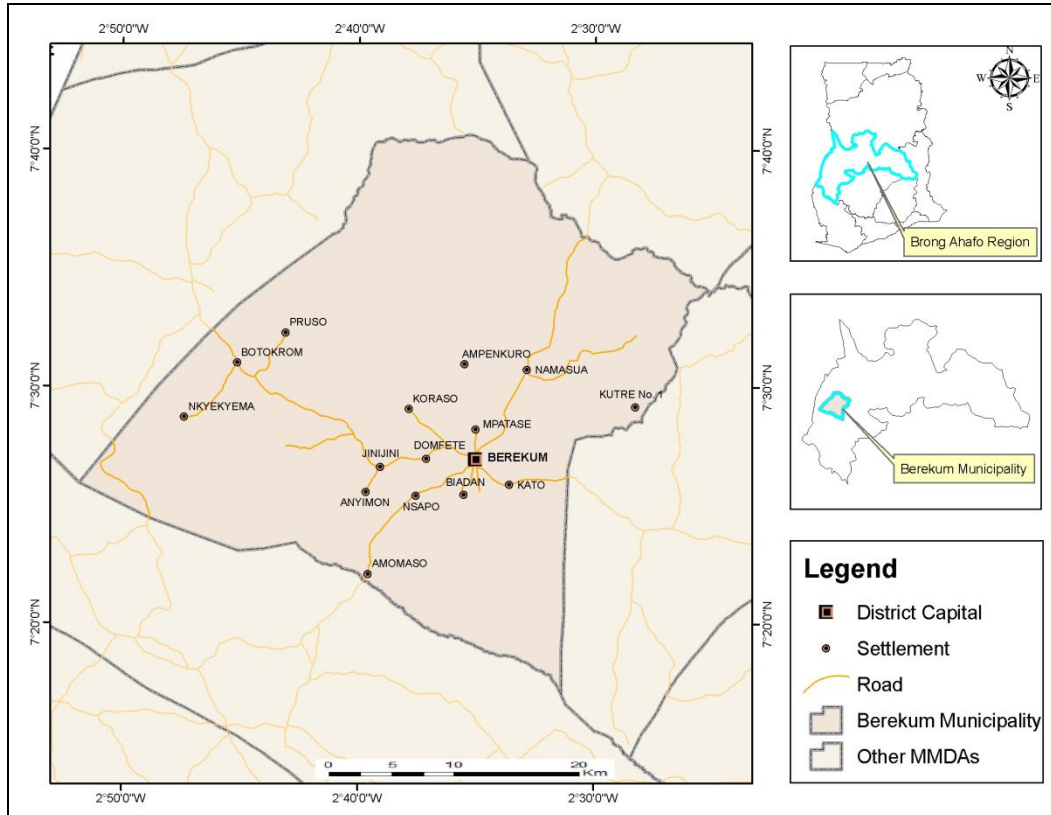


Figure 2. A Map of the Berekum Municipality. Source: GIS unit of the Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC.

structured interview and this was done using interview schedules. The fieldwork took place between March and April 2011. The respondents were contacted at home or workplaces based on the names and addresses collected during a reconnaissance survey.

The Statistical Package and Service Solutions (SPSS) version 17 was employed to process and analyze the data. Specifically, descriptive and inferential statistical techniques such as chi-square were employed for the analysis. The socio-economic status of the returnees was assessed by looking at their financial status as against their length of stay abroad. Length of stay abroad was the independent variable and financial status as the dependent variable. One main challenge encountered in the study was that there was no database on return migrants in the in the study area. To identify the return migrants therefore, the snowball approach was employed which involved walking from one point to the other within the Municipality.

RESULTS

Socio-demographic profile of the respondents

The results as shown in Table 1 revealed that the respondents were predominantly males (83%), who were youthful (68 per cent were 20-39 years) and were married

(50%). This is consistent with previous studies by Anarfi et al. (2003) who opined that most return migrants to Ghana were youthful and were in their active ages who could be useful for the socio-economic development of the nation. The fact that half of the respondents were married was expected in view of the observation that a large proportion (68%) of them were aged 20-39 years, the age at which it is considered ideal for people to marry (Anarfi et al., 2003). The results, however, appears to be at variance with Zlotnik (2003) and Twum-Baah (2005) assertion that feminized migration is increasing in Africa as a result of higher levels of education for women and changing socio-cultural norms. The disparity in male-female ratio could, however, be explained by what Anarfi et al. (1999) had observed that as custom requires, most females prefer to stay behind while their male partners emigrate home.

