GHANA SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

Volume 14, Number 1, June 2017

School of Social Sciences, University of Ghana, Legon

GHANA SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

School of Social Sciences
University of Ghana, Legon

Ghana Social Science Journal

Volume 14, Number 1, June 2017

John Onu Odihi, University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri, Nigeria.
Mohammed Salih, Erasmus University of Rotterdam, The Netherlands.
Wilson Kwame Yayoh, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana.

The views expressed in the papers are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editor or the Publishers or the University of Ghana.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

BOOK REVIEWS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM IN GHANA: AN OVERVIEW

Robert Ame[1]

Abstract

This paper outlines Ghana's current system of juvenile justice. It explores the system's innovations and assesses its compliance with international standards of juvenile justice. The paper argues that despite the noble character of the legislation, due to financial and human resource constraints, it has not been possible to bring contemporary practices in line with the spirit and intention of the legislation. As such, there is a major gap between the legislation and reality. The overview furnished in this paper should be significantly useful to scholars and practitioners interested in Ghana's juvenile justice system.

Keywords: juvenile justice; delinquency; youth justice; Ghana; restorative youth justice

Introduction[2]

The Ghanaian Parliament passed a new Juvenile Justice Act (Act 653) in July 2003 which replaced the 1960 Criminal Procedure Code (Act 30) that had previously governed the administration of youth justice in the country. Since the 1960 Criminal Procedure Code was only an amalgamation with minor modifications of all laws in the country that pertained to juvenile justice, the 2003 Act serves as the first major

[1] Associate Professor, Human Rights and Criminology, Wilfrid Laurier University, 73 George Street, Brantford, ON, N3T 2Y3, Canada. Email: rame@wlu.ca. Tel: (1) 519-756-8228 x5848. Fax: (1) 519-756-1552.

change in juvenile justice legislation in Ghana in more than 60 years. Since the 1960 Act has such significance, this paper will address some key questions in respect to the salient features encompassed by the 2003 Act: what changes did the new Act introduce? Has it enhanced the administration and quality of youth justice in the country? What model of juvenile justice does the new act portray? Does it conform to the international standards of juvenile justice? These are some of the questions addressed in this paper with the overall objective of providing a general overview of how the system operates. The paper argues that despite the noble character of the legislation, limitations in financial and human resources have impeded progress towards bringing contemporary practices in line with the spirit and intention of the legislation. As such, there is a major asymmetry between the legislation and reality. The overview furnished in this paper should be of significant use to scholars and practitioners interested in Ghana's juvenile justice system.

Origin of the Contemporary Juvenile Justice System in Ghana

The first formal juvenile justice system in Ghana was introduced by the British colonial administration in a series of legislation passed between 1928 and 1946 (Abotchie, n.d., 1991; Riby-Williams 1954). It created a separate juvenile justice system for the first time in the history of the country, marking an important milestone in this area of the history of Ghana.[3] However, the late 1940s and the early 1950s constitute the dawn of independence in the country, as the Gold Coast became independent from Britain in March 1957 and was immediately renamed Ghana. A consequence of this development was that the parliament of the newly independent country had to review all existing legislation, including all laws related to juvenile justice, with the aim of bringing them in line with its new status. These were the developments that led to the adoption of the Criminal Procedure Code (1960).

---

[3] The author has discussed the origins and evolution of Ghana's juvenile justice system in much more detail elsewhere and so will not repeat it here.

The Criminal Procedure Code (1960) [the Code]

Prior to the passage of the Juvenile Justice Act (2003) [hereinafter the JJA], which is the current law, the Criminal Procedure Code (Act 30) (1960) [hereinafter the Code] was the principal legislation that regulated how juveniles in conflict with the law were dealt with in the country. The Code was a sister legislation to the Criminal Code (Act 29) 1960, which still regulates the administration of the adult criminal justice system.

The Juvenile Court and its Jurisdiction.

Under the Code, a juvenile delinquent was a person under the age of 17 years but above 7 years who committed a crime or broke any section of the Code. However, the age of criminal responsibility was raised from 7 to 12 years by virtue of the Criminal Code Amendments, 1998 (Act 554). So from 1998 till the passage of the 2003 Juvenile Justice Act, a juvenile delinquent was a person under the age of 17 years but above 12 years who committed a crime or broke any section of the Code. The Code gave the juvenile court exclusive jurisdiction to hear all criminal charges preferred against a juvenile. Hence, only the juvenile court, a court of summary jurisdiction, could hear any charge against or impose a sentence in any matter affecting a person who was a juvenile.

The Code, however, allowed a case involving a juvenile, who had been charged with an offence jointly with a person who had attained the age of 17 years, to be heard by a court of summary jurisdiction other than the juvenile court. Even then, that court could not sentence the juvenile who was found guilty; the court would have to remit the case to the juvenile court for sentencing, even though the court could give directions to the juvenile court concerning the disposal of the case (Section 341 and 342 of Act 30 (1960)). However, when a juvenile committed an indictable offence, a juvenile court could neither try the juvenile nor impose a sentence of imprisonment or death. In this case, a court which has jurisdiction to try indictable cases must try the juvenile, but if it found such a juvenile guilty and the offence attracted a sentence of

imprisonment or capital punishment, the court could not pronounce or record a sentence. Instead, the juvenile would have to be detained at the pleasure of the Head of State and at a place and manner as the Minister responsible might direct (Twumasi, 1985).

The chief justice appointed members of the juvenile court (Amissah, 1982). The court normally consisted of a panel of three people: the magistrate for the district in which the court was situated or a lawyer appointed by the chief justice, who served as chairman, and two lay magistrates. The lay magistrates were usually chosen from the ranks of the clergy, senior officials of the Department of Social Welfare, school headmasters and headmistresses, prominent businessmen, and women and wives of citizens in good standing who had demonstrated special interest in children (Nortey, 1969). The main task of the juvenile court panel was to determine the guilt or otherwise of any juvenile that was brought before it. The hearings of the court were strictly private. No others were admitted to the sittings except the juvenile(s) involved, their parents or guardians, the police (prosecuting) and social workers who provided Social Enquiry Reports or who accompanied the accused juveniles from Remand Homes. An accused juvenile could have also been represented by a lawyer. In reality, however, very few juveniles were represented in court by a lawyer.

Methods of Dealing with Offenders Found Guilty

Another major task of the juvenile court was the reformation of delinquents. Thus, while the code prohibited the juvenile court from sentencing any juvenile under 17 years to imprisonment or capital punishment, it granted the court both institutional and non-institutional options for dealing with juveniles found guilty, with the aim of training and rehabilitating them. Non-institutional options comprised:
(i) supervision by a probation officer;
(ii) committal to the care of a relative or other fit person;
(iii) payment of fines, damages, or costs; and
(iv) payment of fines by parents or guardians deemed to have contributed to the commission of a crime by the juvenile.

The institutional options were committal to (a) Industrial Schools, (b) Probation Homes, (c) Remand Homes ran by the Department of Social Welfare for juveniles under 17 years and (d) the Borstal Institute administered by the Prisons Department for young persons of 17 - 21 years. Under the code, Ghana had one Borstal Institute in Accra; the Senior Boys' Industrial Schools at Agona-Swedru and Pong-Tamale for boys between the ages of 14 and 17; the Junior Boys' Industrial School at Sekondi for boys under the age of 14; the Girls' Remand Home and Girls' Industrial School in Accra for girls under the age of 17, and the Boys' Remand Homes in Accra and Tamale. As pointed out by Mensa-Bonsu (1992, 1995), girls were highly disadvantaged because the institutional options available to them were limited. In the 1980s, the Industrial Schools and Remand Homes were amalgamated as one institution and renamed Vocational Training Institutes. The Department of Social Welfare renamed these two juvenile institutions under its administration to attract non-delinquent juveniles to enrol in them so as to remove the stigma attached to the institutions under the former names (Ameh, 1993). A recent study found that non-delinquent juveniles still enrol at the Vocational Training Centre in Pong-Tamale, which is part of the former Pong-Tamale Senior Boys' Industrial School, now renamed a Senior Correctional Centre (Ame et al, 2014a).

Children in Need of Care and Protection

Apart from giving the juvenile court exclusive jurisdiction to hear all criminal charges against a juvenile, the Code also empowered the juvenile court to exercise jurisdiction over juveniles in need of care and protection who had not committed any offence. Thus, by virtue of section 349 (1) of the Code, any police or probation officer had the power to bring deserted orphans, ill-treated juveniles or juveniles of unfit parents/guardians (e.g. criminals or those who engaged in immoral activities) before a juvenile court. The code also empowered the police and probation officers to take a juvenile to a 'place of safety'[4] if they had

---

[4] By a "place of safety", the Code meant '(a) the home of a relative, or a probation officer or of some other person who in the opinion of such officer or a police officer is a

reasonable grounds to believe that the individual needed care or protection and if, in their opinion, it was in the interest of the juvenile to be kept there for a period not exceeding eight days or until the individual could be brought before a court, or whichever occurred sooner.