The results further showed that a large proportion (42%) of the returnees had attained senior high/vocational/technical education, while about a quarter had tertiary level education. The respondents were mostly Christians (91%) which is in consonance with findings from the 2000

Table 1. Socio-demographic profile of return migrants.

Background characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
Sex		
Male	99	82.5
Female	22	17.5
Age		
20-29	40	33.3
30-39	41	34.2
40-49	26	21.7
50+	13	10.8
Marital status		
Never married	44	35.8
Married	59	50.0
Separated	14	11.7
Widowed	3.0	2.5
Highest level of education		
Primary School	8.0	6.6
Junior High/Middle Sch.	36	30.0
Senior High/Tech./Voc.	50	41.7
Tertiary	26	21.7
Religious affiliation		
Traditional	4.0	3.3
Christianity	109	90.8
Islam	6.0	5.1
Others	1.0	0.8
Current occupation		
Public/civil servants	13	10.8
Trading	43	35.9
Artisan	28	23.3
Farming	14	11.7
Unemployed	16	13.3
Others	6.0	5.0
Total	120	5.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

Population and Housing Census report of Ghana which indicated that majority of Ghanaians were Christians (69%) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). The results suggest that about six out of every ten return migrants were more likely to be traders or artisans.

Destination country and duration of stay by sex

Results from Table 2 showed that the most preferred

Table 2. Destination country and duration of stay by sex.

Destination and duration	Sex		Total (%)
	Male (%)	Female (%)	
Destination country			
Cote d' Ivoire	5.0	7.7	4.8
Germany	18.2	20.7	19.2
Israel	5.9	5.5	9.2
Italy	14.2	9.3	14.2
Libya	25.6	9.1	24.2
Spain	11.1	4.8	5.0
UK	10	33.1	14.2
USA	10	9.8	9.2
Duration of stay			
5-9	71.7	90.5	75.0
10-15	17.2	4.8	15.0
15+	11.1	4.8	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

destination of the respondents was Libya (24.2%) and Germany (19.2%). The results further revealed that the same number of respondents travelled to Italy (14.2%) and the UK (14.2%) but a higher number of males (25.6%) compared to females (9.1%) traveled to Libya (Table 2). The fact that majority (24.2%) of the return migrants from the Berekum Municipality travelled to Libya might be the case where most young people from the Brong Ahafo region sojourn through the Sahara desert and the high sea under harrowing conditions with the sole aim of entering European destinations such as Italy and Spain through Libya. The above finding is also consistent with what Awumbila (2007) observed about the Brong Ahafo region, one of the most affected localities in Ghana noted for irregular migration to Libya. However, the results have shown that female returnees were numerous than male respondents who travelled to the UK (33.1%) and Germany (20.7%). Meanwhile, comparing the number of respondents who returned from European and American destinations to that of African destinations, the analysis (Table 2) indicates that cumulatively most emigrations from the Berekum Municipality are in favour of European and American destinations. This confirms what Twum-Baah (2005) has observed that recent political crisis and changes in the fortunes within the African sub-region have reduced the significance of intra-regional migration streams in favour of American and European destinations.

Some returnees did not stay long at their various

Table 3. Savings and amount saved towards return.

Made savings	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	100	83.2
No	20	16.8
Total	120	100.0
Amount saved		
Less than 1000 Ghana cedis	7	5.8
1000-4900 Ghana cedis	22	18.3
5000-10000 Ghana cedis	20	16.6
Above 10000 Ghana cedis	71	59.2
Total	100	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

destinations while others stayed for longer periods. The analysis in Table 2 indicates that about eight out of every ten return migrants (80%) mentioned that they stayed at their destination for between five and nine years while 25 per cent said they stayed for a period of ten years or more. A higher proportion of males (28.3%) as against females (10%) stayed for 10 years and above (Table 2). The present revelation could be due to the conjugal and reproductive roles of females where they are sometimes forced to return back home, for instance, to get married or join a spouse at home (Anarfi et al., 1999). Overall, the analysis indicates that male respondents had longer duration of stays overseas than females in the Berekum Municipality.