One inevitable destination for all juveniles in need of care and protection, however, was the Juvenile Court where their fate would be decided. Worse still, when it came to the options for disposing of their cases, their lot was not considerably different from that of their counterparts who were found guilty of committing crimes. The court, if satisfied that the juvenile was indeed a child in need of care and protection, might:

a. Make a detention order sending him to an Industrial School; or
b. make an order committing him to the care of any fit person (whether a relative or not) who is willing to take care of him; or
c. order his parent or guardian to enter into a recognizance to exercise proper care and guardianship; or
d. without making any other order, or in addition to making an order under either paragraph (b) or (c) of this subsection, make an order placing him for a specified period, under the supervision of a Probation Officer, or of some other person appointed for the purpose by the court. (Subsection 4 of Section 349 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1960).

While most of these are non-institutional options, they are not different from those available to juveniles convicted of committing crime. It has been established that the major problem facing children in need of care and protection and who constitute the greater part of the "army of street children" in Ghana is poverty, which often leads to neglect at home, which in turn causes delinquency (Apt et. al., 1992). If so, then a solution

fit person to take care of such juvenile until he can be brought before the court and who is willing to do so; (b) a home approved by the Minister responsible for social Welfare under section 350; (c) a Remand Home; or (d) where none of the said homes is available, a police station'. (Section 349 (2) of the Criminal Procedure Code 1960).

that addresses the economic and welfare needs of such children would have been more appropriate than their appearing before the juvenile court and being sent to the same institutions to which convicted juvenile offenders were sentenced. To the credit of the lawmakers, the non-institutional measures sought to provide a caring home for this category of children. Even though the Code approved of Children's Homes, where ideally this category of children should be sent, the number of such homes was woefully inadequate. It is little wonder, then, that children in need of care and protection were highly represented in the country's juvenile crime statistics under the Code (Abotchie, 1991; DSW and UNICEF, 2005; and Gagnon, 2005; Nortey, 1969; Riby-Williams, 1954; Tooth, 1956).

This shortcoming of the code was partly addressed by the introduction of child panels under the Children's Act 1998 and the Juvenile Justice Act 2003 (and related legislation such as the Human Trafficking Act 2005). Before turning to these, especially the Juvenile Justice Act, it would be useful for this paper to discuss other limitations and criticisms of the Code.

Problems and Challenges of Implementing the Code

Several other problems hindered the effective implementation of the Criminal Procedure Code (1960). Ameh (1993) pointed out that all the key agencies charged with implementing the Code (the Police, the Department of Social Welfare, Probation Services, and the Prisons Service) were faced with an acute lack of resources to do their work. The logistical problems ranged from lack of vehicles for patrols and for conveying accused and convicted juveniles, to transport allowances for staff, basic office equipment, and a perennial shortage of qualified staff. For all these agencies, their district offices were worse off because the little available resources were concentrated in the national and regional capitals[5].

---

[5] Robert K. Ameh (1993) *Juvenile Delinquency Control Policy in Ghana: An Evaluation Study*. Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Oslo, Norway.

According to the study, when faced with these problems, the police, for example, were reluctant to arrest and arraign juvenile delinquents before court, as the Code placed special requirements on them and yet they lacked the resources for fulfilling those obligations. To illustrate the point, the Code required officers to ascertain the age of juveniles who appeared in court[6] and to make contact with the parents/guardians of arrested juveniles. With a poor residential address system in Ghanaian cities and towns, and in the absence of any properly functioning national identification system, making contact with parents/guardians was a daunting task. Further, some arrested juveniles deliberately misled officers by giving them false contact information of their parents/guardians. The parents/guardians officials succeeded in contacting, many refused to cooperate with the police and the juvenile court because they could be asked to pay fines, damages, and costs, contribute towards the upkeep of their children or have their wards placed in institutions under sections 345 and 369 of the Code.

Even when the police did arrest juveniles, there was a strategic way in which they got around the problems of taking up juvenile cases. Unbelievable as it may sound, the police encouraged the juveniles they arrested to inflate their age in order to qualify to be treated as adult offenders (Ameh, 1993: 107-108). It is, thus, not surprising to note that under the Code, many juveniles ended up in adult remand facilities and served sentences in various adult prisons throughout the country. On this basis, it is reasonable to argue that the decreases shown in the number of juvenile delinquents appearing before the courts in the late 1980s and early 1990s were not due to fewer crimes being committed by juveniles but mainly to fewer juveniles being arraigned before the juvenile courts by the police (Ameh, 1993: 107-109).

The juvenile court was of course not without problems under the Code. Ameh (1993: 116-127) identified problems such as the lack of interest by professionals in sitting on the court as panel members; the formal as

---

[6] s. 343 of the Code.

opposed to informal procedure adopted by the court; the absence of legal representation due in part to lack of interest on the part of lawyers to represent juvenile offenders, the late introduction of a legal aid scheme in the country;[7] lack of knowledge about the existence of the Legal Aid Board which administers the program; lack of interest in the scheme by private legal practitioners and the Ghana Bar Association; probation officers who did not have the required training and lacked confidence when they appeared in court; and over-reliance on custodial sentences.

Of all the agencies charged with implementing the Code, however, the Department of Social Welfare and Probation Services was the most negatively affected by resource deficits; and whatever impacted the work of this department also affected juvenile justice related institutions such as the Industrial/Vocational Schools and Probation and Remand Homes under their supervision. In fact, the juvenile institutions under the supervision of the Department of Social Welfare (under the Code) were only successful as custodial institutions where juveniles in conflict with the law were 'parked' for specific periods and then released back into the community (Ameh, 1993: 109-116).

The problems faced by the departments and agencies charged with dispensing juvenile justice, since the inception of the formal juvenile justice system in 1944, have been well-documented. Other researchers, past and current, have discussed similar problems, which have become perennial and impede the work of the agencies within the Ghanaian criminal justice system in general and the juvenile justice system in particular (Abotchie, 1991; DSW and UNICEF, 2005; Gagnon, 2005; Mensa-Bonsu, 1992, 1995, 2006; Laird, 2008; Nortey, 1969; Riby-Williams, 1954; Seidman, 1969; Tooth, 1956; Weinberg 1964, 1965).

These problems and challenges impelled change. However, the main impetus for change could be traced to the emergence of a culture of rights in Ghana in the 1990s. Starting with the ratification of the United

---

[7] The Legal Aid Scheme Law, 1987 (PNDC Law 184), which was re-enacted in 1997 as the Legal Aid Scheme Act, 1997 (Act 542), governs free legal aid in Ghana.

Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in February 1990 and the adoption of a new national Constitution in 1992, which embraced the principles of children's rights and the protection of rights in general by authorizing the creation of a national human rights institution, the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), the country saw the birth of hundreds of human rights-based NGOs and civil society organizations that played a watchdog role in the protection of human rights in the country (Ameh, 2004). These developments set in motion the enactment of a series of child-friendly legislation and amendments including the Criminal Code Amendments of 1994 (Act 484), the Children's Act 1998 (Act 560) and the Criminal Code Amendment Act 1998 (Act 554), culminating in the passage of the Juvenile Justice Act (Act 653) in 2003.[8]

The Juvenile Justice Act 2003

The Ghana Juvenile Justice Act 2003 (hereinafter 'the JJA') defines a juvenile as someone under the age of 18 years and a 'juvenile offender' as a juvenile 'who has been convicted of a crime for which the court may impose a sentence of imprisonment for one month or upward without the option of a fine' (s. 60). However, by virtue of the Criminal Code Amendments Act 1998 (Act 554), which set the minimum age for criminal responsibility at 12 years, a juvenile offender in Ghana is a person between 12 and 18 years who commits a crime for which a court may impose a sentence of imprisonment for one month or upward without the option of a fine. Yet 'young persons' defined in the JJA as persons eighteen years and above but under twenty-one who commit a crime, also fall under the jurisdiction of the juvenile justice system. While it is not clear from the JJA, it can reasonably be presumed that

---

[8] Since 2003, the Ghanaian Parliament has passed other key child-friendly laws such as the Human Trafficking Act, 2005; the Disability Act 2006; and the Domestic Violence Act, 2007 and signed the CRC Optional Protocols on Children in Armed Conflicts and the Trafficking of Women and Children for purposes of Prostitution and Sexual Trade. Parliament is currently considering the Alternative Dispute Resolution Bill, the Property Rights of Spouses Bill (PRSB), and the Intestate Succession Bill (ISB), which all have implications for children's rights.

young offenders committed their crimes while they were still juveniles since an adult under Ghanaian law is a person 18 years of age or above.[9]

---

[9] The Act defines a 'young offender' as a 'young person who has been convicted of an offence for which the court has power to impose a sentence or imprisonment for one month or upwards with the option of a fine' and a 'young person' as a 'person who is 18 years or above … but is under 21' (s. 60 of the JJA).

Overview of the Juvenile Justice System in Ghana
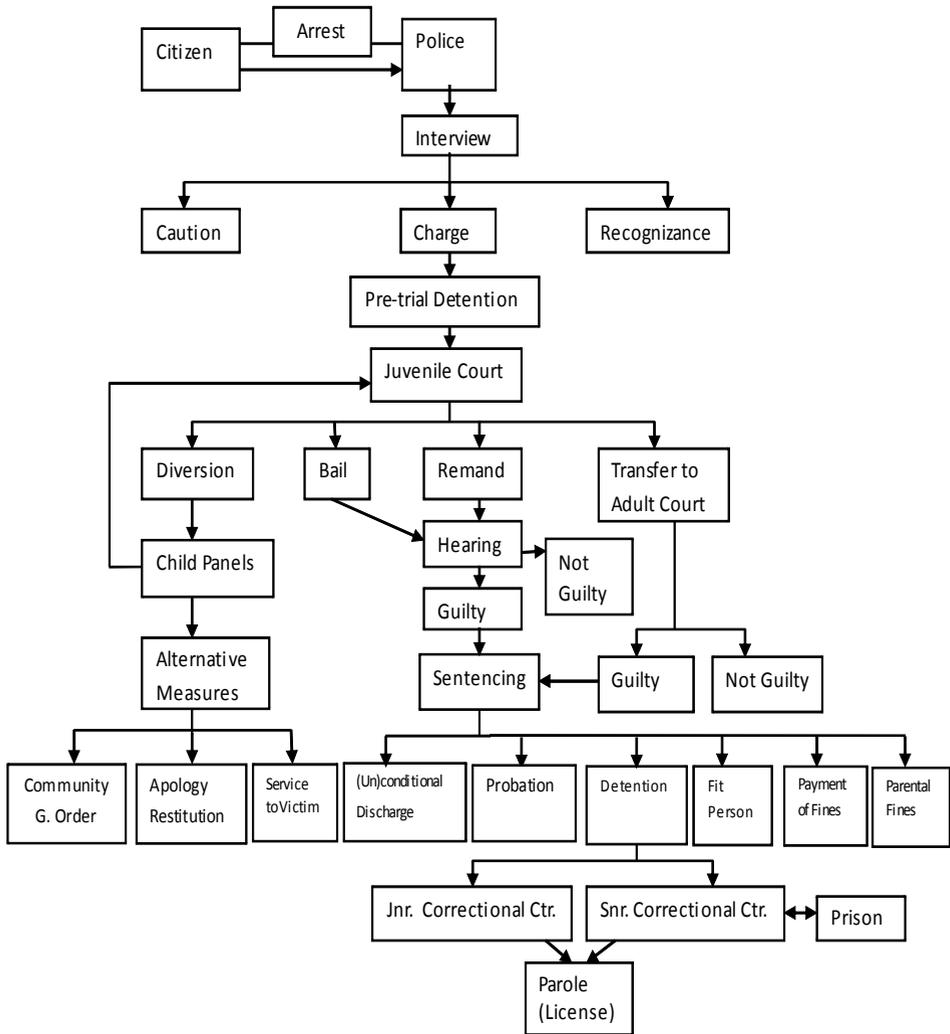
Arrest

A juvenile's first formal contact with the juvenile justice system is when he or she is arrested. Under the JJA, a police officer can arrest a juvenile with or without a warrant. An officer can make an arrest without a warrant if a juvenile does any of the following:

(i) commits a crime in his/her presence;

(ii) obstructs an officer performing his/her duties;

(iii) is in possession of implements intended to be used for breaking and entry; and

(iv) escapes from lawful custody or if the officer has reasonable grounds to believe that a juvenile has committed a crime (s. 5).

Alternatively, a juvenile could be arrested with a warrant based on information taken on oath and issued by a juvenile court magistrate on the written application of the Attorney General, public prosecutor, or police officer (Section 7(1-2) of the JJA).

A citizen's arrest is also permitted under the JJA. Thus, a private person could also arrest a juvenile without a warrant if a crime is committed in his/her presence or when s/he has reason to believe a juvenile has committed any of the following crimes: an offence involving the use of force or violence, bodily harm caused to a person, stealing, fraud, injury to public property or any offence concerning the property owned or in the lawful care/custody of the private person (Section 6(1) of the JJA). However, a private person who makes an arrest must immediately hand over the juvenile to the police (s. 6(3)).

An officer who makes an arrest, or to whom a private citizen hands over an arrested juvenile, has the option of issuing a formal (with record) or informal (with no record) caution. She could also ask the juvenile to enter a self-recognizance or ask the parents/guardians to do so if the juvenile is not accused of a serious crime.[10] If no recognizance has been

---

[10] The JJA defines a serious crime as any of the following offences: murder, rape, defilement, indecent assault involving unlawful harm, robbery with aggravated circumstance, drug offences, and offences related to firearms s. 46(8); see also s.60 of the JJA.

entered within 48 hours of arrest, the child must be placed in detention. Moreover, if the crime in question is deemed a serious offence, the child would be placed in a Remand Home or a place of safety[11] so designated by the Department of Social Welfare or District Assembly.

Bail and Remand

With its emphasis on less custody for juveniles compared to the 1960 Criminal Procedure Code that preceded it, the JJA directs that juveniles should be released on bail unless they pose a serious danger to themselves or the community[12]. Consequently, the Act demands that bail amounts be fixed with due regard to the circumstances of the case and should not be excessive or harsh. The only conditions that could lead to the denial of bail are when in the opinion of the court; a juvenile (i) will not appear, (ii) may interfere with a witness, evidence, or hinder investigations, and (iii) may re-offend. For a juvenile who is not granted bail, the court may make an order releasing him/her to his/her parents, guardian, or a fit person or to a remand home within reasonable distance (s. 23 of the JJA).

Juvenile Court

The juvenile court has exclusive jurisdiction in all criminal cases involving juveniles except when a juvenile is (i) jointly charged with an adult, (ii) charged with an offence which if committed by an adult would attract the death penalty (e.g. first degree murder), and (iii) when a juvenile court is not constituted for an area (s. 17). Under these circumstances, a juvenile must be transferred to an adult court. However, an adult court cannot sentence a juvenile. Thus, even if the juvenile were to be convicted by an adult court, the case must be remitted to the juvenile court for sentencing. Under this situation, the juvenile court's

---

[11] Under the JJA (s. 60), a 'place of safety 'means the home of a relative or a probation officer or some other who in the opinion of a probation officer or a police officer is a fit person to take care of a juvenile until the juvenile can be brought before court or a home approved by the Minister responsible for Social Welfare or a remand home or in the absence of these a police station'

[12] Section 21 of the JJA addresses Bail and Remand.

decision will become part of the record of the adult court that found the juvenile guilty. The adult court could, however, give directions regarding detention until the juvenile is brought before a juvenile court (s. 18). In consonance with the principle of separation from the adult system, a juvenile court must be held in a different building, room or on different days from other courts. Akin to the welfare model of juvenile justice, the hearings are informal and private, involving only officers of the court, the parties to the case, and others the court may specifically authorize to attend.

Disposal of Cases and Sentencing

Section 29 of the JJA addresses the sentencing and disposal of cases. The methods for disposing of cases at the juvenile court are very similar to the institutional and non-institutional means of dealing with juveniles under the 1960 Code. The only difference is that less emphasis is placed on custodial sentences in the JJA. They include:
1. conditional or unconditional discharge;
2. discharge upon making an undertaking;
3. probation;
4. committal to the care of a relative or other fit person;
5. payment of fines,
6. damages, or costs by juvenile or parents; and,
7. detention.

As was the case under the 1960 Code, imprisonment and death penalty are prohibited under the JJA (s. 32).

Payment of Fines and Parental Responsibility within the System

Juveniles who are found guilty of a crime could be sanctioned to pay a fine, damages or costs. Furthermore, the JJA (section 30(1)) grants a juvenile court power to order parents who contributed to the commission of an offence by their juveniles due to neglect of parental responsibilities to pay a fine instead of the juveniles. This obligation on parents is not new; it has been a part of the system since the 1960 Code came into

force. In fact, it is not uncommon within the juvenile justice systems around the world to order parents or guardians to give security for the good behavior of their children who find themselves in conflict with the law.[13] What seems unique, though, is the additional power granted to the court, the Minister of Social Welfare, and Minister of Interior to order parents of juveniles detained in correctional centres to pay contributions towards the cost of maintaining the offenders during their period of detention (s. 58).[14] Section 58(6) of the JJA even goes further by empowering the court and Ministers to go as far as using distress and sale to recover such payments. The Act, however, requires the court to consider the ability of the juvenile, parents, or close relatives to pay the fine or costs (s29 (2)). While one cannot imagine any Minister in Ghana ever exercising this power, the mere fact that these additional provisions found their way into the Act makes it radical and revolutionary and likely to further impact negatively on how parents view, use, and relate to the new system of juvenile justice. As discussed earlier, some parents/guardians, and even juvenile offenders, refuse to cooperate with the police and the juvenile court precisely for fear that parents will be held accountable for their children's behaviour.

Detention

The JJA empowers a juvenile court to make a detention order in respect of a convicted juvenile or young person when the juvenile or young person commits a crime that attracts a sentence of detention or imprisonment for one month or more without the option of a fine. Age and seriousness of crime[15] determine whether a convicted juvenile is

---

[13] For a discussion of parental responsibility under the Youth Criminal Justice Act in Canada, for example, see Sandra Bell (2015: 439-440) and Nicholas Bala and Sanjeev Anand (2012: 159-163).