Socio-economic conditions of the respondents

Migration has been considered as one of the avenues for improving upon the socio-economic conditions of individuals and families in areas that are poorly endowed with resources (Anarfi et al., 1999; Black et al., 2003). To ascertain this claim, data were gathered regarding the returnees' financial situation by looking at their savings and amount saved towards their return, the returnees' access to formal financial credit and the sources of their credit; the returnees' access to essential household utilities such as potable water and descent energy resources as well as their social capital formation which includes their level participation in social networks and associations and the kinds of valuable foreign values, attitudes and ideas the returnees have learnt while abroad.

Savings and amount saved towards return

It is believed that after years of hard work and savings,

many migrants return with sizable amounts of capital (Gmelch, 1980; Ammassari and Black 2001). To assess the respondents' financial status, they were asked to indicate whether they were able to save some money towards their return and if they did the amount saved. Table 3 showed that a higher proportion (83.2%) of the return migrants said they were able to save some money towards their return while 17% reported otherwise save money. This finding supports what Appleyard (1962) and Gmelch (1980) have observed that migrants who live and work abroad are able to save money which they transfer to their home country upon return. With regards to those returnees who said they could not save money towards their return home could fall under a category of returnees which Cerase (1974) had described as failure returnees. According to Cerase (1974), such return migrants represent a class of migrants who miscalculated the cost and benefits of the migration project as a result of insufficient information before departure. Concerning the amount saved, the results showed that more than half (59.2%) of the returnees brought home above 10,000 Ghana cedis (Table 3).

Access to credit facilities and sources of credit prior to departure and after return

According to the new economics of labour migration model, international migration and return is a calculated strategy that aims to mitigate credit market imperfections at origin in which migration serves to accumulate sufficient savings to provide the capital, or at least the collateral required to obtain a credit for investment at home. To ascertain this assertion, the respondents were requested to indicate whether they had access to credit facilities before their departure and after their return and if they did their main sources of credit. Results from Table 4 revealed that about 75% of the returnees said they did not have access to credit facilities before departure abroad and the few respondents (25%) who reported having had access to credit facilities before departure said their main sources of credit was from family relations (50%) followed by 'susu' a local Ghanaian parlance that means small and used to denote putting down money in bits for future investment) groups (30%).

After their return, the data showed that closely about eight out of every ten return migrants (78.3%) reported that they have access to financial credit facilities whilst a few (21.7%) said otherwise. Concerning their main sources of credit after their return, the results revealed that more than a sixth (63.6%) of the returnees said they have access to financial credit from formal financial institutions (Banks) followed by 'susu' groups (15.5%). The above observations indicate a significant improve-

Table 4. Access to credit facilities and sources of credit prior to departure and after return.

Access to credit and sources	Before departure		After return	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Access to credit				
Yes	30	25	94	78.3
No	90	75	26	21.7
Total	120	100.0	120	100.0
Sources of financial credit				
Banks	3	10	82	63.6
Susu group	9	30	20	15.5
Family relations	15	50	13	10.1
Money lenders	-	-	3	2.3
Friends	2	6.7	9	7.0
Others	1	3.3	2	1.6
Total	30	100.0	129	100.0

*Frequency exceeds 120 because of multiple responses. Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

Table 5. Results of chi-square test.

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	37.156	6	0.013
Likelihood Ratio	34.437	6	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	17.962	1	0.000
No of Valid Cases	120		

Alpha level = ≤ 0.05 . Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

ment in the respondents' financial conditions due to their migration abroad. The current evidence (Table 4) is in conformity with the basic tenets of the new economics of labour migration where international migration serves to mitigate credit market imperfections in origin countries at return.

Destination country of stay abroad by financial status of respondents

It has been observed that the destination country of stay by individual migrants has the propensity to influence his or her financial status at return (Bovenkerk, 1974; Dustmann, 2001). To unravel this claim, a chi-square test for the hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between the destination country of returnees and their financial status indicated a significant relationship between the returnees destination country of stay and their financial status after return (Table 5). This implies that return migrants' financial status can be predicted or explained in terms of their destination country of stay

abroad. This is also confirmed in Table 6 which showed that respondents who lived and worked in Germany had the highest financial status (90.6%) at return followed by those who traveled to Israel (89.9%). Meanwhile, respondents who traveled to the USA and the UK had similar financial conditions representing 76.7 and 76.5% respectively. The results however showed that respondents who stayed and worked in Cote d'Ivoire had the lowest financial outcomes (53.6%). Generally, respondents who migrated to African destinations had the lowest financial status compared to those who migrated to European and American destinations. The current observation (Table 6) could be reflective of the overwhelming level of inequities inherent in global resource sharing and the level of economic development between developed and developing nations.

Social networks prior to their departure and after return

The actual social and economic status of returnees

Table 6. Destination country of stay abroad by financial status of respondents.

Financial status	Destination country								
	USA	Germany	Israel	Italy	Libya	Spain	UK	Cote d'Ivoire	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Improved	76.7	90.6	89.9	88.2	67.8	83.3	76.5	53.6	78.3
Diminished	23.3	9.4	10.1	11.8	32.2	16.7	23.5	46.4	21.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	6	23	11	17	29	6	17	11	120

Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

Table 7. Social networks prior to departure and after return.

Improved networks	Before departure		After return	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	25	21.4	84	70.6
No	94	78.6	35	29.4
Total	119	100.0	119	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

Table 8. Level of participation in decision-making by duration of stay abroad.

Level of participation	Duration of stay			
	5-9	10-14	15+	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Improved	80	88.9	91.7	82.5
Remained unchanged	13.3	11.1	8.3	12.5
Reduced	6.7	0.0	0.0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	90	18	12	120

Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

according to Gmelch (1980) can also be examined by looking at their level of participation in networks or associations. To ascertain this observation, respondents were asked to indicate whether prior to their departure abroad they belonged to social groups or associations or had some friends and neighbours whom they could rely on during crisis periods. Results from Table 7 revealed that more than 70% of the returnees did not have social networks to rely on during crisis periods before their migration with only a small proportion (21.4%) of them who said otherwise. After their return, the results showed that about 71% of the respondents said they had social groups or neighbours and friends to rely on during crisis moments (improved social networks) while only about a third (29.4%) reported that they did not have social

networks to depend on during crisis periods (Table 7). The fact that majority of the returnees belonged to social networks for support in times of crisis periods after their return could be explained by their migration abroad as the migration exposure has the potential to provide them with an opportunity to construct both foreign and local networks. The current finding further goes to support the important role that social capital plays by affording individuals with a sense of belonging and offer them opportunities (Franklin, 2007).

Level of participation in decision-making by duration of stay abroad

Return migrants' level of participation in decision-making in their communities is further regarded as an aspect of social capital and a key indicator of returnees' social status (Gmelch, 1980). Respondents were asked to rate their current level of participation in decision-making in their communities compared to the period before departure. Results from Table 8 showed that about 82.5% of the respondents admitted that their current level of participation in decision-making compared to the period before departure has improved, 12.5% said their current level of participation has remained unchanged while 5.0% said otherwise. Out of those respondents who reported an improved level of participation in decision-making after their return, about 91.7% of them were those who had the longest duration of stay abroad (15 years and above)

Table 9. Assimilation of valuable foreign values, attitudes and ideas while abroad.

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Assimilation of foreign values		
Yes	106	88.3
No	14	11.7
Total	120	100.0
Specific values, attitudes and ideas		
Work ethics	32	15.0
Trust worthiness	25	11.7
Ability to work with people from different background	32	15.0
Time consciousness	44	20.6
Language/communication skills	13	6.1
Hard work	38	17.8
Human rights standards	19	8.9
Health standards	4	1.9
Others	7	3.3
Total	214	100.0

*Frequency exceeds 120 because of multiple responses. Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

followed by those who spent between 10-14years (88.9%). The current revelation (Table 8) indicates a positive association between duration of stay abroad and level of influence at home. This might be attributed to the fact that respondents with longer duration of stays probably had ample time abroad sufficient enough to mobilize the necessary resources required for their return which might have contributed to raising their social status after their return. The above revelation finds credence in anthropological studies by King (2000) who observed how returnees to their Hong Kong villages threw lavish banquets and made generous donations to community projects as a way of legitimizing their new social position and level of influence resulting from high level of return readiness.