[14] The Minister of Social Welfare is mandated to make regulations to determine the payment of expenses of incarcerated juveniles and who should make or contribute to the payments (Section 38(5) of the JJA).

[15] According to sections 46(8) and 60 of the JJA, a serious offence includes robbery, rape, defilement, indecent assault involving unlawful harm, robbery with aggravated circumstance, drug offences, offences related to firearms, and murder.

referred to a Junior or Senior Correctional Centre. Juveniles below the age of 18 years may be referred to a Junior Correctional Centre ('Junior Centre') while young persons 18 years and above but below 21 years may be referred to a Senior Correctional Centre ('Senior Centre'). However, a juvenile younger than 15 years who is convicted of a serious offence would be detained in a Senior Centre.[16]

The duration of detention at either centre is also determined by age and the seriousness of the offence (s.46). A juvenile below the age of 16 years cannot be detained for more than three months, while a juvenile older than 16 years but below 18 years could be detained for up to six months. However, a young person could be detained for up to 24 months if he or she commits a minor offence and up to 36 months for a serious offence (Section 46 of the JJA). This is a significant departure from the 1960 Code in which all convicted juveniles and young persons who were candidates for detention were automatically sent in for three years or longer. Under this same code, depending on the age at sentencing, young persons could remain in detention until they turned 23 years old, and juveniles till the age of 17 years, even if it meant that the sentence imposed by the court was exceeded by 3 years.[17] Thus, in comparison, the JJA prescribes a lower number of years in detention for children in conflict with the law than the 1960 Code. It is, therefore, correct to say that the new juvenile justice system, in theory, places less emphasis on punishment and especially the incarceration of children in conflict with the law, which suggests that the model of justice under the JJA is not crime control.

---

[16] With the passage of the JJA in 2003, all the Probation Homes and Industrial Schools/Vocational School under the 1960 code were simply renamed Junior Correctional Centres while the only Borstal Institute was renamed a Senior Correctional Centre. Nothing else changed.

[17] Criminal Procedure Code 1960, section 378.

Transfer to Other Institutions and Prison

While the JJA prohibits the detention of a juvenile or young person in an adult prison (s. 46(7)), young persons who are deemed incorrigible or to be a bad influence on the other inmates of a Senior Centre could be transferred to an adult prison to serve the balance of their unexpired sentences (s. 50). In a similar vein, juveniles and young persons could be transferred between the Junior and Senior Centres to serve the balance of their sentences (s. 48). Juveniles or young persons could also be transferred from prison to any of the Centres as the case may be (s. 49). Also, the Act authorizes the Minister responsible to make a recommendation to the juvenile court or High Court to extend the detention of inmates by one year, but not beyond their 21st birthday, if the Minister considers it to be in the best interest of the juvenile or young offender (s. 47). This is an improvement on the 1960 Code by which young offenders could be detained until their 23rd birthday, as already discussed.

Parole and Supervision after Expiry of Term of Detention

Parole is when a juvenile or young person is released from a centre to serve part of his sentence in the community but under the supervision of a probation officer in the district where the inmate is likely to reside at the end of his sentence.[18] This is referred to as "release on licence" under section 51 of the JJA. A juvenile cannot be released on licence within the first six months of a detention sentence, but a parole order could remain in force until the expiration of the sentence. The release could be revoked if the juvenile commits a new crime or breaches the conditions of parole or fails to return to the centre. Such a juvenile could be arrested without a warrant and his period of detention could be extended for three months for an inmate of a Junior Centre and six months for a young person in a Senior Centre, regardless of whether that could mean a juvenile serving beyond his 18th birthday or a young person beyond his 21st birthday. The JJA requires juveniles and young persons to be under the supervision of persons in charge of detention

---

[18] Section 51 of the JJA.

centers for one year after serving their detention; they could even be recalled to the centre if in the opinion of the Minister a recall is necessary for their protection.[19]

Diversion[20]

One of the novelties of the JJA is the introduction of alternative measures. A probation officer or social worker in its Social Enquiry Report to the juvenile court could recommend that the court divert the case from the criminal justice system to a Child Panel (CP). Child Panels are quasi-judicial bodies charged with administering alternative measures under Ghana's new justice system of dealing with children in conflict with the law. In practice, any professional or agency within the criminal justice system, such as the police and social workers/Department of Social Welfare, even parents, could prior to the court refer juveniles to child panels. It is, however, the Children's Act 1998[21] that gives legal backing to the establishment, composition, and functions of the Child Panels. Under the new system, the panels are to be established in every district of the country by the District Assemblies. A panel comprises seven members including:

(i) the Chairman of the Social Services Sub-Committee of a District Assembly who shall be chairman;
(ii) a member of a women's organization;
(iii) a representative of the Traditional Council;
(iv) a district social worker who would serve as secretary;
(v) a member of the Justice and Security Sub-Committee of the District Assembly, and
(vi) two other citizens from the community of high moral character and proven integrity, one of whom shall be an educationist.

In terms of access to justice, this is as close as one could bring the formal administration of juvenile justice to the doorsteps of the people. Ghana

---

[19] Section 52 of the JJA.
[20] Sections 25-27 of the JJA address diversion.
[21] Section 27-32 of the Children's Act (Act 560).

is divided into over 200 districts and each of these is required by the JJA to establish a CP, compared to juvenile courts under the Code which were located mainly in regional capitals and only a few district capitals. Moreover, members of the panel are all prominent people from local communities within the district, some of whom may be personally known to the young offender and *vice versa,* such that neither the CP is an anonymous body nor the young offender an unknown person. This could work well to the advantage of both parties in addressing the delinquency of the young person.

The function of child panels is to mediate in civil matters pertaining to the rights of a child, parental responsibilities, and in criminal matters involving children that are deemed summary offences. In criminal matters, the panel has specifically been tasked to utilize victim-offender mediation (VOM) and victim-offender reconciliation mediation (VORM) in resolving cases. Child panels cannot address indictable cases involving children and only summary offences could be channeled through the diversion program under the JJA. Whereas the hearings of the juvenile court are private, the mediation sessions of child panels are public. The options available to a panel in disposing of cases include imposing a community guidance order, an apology and restitution to the victim. A juvenile who commits a similar offence after going through the diversion process may be referred back for processing through the formal juvenile justice system (s. 32(3) of the Children's Act, 1998). In addition, children in need of care and protection, who were arraigned before the juvenile court under all the previous juvenile legislations, are now to appear before child panels instead. This development is a significant innovation that brings better distinction between the treatment of juveniles in need of care and protection and those accused of committing serious crimes.

The purpose of diversion, according to the Juvenile Justice Act, is to (i) prevent stigmatization which could result from contact with the criminal justice system; (ii) hold children individually accountable for their act; (iii) offer the community and the victims the opportunity to make an

input in the determination of cases; and thereby (iv) promote restitution, reconciliation, and the reintegration of these children into the family and community.[22] Overall, the composition, purpose, methods, and sanctions available to the child panels are firmly rooted in the restorative justice approach to dealing with crime.[23] Hence, the Juvenile Justice Act 2003 marks the formal introduction of restorative justice measures into Ghana's juvenile justice system. It would not be out of place to describe the new juvenile justice system as Ghana's restorative juvenile justice system (Ame, 2010), at least in theory, since a recent assessment by Ame et al. (2014a) shows that very few CPs have actually been established, and of those, very few are functioning as envisioned by the law makers. In fact, the researchers described the CPs as "stillborn".

Discussion and Conclusion

As pointed out by Winterdyk (2015: 16), 'no country's juvenile justice model is absolute or mutually exclusive'. The designations of models are intended to reflect general characteristics of a country's juvenile justice system. So, from the preceding, what are the general characteristics of Ghana's juvenile justice system?

Ghana's juvenile justice system could be described as having been informed by three key principles: (i) the best interest of a child; (ii) international human rights standards; and (iii) restorative justice or diversion (alternative measures). Whereas the welfare principle was implied in previous legislations, it is unambiguously stated in the JJA (s.2):

---

[22] Section 26 of the JJA.

[23] Under the restorative justice approach, crime is defined as harms or injuries to relationships and people whereas 'punishment' is defined as repairing those harms and injuries. For a good discussion of restorative justice, see Daniel Van Ness and Karen Strong (2002) *Restoring Justice* Cincinnati: Anderson; Howard Zehr (1990) *Changing Lenses: A New Focus for Crime and Justice* Waterloo: Ont.: Herald Press; and Susan Sharpe (1998) *Restorative Justice: A Vision For Healing and Change* Edmonton: Edmonton Victim Offender Mediation.

> The best interest of a juvenile shall be (a) paramount in any matter concerned with the juvenile; and (b) the primary consideration by a juvenile court, institution, or other body in any matter concerned with a juvenile

This same welfare principle was also stated in the Children's Act 1998 (s. 2), which suggests consistency in the legislation that affects children. However, as already discussed, the agencies within the juvenile justice system have been so impoverished of resources that in practice, the system is asymmetric to the welfare model.

The memorandum that accompanied the Juvenile Justice Bill acknowledged that the main reason for introducing the bill was to protect the rights of children and young offenders by injecting the standards, not only of the CRC but also of the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (the Beijing Rules) into the juvenile justice system (Republic of Ghana, 2003: 1). In line with this objective, a conscious attempt was made to infuse the JJA with rights for children in trouble with the law right from the time of arrest to the time of discharge from detention as the case may be. These include: the right of a juvenile's case to be heard by a court that is separate from courts within the adult justice system; the right to legal representation and aid; the right to privacy; shorter periods of pre-trial detention; limitations on invasive searches, for example, body cavity searches to be done only by a medical doctor; interviews in the presence of parents, guardians, or a social worker; the right to a speedy trial; less emphasis on custodial sentences and shorter periods of detention. These rights have been extensively discussed elsewhere.[24]

As discussed earlier, one of the key innovations introduced by the 2003 Juvenile Justice Act was diversion or alternative measures administered by child panels responsible for the protection of children's rights in all

---

[24] See Robert Ame (2011) The Rights of Children in Conflict with the Law in Ghana. *International Journal of Children's Rights*. 19: 271-293.

civil and summary criminal cases involving children. The introduction of alternative measures based on the principles of restorative justice also further serves to strengthen the welfare principles in the new juvenile justice Act and to protect the rights of children in conflict with the law. Children in need of care and protection can now appear before Child Panels instead of juvenile courts and are to be treated quite differently from accused juvenile offenders.

In the aggregate, it may be said that the model of juvenile justice portrayed by the juvenile justice system under the JJA is a mix of welfare, international standards that uphold human rights, and restorative justice. At the same time, one might ask: How does this mixed-model work in practice?

The assessments done up to 2006 cannot be considered as assessments of the current system, as the JJA was only adopted in 2003. Apart from new signboards stating either 'Junior Correctional Centre' or 'Senior Correctional Centre' that adorned the entrances of juvenile institutions across the country, nothing had changed within three years of the passage of the JJA. For example, it took six years after the passage of the Act for the first Child Panel to be established, and even at the time, the Accra Metropolitan Child Panel Secretariat, from where the Panel was expected to operate, had not yet been set up (Ame, 2010).[25] Thus, assessments such as DSW and UNICEF (2005), Gagnon (2005), Liard (2008) and Mensa-Bonsu (2006) were all, strictly speaking, assessments of the implementation of the previous 1960 Code, which have already been discussed.

---

[25] See Naa Norley (2009) Curbing Streetism in Accra - AMA inaugurates Child Panel. *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, 12 August. Available at http://www.ghanaian-chronicle.com/thestory.asp?id=13350&title=Curbing%20streetism%20in%20Accra (accessed 12 August 2009)

However, recent assessments such as Ame (2011), Ame et al. (2014a, 2014b), Ayete-Nyampong (2013, 2014), Child Frontiers (2011), and Hoffman and Baerg (2011), show that little has changed in terms of challenges confronting Ghana's juvenile justice system since its introduction in 1944. The problems discussed in these studies could be summed up as:

i) lack of logistics (material and financial) and human resources;

ii) lack of implementation of policies, with staff adopting unorthodox work methods to get around logistical constraints;

iii) lack of legal representation of the accused juveniles;

iv) juveniles serving detention in adult prisons and in the same police cells with adults;

v) too much centralization of activities of the relevant agencies and departments in the national, or at best the regional capitals to the disadvantage of the districts;

vi) the general cultural problem of lack of interest in matters concerning children, especially those who go to the 'bad children's schools' (juvenile justice institutions); and

vii) parental responsibilities in the system that lead to parents' lack of interest in their juveniles' cases.

The consistency of the challenges and problems discussed by these scholars compared to those of previous scholars who assessed the system at an earlier stage in its development is striking. If anything has changed, it is that the problems have now become more complex and entrenched than at the inception of the system. So, at the end of the day, few positive gains have been made over the past 60 years.

Thus, overall, while the system looks good on paper and theoretically compares favorably with some of the most advanced youth justice systems around the world, in practice, few advancements have been made over the past 60 years. As such, there is a major gap between the legislation and reality. It can, therefore, be concluded that the new system is being implemented poorly and will continue that way, just like the legislations before it, due to an acute lack of both financial and

human resources. Thus, the title of Professor Mensa-Bonsu's inaugural lecture at the Ghana Academy of Arts in 2006 is still an apt description of the system eleven years later: 'Ghana's Juvenile Justice System on Probation … Making Progress with Painful Steps and Slow'. In the light of these perennial problems and challenges, it is highly recommended that scholars interested in Ghana's juvenile justice system shift attention to how the problems that plague the system could be effectively addressed. Also, largely missing in the scholarship on Ghana's juvenile justice system is attention to causes. Kofi Boakye (2013); Antwi Boasiakoh and Andoh (2010) have started venturing into this line of research; others need to follow suit.

Funding

References

Abotchie, C. (n.d.). *Juvenile Correctional Institutions*. Accra: Department of Sociology, University of Ghana.

Abotchie, C. (1991). Juvenile Delinquency in West Africa. Accra: Department of Sociology, University of Ghana. (A Study Commissioned by the African Centre for Applied Research and Training).

Acquah, I. (1958). *Accra Survey: Social Survey of the Capital of Ghana*. London: University of London Press.

Ame, R. (2011). The Rights of Children in Conflict with the Law in Ghana. *International Journal of Children's Rights* 19, 271-293.

Ame, R. (2010). Ghana's Restorative Youth Justice System: a Juvenile Justice System Gone Full Circle Paper presented at the *Childhood and Youth in Transition International Conference*, University of Sheffield, UK (6-8 July).

Ame, R., Ayete-Nyampong, L., and Gakpleazi, D. (2014a). Assessment of Child Panels and some Key Indicators of Ghana's Juvenile Justice System. Report, Government of Ghana and UNICEF, Accra, June.

Ame, R., Ayete-Nyampong, L. and Gakpleazi, D. (2014b). Quantitative Analysis of some Key Indicators of Ghana's Juvenile Justice System. Report, Government of Ghana and UNICEF, Accra, June.

Ameh, R (2004). Reconciling Human Rights and Traditional Practices: the Anti-Trokosi Campaign in Ghana. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 19(2), 51-72.

Ameh, R.K. (1993). *Juvenile Delinquency Control Policy in Ghana: an Evaluation Study* MA Thesis. University of Oslo, Norway.

Amissah, A.N.E. (1982). *Criminal Procedure in Ghana* Accra: Sedco Publishing.

Apt, V. H. N.; Blavo EQ and Opoku SK (1992) *Street Children in Accra: a Survey Report.* Legon-Accra: Social Work and Administration Program, Department of Sociology, University of Ghana.

Ayete-Nyampong, L. (2014). Entangled Governance Practices and the Illusion of Producing Compliant Inmates in Correctional Centres for Juvenile and Young Offenders in Ghana *Prison Service Journal* 212, 27-32.

Ayete-Nyampong, L. (2013). *Entangled Realities and the Underlife of a Total Institution: an Ethnography of Correctional Centres for Juvenile and Young Offenders in Accra, Ghana*. PhD Thesis, Wageningen University, Wageningen, the Netherlands.

Ayete-Nyampong, L. (2011). Situating CRC Implementation Processes in the Local Context of Correctional Institutions for Children in Conflict with the Law in Ghana. In: Ame, R., Agbenyiga, D., and Apt, N. (eds.), *Children's Rights in Ghana: Reality or Rhetoric?* (pp. 169-191). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Boakye, K. (2013). Correlates and Predictors of Juvenile Delinquency in Ghana. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 37(4), 257-278.

Bosiakoh, A. and Andoh, P. K. (2010). Differential Association Theory and Juvenile Delinquency in Ghana's Capital City – Accra: The Case of Ghana Borstal Institute. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 2(9), 198-205.

Child Frontiers. (2011). *Report of the Mapping and Analysis of Ghana's Child Protection System* l Report, Kowloon: Hong Kong. Available at: http://www.unicef.org/wcaro/english/Ghana_Mapping_Analysis_Child_Protection.pdf (accessed July 10, 2013).

Courts (Amendment) Ordinance, Gold Coast (1946).

Criminal Code of Ghana, Act 29, (1960).

Criminal Procedure Code of Ghana, Act 30, (1960).

Department of Social Welfare and UNICEF. (2005). A Report on the State of Juvenile Justice Administration in Ghana: A Decade Assessment 1993-2003**.** Report, Accra, Ghana.

Gagnon, L. (2005). *Access to Justice by Children*. Report, Accra, Ghana: The Judicial Service in collaboration with UNICEF and CUSO Ghana Program Office.

Hoffmann, S., and Baerg, C. (2011). Juvenile Justice in Ghana: A Study to Assess the Status of Juvenile Justice in Ghana. Report, Accra, Ghana: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, Africa Office.
Juvenile Justice Act, Act 653 (2003).

Laird, S. (2008). African Social Services in Peril: a Study of the Department of Social Welfare in Ghana under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative. *Journal of Social Work*, 8(4), 377-398.