Assimilation of valuable foreign values, attitudes and ideas

It has been observed in other studies that migrants while abroad are able to learn certain valuable foreign values, attitudes and ideas which they transfer with them to their countries of origin (Franklin, 2007). As part of a measure of the returnees' social capital formation, they were further requested in the survey to indicate whether they had gained any valuable foreign values, attitudes and ideas

while abroad and if they did what were they. From the analysis in Table 9, it has been observed that closely about 90% of the respondents were convinced that they had gained some valuable foreign values attitudes and ideas while abroad.

The respondents who admitted having gained valuable foreign values, attitudes and ideas, about 21% said they have learnt time consciousness, 18% indicated they have learnt hard work, 15% gained valuable work ethics, 11.9% said they have learnt how to be trust worthy, 9% learnt human rights standards, 6.1% acquired communicative skills whilst 1.9% reported that they have gained valuable health standards. All the values, attitudes and ideas stated above are key intangible cherished human resources which are crucial for the socio-economic advancements of any given society. But the impact of these valuable resources (Table 9) can only be materialized if they are put to good use by the returnees and willingness of the Ghanaian social structure to allow such new values, attitudes and ideas to permeate.

Sources of water for drinking and laundry prior to departure and after return

Access to quality water resources is often regarded as capital intensive particularly in most developing nations.

Table 10. Sources of water for drinking and laundry prior to departure and after return.

Water for drinking and laundry	Before departure		After return	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Water for drinking				
Pipe borne inside	19	14.6	50	31.1
Pipe borne outside	46	35.7	7	4.3
Well water	7	5.5	30	2.5
Surface water	3	2.3	-	-
Spring/rain water	2	1.6	-	-
Bottled (mineral) water	-	-	36	22.4
Water sachets (pure water)	19	14.7	62	38.5
Tanker supply	2	1.7	-	-
Borehole	31	24.7	2	1.2
Sources of water for laundry				
Pipe borne inside	25	19.2	71	55.1
Pipe borne outside	39	30.2	17	13.2
Well water	40	31.1	30	23.3
Tanker supply	5	4.0	3	2.3
Borehole	15	11.7	7	5.4
Surface water (e.g. rivers)	5	3.9	1	0.8
Total	129	100.0	161	100.0

*Frequency exceeds 120 because of multiple responses. Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

In that regard, an individual source of water for drinking, laundry and dishwashing is an indicator of his/her socio-economic status even though it is sometimes a function of state policy. According to Gmelch (1980) and Black et al. (2003), returnees after years of hard work and savings abroad are able to afford essential household utilities (such as potable water resources) after their return. To validate this claim, the respondents in this study were requested to indicate their main sources of water for drinking, laundry and dishwashing prior to their departure and after their return (Table 10).

The analysis in Table 10 showed that before their departure more than half (36%) of the returnees accessed water for drinking from pipe borne outside their homes followed by borehole water (25%). After their return their main sources of water for drinking changed significantly in favour of water sachets-pure water (38.5%) followed by pipe borne water inside their homes (31.1%). What was striking from the results was that prior to their departure abroad none of the respondents could afford bottled (mineral) water for drinking while after their return the results confirmed that closely about a quarter (22.4%) of the returnees could afford bottled/mineral water for drinking. The current finding (Table 10) clearly depicts an improvement in the socio-economic status of some

returnees resulting from their migration abroad.

From the results in Table 10, it was further observed that, generally, a higher proportion of the returnees were able to afford safe water resources for laundry and dishwashing after their return. As shown in Table 10 before their departure, closely about a third (31.1%) of the returnees were using well water for laundry and dishwashing while after their return more than half (55.1%) of them were able to access pipe borne water inside their homes for laundry and dishwashing. The above observation in Table 10 is an indication of an improvement on the returnees' socio-economic conditions possibly resulting from their migration exposure.

Sources of energy for cooking prior to departure and after return.