Mensah-Bonsu, H. J. A. N. (1990-1992). The Young Offender and the Criminal Justice System. *University of Ghana Law Journal*, 18, 49-71.

Mensah-Bonsu, H. J. A. N. (1995). Human Rights and Juvenile Justice. In: *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Conference of the African Society of International and Comparative Law*. Johannnesburg, South Africa, 21-24 August 1995, pp. 321-347. London: The African Society of International and Comparative Law.

Mensa-Bonsu, H. J. A. N. (2006). Ghana's Juvenile Justice System on Probation… Making Progress with Painful Steps and Slow. Inaugural Lecture, Accra: Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Norley, N. (2009). Curbing Streetism in Accra - AMA inaugurates Child Panel. *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, 12 August. Available at http://www.ghanaian-chronicle.com/thestory.asp?id=13350&title=Curbing%20streetism%20in%20Accra (accessed 12 August 2009).

Nortey, D. N. A. (1969). The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency in Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Child Development* 2(1), 30-46.

Opolot, J. S. (1983). Differing Current Managerial Approaches in the Corrections of Four Selected New States of Africa. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 7(2), 237-246.

Republic of Ghana (2003). *Juvenile Justice Bill*. Accra: Government Printer, Assembly Press.

Republic of Ghana and UNICEF (1990). *Children and Women of Ghana: A Situation Analysis* Accra, Ghana.

Riby-Williams, J. (1954). The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency in the Gold Coast of West Africa. *International Review of Criminal Policy* 6(7), 1-14.

The Children's Act, Act 650 (1998).

The Courts Ordinance, Gold Coast (1945).

Tooth, G. (1956). Survey of Juvenile Delinquency in the Gold Coast. In: Hauser PM (ed.) *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara*. (pp. 86-91). Paris: UNESCO.

Twumasi, P. K. (1985). *Criminal Law in Ghana*. Accra-Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation.

United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (2005). *Report on Crime and Development in Africa* Available at http://www.unodc.org/pdf/African_report.pdf (accessed 14 July 2010).

Convention on the Rights of the Child. (1989). Adopted by the General Assembly (United Nations) on November 20, 1989.

Weinberg, K. S. (1965). Urbanization and Male Delinquency in Ghana. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*. 2, 85-94.

Weinberg, K. S. (1964). Juvenile Delinquency in Ghana: a Comparative Analysis of Delinquents and Non-Delinquents. *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science* 55, 471-481.

Winterdyk, J. A. (ed.) (2015). *Juvenile Justice: International Perspectives, Models, and Trends*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

RELIGIOSITY, SOCIAL SUPPORT AND SOCIAL NEGATIVITY AS PREDICTORS OF MENTAL HEALTH OF WOMEN IN GHANA

Ethel Atefoe[1], Charity Akotia[2] and Kingsley Nyarko[3]

Abstract

The study examined the influence of religiosity, social support and social negativity on the mental health of women in Ghana. The cross-sectional survey design was employed in the study. In all, 200 women living in Accra at the time of data collection were used in the study. Data was collected on participants' demographic characteristics using a demographic questionnaire; mental health was assessed using the Mental Health Inventory (MHI-38); the Santa Clara Strength of Religious Faith Questionnaire (SCSRFQ) was used to measure Religiosity and Social Support and Social Negativity were assessed using the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) and Social negativity questionnaire respectively. Results from the hierarchical regression analysis revealed that religiosity and social negativity predicted mental health significantly among the participants while social support did not have any significant influence on mental health. The implications of the findings are discussed.

Keywords: Religiosity, social support, social negativity, mental health, women, Ghana

[1] School of Medicine, University of Health and Allied Sciences, Ho. E-mail: eatefoe@gmail.com.

[2] Associate Professor of Psychology and Dean, School of Social Sciences, University of Ghana, Legon. E-mail: CAkotia@ug.edu.gh

[3] Senior Lecturer, Department of Psychology, University of Ghana, Legon. E-mail: kingpong73@yahoo.com.

Introduction

Mental health is clearly an integral part of our daily living and well-being as human beings and it goes beyond the mere absence of mental illness. It can be best understood as a complete state which comprises the presence and absence of mental illness and symptoms of positive feelings, positive functioning in life and subjective well-being (Keyes, 2002). This understanding has been well captured in the World Health Organization's definition of mental health as "a state of well-being in which every individual reaches his/her potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to contribute to his/her community" (WHO, 2003:7).

Promoting the mental health of populations is an important part of the overarching aim of achieving the strategic goals in health, education, sustainable development, employment, culture, sport, crime reduction, community cohesion and other aspects of nation building (WHO, 2009). Nonetheless, African countries are yet to make this a reality. Mental health issues are still not being treated with the sense of urgency they deserve (Fournier, 2011).

Contrary to suggestions that mental health is primarily determined by biological and psychological factors, social and demographic factors are increasingly being found to have very potent influences on mental health (Harpham et al., 2005; WHO, 2000). For instance, results from one of the very few studies done on Ghanaian women in selected communities in Accra suggested education, income, number of children and unemployment as correlates of physical and mental health (V. de Menil et al., 2012).

Religiosity and aspects of social interactions are some of the social determinants of mental health that have been investigated over the years. Several researchers have found positive associations between religion and mental health among diverse populations (Ellison, 1991; Ellison, Finch, Ryan, & Salinas, 2009; Rosmarin, Pargament & Mahoney, 2009). Stronger religious identities have been found to be linked to greater

abilities to cope with stressful situations, greater self-esteem and overall happiness in addition to improved physical health. Religious coping has also been found to be associated with a sense of control over difficult situations, leading to more positive health outcomes (Pargament et al., 1990). Abdel-Khalek (2011) found religiosity to be associated with high levels of self-rating of subjective well-being, self-esteem and low levels of anxiety. It is very clear at this point that since Africans are considered as very religious (Gyekye, 1996), the importance of religiosity in mental health research among Africans cannot be overemphasized.

Despite these findings, mental health professionals have either neglected religiosity as irrelevant or opposed to it as evidence of a different psychopathology (Pargament & Brant, 1998; Sims, 1994). Even though the DSM-IV (APA, 1994) acknowledges religious and spiritual difficulties as separate disorders, psychiatry and psychology still seem to have no formal place for it in the management of mental disorders. It is high time the importance of religiosity was acknowledged in matters concerning mental health.

Human interaction or exchange targeted at the well-being of the individual is a very important aspect of the African society. This is expressed in maxims such as "it is the human being that is needed" and "it is the human being that counts; I call upon gold, it answers not; I call upon cloth, it answers not; it is the human being that counts" (Gyekye, 1996:25). It is, however, noteworthy that social relationships have both positive and negative sides. The positive side is what has been conceptualized mostly as social support while the negative aspect has been conceptualized as social negativity or negative social interaction or exchange (Bertera, 2005).

Due to urbanization and the infiltration of western culture, 'communal living,' previously thought to be characteristic of Africans is losing grounds, especially in the urban areas. Next door neighbours even do not know each other's names let alone be concerned about their well-being. The question about how the change in social relations is affecting mental

health among Ghanaians has thus become pertinent. Social support is a multidimensional construct and can be conceptualized and measured as what people actually received, or it can be perceived and measured as the availability of support (Bertera, 2005; Buunk & Hoorens, 1992; Finch, 1998). Perceived social support has been found to be more important for mental health than received/enacted social support due to its distinct cognitive component (Turner & Marino, 1994).

Social negativity on the other hand has been conceptualized as nonacceptance, debasement, and lack of affection, understanding, and empathy (Rook, 1984). It has also been conceptualized as social conflict, defined by the number of network members that sometimes make one angry or upset (Reinhardt, 2001b). There is a rapidly increasing evidence of the importance of social relationships on physical and mental health (Cohen & Janick-Deverts, 2009; Umberson & Montez, 2010). It has also been established that perceived social support can function as a pain-buffering mechanism, promoting increased self-efficacy and optimism as well as reduced loneliness in the face of stress.

Past research had focused on the beneficial aspects of social relationships (Finch, 1998). There is recent evidence however that negative socio-emotional interactions and interpersonal stress also affect mental health (Bertera, 2005; Reinhardt, 2001a). Social negativity in relationships has been linked to physical and mental health indicators, including depression (Finch et al., 1999). Recent studies have hence supported the impetus for studies to jointly study both positive and negative sides of social relationships.

Mental health issues are given less attention in Ghana, resulting in very few researches in this area (Ofori-Atta et al., 2010). Focusing on the mental health of women in the present study is therefore not out of place. Another important issue to consider is that even though organized religion has been the most used measure of religiosity in the mental health literature, its reliability has been criticized (Flannelly, Ellison, & Strock, 2004; Hall, Meador & Koenig, 2008). Moreover, as Africans are

said to be inherently religious, it may not take affiliation to a religious group or organization to make a person religious (Gyekye, 1996), hence the use of organized religion in measuring religiosity would not be appropriate in this culture. Perhaps dimensions of religiosity such as strength of religious faith, which measures the centrality of religion in one's life, regardless of religious affiliation or attendance (Plante & Boccaccini, 1997a) would probably be a better option.

The present study, therefore, employs strength of religious faith as the measure of religiosity. In addition, the impact of social relationships or interactions on mental health may be best illustrated by comparative studies of negative social interactions and the availability of social support (Flett et al., 1997). Past studies, however, have focused mostly on social support and often neglected social negativity even as the few studies that have been done in this area seem to indicate that social negativity had significant negative impact on mental health outcomes. In fact, some have even suggested that social negativity had more potent influence on mental health than social support (Bertera, 2005; Finch et al., 1999). The present study investigates both sides of social relationship (social support and social negativity) to ascertain their influence on the mental health of women.

Despite the importance of religiosity and social relationships on mental health, there is a dearth of research with regard to women, especially in Ghana. Research is needed to find out how these aspects of the African culture and society (religiosity & social relationships) affect the mental health of women. The present study thus aims at finding out the predictive role of religiosity, social support and social negativity on mental health among women in Ghana. It is, therefore, hypothesized that religiosity, social support, and social negativity significantly predict mental health among women in Ghana.

Methodology
Population and sample

Women living in Accra during the period of the study were the target population for the study. Accra is highly populated and is made up of diverse ethnic groups (AMA, 2011) making it a more approximate representation of the Ghanaian society. In all, two hundred (200) women from diverse backgrounds participated in the study.

Measures

The research design used for the study was a survey which required the use of a questionnaire in collecting data for the study. This instrument requested specific demographic information about the participants' age, gender, marital status, educational and income levels. The main measures were the Santa Clara Strength of Religious Faith Questionnaire, the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support, and the Social negativity questionnaire.

The Santa Clara Strength of Religious Faith Questionnaire

[SCSRFQ] (Plante & Boccaccini, 1997a) was used to assess religiosity. This is a 10-item scale which is used to measure the strength of a person's religious faith regardless of one's religious affiliation. Scores on the scale range from 10 to 40 on a 4-point likert scale (1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= agree and 4= strongly agree) with higher scores indicating stronger religious faith. Plante and Boccaccini, (1997b) reported an internal consistency (cronbach alpha) of .95. Several studies have also reported cronbach alpha ranging from .94 to .97 (Plante, 2010). In the present study, the internal consistency of the SCSRFQ was .95. Sample items include, 'My religious faith is extremely important to me' and 'I look to my faith as a source of inspiration.'

The Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support

[MSPSS] (Zimet et al., 1988) was used to measure social support. It is a 12-item scale that measures an individual's perception of how much

social support s/he receives from three sources; family, friends and significant others on a 7-point likert scale from very strongly disagree to very strongly agree. Scores range from 7 to 84 and higher scores reflect higher levels of perceived social support. It has been widely used in both clinical and non-clinical samples of different ages and cultural background and has been reported to be valid and reliable. Good cronbach alpha has also been reported, ranging from .81 to .98 for non-clinical samples and .92 to .94 for clinical samples (Zimet et al. 1988 and 1990). The present study also recorded good internal consistency on the MSPSS ($r = .92.$) Sample items are 'There is a special person who is around when I need help,' 'My family really tries to help me' and 'I can count on my friends when things go wrong.'

Social negativity questionnaire—According to Finch, Okun, Pool, and Ruehlman (1999), the most potent measure of negative social interactions for mental health is the frequency of negative socio-emotional exchanges. Based on this assertion, the following six (6) questions about the frequency of perceived negative socio-emotional interactions were used to assess social negativity; 'how frequently do you argue with your relatives or friends or significant others,' 'how often do your relatives or friends or significant others criticize you,' 'how often do your relatives or friends or significant others let you down,' 'how often do you experience excessive demands put on you by your family or friends or significant others,' 'how often does your family or friends or significant others get on your nerves,' 'how often does your family or friends or significant others make you feel tense.'

These questions were repeated three times to assess social negativity from three sources; family, friends and significant others so that the sources of social negativity corresponds with that of social support. The items were scored on a 4-point likert scale (1= never 2= rarely 3= sometimes 4= often). Higher scores on the questionnaire indicate higher levels of social negativity and scores range from 18 to 72. Factor analysis confirmed three factors in the present sample; social negativity

from friends, significant others and family or relatives. In the present study, the internal consistency for the entire questionnaire was .87.

The Mental Health Inventory (MHI-38) which was developed by Veit and Ware (1983) was used to measure mental health. It is a 38-item scale which asks about respondent's feelings during the past month (Vilchinsky & Kravetz, 2005). It contains six subscales which measure Anxiety, Depression, Loss of Behavioural/Emotional control, General Positive Affect, Emotional Ties and Life Satisfaction. These subscales can be grouped into two global subscales namely: psychological well-being and psychological distress (*Psychological well-being*- General Positive Affect, Emotional Ties and Life Satisfaction; *Psychological distress*- Anxiety, Depression and Loss of Behavioural/Emotional control). Items on the scale can also be scored into one mental health index. Each item is scored on a 6-point Likert scale with the exception of two items; 9 and 28 which are scored on a 5-point likert scale. The MHI-38 subscales are found to correlate significantly with other scales measuring the same constructs (Vilchinsky & Kravetz, 2005). Vilchinsky and Kravetz (2005) in their study found the internal consistency of the mental health index as .96. The present study recorded .88. Examples of items on the scale include 'During the past month, how much of the time have you generally enjoyed the things you do,' 'Did you feel depressed during the past month' and 'How much of the time, during the past month, have you been a very nervous person.'

Procedure

The research began with the researchers obtaining ethical approval from the Internal Review Board of the Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research (NMIMR). Once the approval was granted, a pilot study was conducted using 20 participants to test the questionnaires on a section of the sample to ascertain their reliability among the sample and to assess whether the items on the questionnaires are well understood by the participants. Data collection commenced after the pilot study. Participants were required to complete an informed consent form,

indicating their willingness to participate in the study before proceeding to fill the questionnaires. These forms described the topic and methods of the study and the voluntary and confidential nature of participation. Once the forms were signed, each of the participants went on to fill the questionnaires. Items on the questionnaires were read out to respondents who were unable to read. Throughout the administration of the questionnaires, the researchers and research assistants were available to answer questions from respondents.

Data Analysis

Descriptive and inferential statistics were used in analysing the data. Descriptive statistics was used because it provides an understanding of the data through their frequency distribution, mean, and standard deviation. Hierarchical regression analysis was also used to find out the relative amount of variance explained by the predictor variables (religiosity, social support, and social negativity) on the outcome variable (mental health).

Results

For the demographic characteristics of the sample, majority of the women sampled were relatively young. 83% were aged from 18 years to 49 years. 16% have primary or less level of education, 18% and 20% have junior and senior high school education respectively, 29% have tertiary level education, and 17% have postgraduate level of education. For the women's income levels, majority earn below GH₵500 (65%) though most of them are employed either in the formal or informal sectors of the economy (58%). For the respondents' marital status, there were more single women in the sample (49%) compared to married women (32%), separated/divorced (14%), and widowed (5%).

Table 1: Means, standard deviations of scores on religiosity, social support, social negativity and mental health as well as cronbach alpha of scales.

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation	Cronbach alpha
Religiosity	34.41	6.95	.95
Social support	57.26	16.89	.92
Social negativity	39.32	9.22	.87
Mental health	157.37	21.30	.88

Table 2: Religiosity, Social Support and Social Negativity as Predictors of Mental Health

Model	B	B	*t*	ρ
Religiosity	.61	.20*	2.802	.006
Social Support	.04	.03	.410	.682
Social Negativity	-.45	-.20*	-2.816	.005

= significant at .05 level of significance. R^2=.089, Adjusted R^2=.075

An examination of table 2 shows that women's level of religiosity and social negativity are significant predictors of their mental health. However, social support did not predict the mental health of the women. Religiosity accounted for 20% variance in the mental health of the women and this variance is significant at the .05 level (β = .20, t= 2.802, ρ < .05). Social negativity of the women accounted for 20% decrease in the mental health of women and this variance is significant at the .05 level of significance (β = -.20, t= -2.816, ρ < .05). Perceived social support did not have any significant influence on the level of mental health of women at the .05 level of significance (β = .03, t= .410, ρ > .05). Although the hypothesis was not fully supported because perceived social support did not predict the mental health of the women, social negativity and religiosity significantly predicted their mental health.

Discussion and Recommendations

Findings from the study show that religiosity predicted mental health significantly and the relationship was a positive one; thus women who reported higher level of religious faith were more likely to also report better mental health. According to Dein, Cook and Koenig (2012), in collectivistic cultures, individuality and the spirit world are closely interconnected, and in such cultures, mental health and spiritual health strongly reflect each other. From this perspective, it could be said that since the Ghanaian culture emphasizes collectivism, being religious is part of an individual's self-identity, hence its positive effect on mental health. The relationship between religiosity and mental health can be explained from a cognitive-behavioural framework based on the religious coping theory (Pargament, 1997). An individual's religiosity is likely to provide a framework for forming mental schemas or models which guides his/her appraisals of life events, especially in stressful events and enables the individual to make meaning of their life (James & Wells, 2003). This mechanism has the potential of influencing mental health positively or negatively, depending on the content of the schema. The finding from this study implies that women in Ghana are more likely to form positive religious mental schemas which have positive influence on mental health.