The type of energy resources that are used for cooking by individuals are said by Black et al. (2003) to be key determinants of a person's socio-economic status as this may simply reflect returnees' greater success in earning money whilst abroad. In view of this, the respondents were requested to indicate the type of energy sources employed for cooking prior to their migration and after their return. Table 11 has shown that before departure a significant proportion (46%) of the returnees were using charcoal for cooking followed by firewood (33.1%). After

Table 11. Sources of energy for cooking prior to departure and after return.

Sources of energy	Before departure		After return	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Energy for cooking				
Charcoal	53	46.0	36	25.7
Firewood	43	33.1	3	2.1
Kerosene lamp	6	4.8	-	-
Sawdust	3	2.4	-	-
Gas	9	10.7	87	62.1
Electricity	4	2.2	14	10.0
Others	1	0.8	-	-
Total	119	100.0	140	100.0

*Frequency exceeds 120 because of multiple responses. Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

Table 12. Assessment of general living conditions prior to departure and after return.

Living condition	Frequency	Percentage
Improved	98	81.5
Remained unchanged	15	13.2
Diminished	7	6.0
Total	120	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2011.

their return, more than a sixth (62.1%) of the respondents was using gas as their main source of cooking food followed by charcoal (26%). The present findings mimic an upward adjustment in the socio-economic status of the returnees and this might be due to their migration abroad.

Assessment of general living conditions prior to departure and after return

The respondents were finally asked to compare their overall living conditions after their return with the period before migration. Table 12 indicates that more than 80% of the respondents said their living conditions have improved after their return, 13.2% said their living conditions have remained unchanged while a minority (6.0%) reported a diminished living conditions after their return. Overall, the present analysis of the general living conditions of the returnees depicts an improvement in their socio-economic status due to their migration abroad.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study explores the socio-economic conditions of

international return migrants to Ghana using Berekum Municipality as a case study. The study has shown that about 83% of the returnees were males who were mostly young (20-39 years) and were married (50%) and more than a quarter (36%) were engaged in trading or business activities.

The analysis has established that a large proportion of the returnees were able to accumulate substantial amounts of financial capital resources towards their return. For instance, more than 80% of the return migrants were able to save some money for their return and closely about 60% said they brought home above 10, 000 Ghana cedis. This finding is in consonance with what Appleyard (1962), Rhoades (1980) and Gmelch (1980) had observed that migrants who live and work abroad are able to save money which they transfer to their home countries upon return.

The results further showed that most of the respondents (78.3%) after their return have access to formal financial credit facilities which were obtained primarily through banks (63.6%) which prior to their departure was almost impossible. This supports the new economics of labour migration literature that migration may serve to accumulate the necessary collateral required for accessing credit facilities at origin. In terms of their general financial situation, the results revealed that a higher percentage (85%) of the respondents reported that their financial conditions have improved tremendously after their return. But it was observed that return migrants who traveled to Germany had the highest financial status (90.6%) followed by those who traveled to Israel (89.9%). Results from a chi-square test of the hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between the destination country of stay abroad and financial status of returnees showed a significant relationship between destination country of stay and financial status of the returnees. This implies that an individual migrant country

of stay has some influence on his/her financial standing at return. The economic implication of the improvement of the financial status of the returnees is that some of the return migrants are likely to expand their businesses or launch new ones and employ others from the Municipality thereby reducing the already high level of unemployment in the area (GSS, 2002). But this can only happen with adequate governmental start-up support together with the availability of prudent investment climate for all.

With regard to the returnees' social capital formation, the study has shown that most of the respondents have acquired valuable foreign values, attitudes and ideas and have become socially connected with improved social networks at return. For instance, while more than 70% of the returnees did not have social networks to rely on during crisis periods prior to their migration, after their return, the data showed that about 71% belonged to social groups or had neighbours and friends to rely on in times of crisis (improved social networks). These findings were consistent with what Franklin (2007) had observed where social networks foster social cohesion, provides individual returnees with a sense of belonging and offer opportunities for survival. In addition to the above, it was further revealed that about 82.5% of the respondents admitted that their current level of participation in decision-making in their communities compared to the period before departure had improved. But it was found that respondents with the longest duration of stay abroad (15 years and above) had the highest level of participation in decision-making in their communities representing about 91.7% which mimics a positive association between duration of stay abroad and level of influence at home. This might be attributed to the fact that respondents with longer duration of stays probably had ample time abroad sufficient enough to mobilize the necessary resources required for their return which might have contributed to raising their social standing in their communities after their return. Some of the returnees as revealed from the study (Table 9) have also learnt certain valuable foreign values, attitudes and ideas while abroad which could be useful for the socio-economic development of the nation. For instance, about 20.6% said they have learnt the value of time consciousness followed by those who said they have learnt the general principle of hard work (17.8%).

With respect to the respondents' access to essential household utilities and services, the study revealed that a large number of the return migrants upon return could afford essential household facilities and these included quality water for laundry, dishwashing and drinking and descent energy resources for cooking as discussed in the conceptual framework (Figure 1). For instance, as shown in Table 10, before departure closely about a third (31.1%) of the returnees were using well water for laundry

and dishwashing while after their return more than half (55.1%) of them were able to access pipe borne water inside their homes to undertake laundry and dishwashing. It was also revealed from the results that prior to their departure while none of the respondents could afford bottled (mineral) water for drinking, after their return the results confirmed that closely about a quarter (22.4%) of the returnees could afford bottled/mineral water for drinking. On issues relating to the returnees' main sources of energy for cooking food, the results further showed that prior to their departure a significant proportion (46%) of them were using charcoal while after their return the study revealed that more than a sixth (62.1%) were using gas as their main source of energy cooking. This improvement in the returnees' access to essential household utilities and or facilities could be primarily due to the improvement in their financial status where a higher number of them returned home with sizeable amounts of money.

In general, more than 80% of the returnees said their living conditions have improved tremendously after their return due to their migration abroad (Table 12). One negative effect of the improved socio-economic status of the returnees is that it has the propensity to create income differentials between return migrants and non-migrants households in the Municipality. Secondly, the improved socio-economic status of the returnees could serve as incentive for others (non-migrants) to also emigrate abroad thereby impeding the government's resolve to fight against the already high brain drain in the country. In conclusion, some of the returnees had acquired financial and social capital resources which are useful for their personal advancement and the socio-economic development of the country. International migration, therefore, as observed from the study can no longer be viewed absolutely as a drain on sending origin countries but as one of the survival mechanisms for most people in developing economies.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The study has revealed a number of interesting results based upon which useful policies could be evolved. In line with the main findings of this study, the following policy recommendations are made: Among other things, the study has revealed that a higher proportion of the returnees were in their active ages (young). They are therefore in their most economically active ages during which the experience gained abroad could be put into useful purpose. It is therefore recommended that the country's economic development planners should factor return migrants into the scheme of things in Ghana's strive to achieve a higher middle-income status.

Furthermore, a special governmental effort should be made to attract successful Ghanaian nationals in the diaspora to return home. This is important because some of the returnees as revealed in the study have accumulated substantial amounts of financial and social capitals which represent a key potential for the socio-economic development of the nation. Provision of incentives such as access to credit facilities, job creation, tax reliefs, social assistance, and modernization of the country's investment climate are but a few that could be pursued to attract Ghanaians abroad to return home and invest.

Again, government and all stakeholders involved in migration management such as International Organization for Migration (IOM) should through a multi-sectorial approach develop and implement comprehensive programmes such as pre-return information and post-arrival information and counseling and start-up support for returnees to ensure successful reinsertion into the Ghanaian labour market economy and to facilitate an optimum utilization of their financial and social capital resources for the benefit of both returnees and society as a whole.

Moreover, future research regarding the socio-economic status of Ghanaian returnees should be replicated in other cities of the country in order to draw comparative analysis and generalization for the whole nation. Meanwhile, more detailed research could be carried out on each of the identified element that contributed to the improvement in the socio-economic conditions of returnees. This will help determine the relative importance of each of the capitals acquired.

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The background of the entire page is a vintage-style map with a prominent compass rose in the center. The map is rendered in shades of brown and tan, with blue lines indicating geographical features. The compass rose is circular and has a white needle pointing towards the top. The text is overlaid on this background.

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