With regard to social relationships, an interesting finding is that social support had no significant influence on mental health but social negativity predicted mental health significantly and the relationship was a negative one, meaning experiencing frequent social negativity predicts a significant reduction in overall mental health. This finding may be due to the fact that even though several studies report positive influence of social support on mental health outcomes, it has been noted that the positive influence of social support may be influenced by the quality of the relationship, thus the positive influence of perceived availability of support may be compromised by conflict in the relationships that may provide the support (Miller & Ray, 1994; Pierce, Sarason & Sarason, 1992). Vangelisti (2009) also illustrated that even though individuals may perceive the consequences of receiving support as positive, the cost

of receiving such supports may sometimes be seen to surpass the benefits, or perhaps the processes involved in receiving the support may be considered as adverse. In other instances, the available sources of support may be perceived as incapable of giving the help needed; consequently, the positive influence of perceived support might not be felt by the individual. Since Ghana is a collectivistic culture whereby communalism and brotherhood are emphasized (Gyekye, 1996), individuals are more likely to perceive the availability of social support from at least one source (no matter how low) hence the influence of perceived social support would largely depend on whether the available support is helpful or not.

From the above precept, it could be inferred that women in the present study may not consider the social support available to them as helpful; hence it did not have a significant impact on their mental health or perhaps they perceive or experience unpleasant interactions from the same sources of support which overshadowed the benefits of the support. The lack of the predictive effect of social support on mental health of the women might also be due to the predictive effect of religiosity on their mental health. It is possible that the women resort to their faith or faith in their religious family members, friends, or religious leaders in their difficult moments.

These findings reveal that the aspect of social relationship most pertinent to the mental health of women in Ghana is social negativity rather than social support. Due to the emphasis on harmonious living in the Ghanaian culture, individuals' expectation of social interactions is that of pleasantness; negative interactions therefore deviate from this expectation. Consequently, the effects of these negative interactions will be more deleterious compared to the positive effects of positive interactions (Zhang, 2012).

The findings notwithstanding, the study was not without limitations. The use of cross-sectional design does not permit inferences about causal relationships among the variables. The sample used was relatively young

and urban. It is, therefore, difficult to generalize findings to older and rural populations. Despite the limitations, the study makes important contribution about the role of religiosity and social relationships in explaining mental health among women and set the pace for more research in this area. From the findings, it is recommended that mental health professionals in Ghana should find a way of including client's personal religiosity in the treatment protocol for female patients since there is an indication that strength of religious faith could predict their mental health outcomes.

In addition, African cultural values such as, brotherhood, humanity, mutual help and respect should also be strengthened at the community level in order to improve the quality of social relationships. There is the need also to reduce the experience of social negativity, since the perception of frequent negative interactions in relationships could affect mental health negatively and overshadow the positive influence of social support. Strengthening aspects of religious faith such as frequency of prayer, relationship with God, and the use of religion as a source of inspiration and comfort could also be employed as tools in the management of stress and mental health promotion among women.

Conclusion

The study seeks to find out the influence of religiosity and social relationships on mental health. Findings reveal that religiosity and social negativity are significant predictors of mental health among those surveyed, but social support was not. This implies that religious faith and social negativity are important factors to consider when planning interventions in terms of promoting mental health and reducing the prevalence of mental illness among women at the community level. There is, however, the need for further research into the mechanisms involved in these relationships. In addition, further research should be carried out on different populations in order to generalize findings to a wider population.

References

Abdel-Khalek, A. M. (2011). Religiosity, subjective well-being, self esteem and anxiety among Kuwaiti Muslim adolescents. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 14*(2), 129-140.

Accra Metropolitan Assembly. (2011). *The Composite Budget of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly for the 2012 Fiscal Year*. Accra: AMA

American Psychiatric Association. (1994). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.

Bertera, E. M. (2005). Mental Health in U.S adults: the role of the positive social support and social negativity in personal relationships. *Journal of social and personal relationships, 22*(1), 33-48.

Buunk, B. P. & Hoorens, V. (1992). Social support and stress: The role of social comparison and social exchange processes. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology, 31*, 445-457.

Cohen, S. & Janick-Deverts, D. (2009). Can We Improve Our Physical Health by Altering Our Social Networks? *Physical health and social networks: Perspectives on Psychological Science, 4(*4), 375-378.

Dein, S., Cook, C. H., Koenig, H. (2012). Religion, spirituality, and mental health: current controversies and future directions. *The Journal of nervous and mental disease, 200*(10), 852-855.

Ellison, C.G. (1991). Religious Involvement and subjective well-being. *Journal of Health and social Behavior, 32*, 80-99.

Ellison, C.G., Finch, B.K., Ryan, D.N. & Salinas, J.J. (2009). Religious involvement and Depressive Symptoms among Mexican-origin adults in California. *Journal of Community Psychology, 37*(2), 171-193.

Field, A. (2009). *Discovering Statistics using SPSS* (3ʳᵈ ed.). London: Sage publications Ltd.

Finch, J. F. (1998). Social undermining, social satisfaction and affect: A domain-specific lagged effects model. *Journal of Personality, 66*, 315-334.

Finch, J.F., Okun, M.A, Pool, G.J. & Ruehlman, L.S. (1999). A comparison of the influence of conflictual and supportive social interactions on Psychological distress. *Journal of Personality, 67*, 581-622.

Flannelly, K., Ellison, C. & Strock, A. (2004). Metholodic issues in Research on Religion and Health. *Southern Medical Journal, 97*(12), 1231-1241.

Flett, G. L., Hewitt, P. L., Garshowitz, M. & Martin, T. R. (1997). Personality, Negative Social Interactions, and Depressive Symptoms. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 29(1), 28-37

Fournier, O.A. (2011). The states of Mental Health Care in Ghana, West Africa and signs of progress in the Greater Accra Region. *Berkely Undergraduate Journal, 24*(3), 8-34

Green, M. & Elliot, M. (2010). Religion, Health and Psychological well-being. *Journal of Religion and Health, 49,* 149-163.

Gyekye, K. (1996). *African Cultural Values: An Introduction*. Accra: Sankofa publishing company.

Hall, D. E., Meador, K. G. & Koenig, H. G. (2008). Measuring Religiousness in and Health Research. *Journal of Religion & Health, 47,* 134-183.

Harpham, T., Snoxell, S., Grant, E. & Rodriguez, C. (2005).Common mental disorders in a young urban population in Colombia. *British Journal of Psychiatry, 187*, 161-167.

James, A. and Wells, A. (2003). Religion and mental health: towards a cognitive-behavioural framework. *British journal of health psychology, 8*(3), 359-376.

Keyes, C.L. (2002). The mental health continuum: From Languishing to Flourishing in Life. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 43*(2), 207-222.

Miller, K., & Ray, E. B. (1994). Beyond the ties that bind: Exploring the "meaning" of supportive messages and relationships. *In B. R. Burleson, T. L. Albrecht, & I. G. Sarason (eds.), Communication of social support: Messages, interactions, relationships, and community* (pp. 215–228). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ofori-Atta, A., Cooper, S., Akpalu, B., Osei, A., Doku, V., Lund, V.C. et al. (2010). Common Understandings of women's mental illness in Ghana: Results from a qualitative study. *International Review of Psychiatry, 22*(6), 589-598.

Pargament, K. I. (1997). *The Psychology of Religion and Coping*. New York: Guilford press.

Pargament, K.I., & Brant C.R. (1998). Religion and Coping. *In Koenig H.G. (Ed.), Handbook of religion and mental health*. London: Academic Press.

Pargament, K.I., Ensing, D. S., Falgout, K., Olsen, H., Reilly, B., Van Haitsma, K. et al. (1990). God help me (1): Religious coping efforts as predictors of the outcomes of significant negative life events. *American journal of Community Psychology, 18*, 793-824.

Pierce G. R., Sarason, B. R. & Sarason, I. G. (1992). General and specific support expectations and stress as predictors of supportiveness: An experimental study. *Journal of personality & Social Psychology, 63,* 297-307.

Plante, T. G. & Boccaccini, M. (1997). Reliability and validity of the Santa Clara Strength of Religious Faith Questionnaire. *Pastoral Psychology, 45*(6), 429-437.

Plante, T. G. (2010). The Santa Clara Strength of Religious Faith Questionnaire: Assessing Faith Engagement in a Brief and Nondenominational Manner. *Pastoral Psychology, 1*(1), 3-8.

Plante, T.G., & Boccaccini, M. (1997). The Santa Clara Strength of Religious Faith Questionnaire. *Pastoral Psychology, 45*(6), 375-387.

Reinhardt, J.P. (2001). Effects of positive and negative support received and provided on adaptation to chronic visual impairment. *Applied Developmental Science, 5*, 76-77.

Reinhardt, J.P. (2001). Social support and well-being in later life: Studying the negative with the positive. *Applied Developmental Science, 5*, 66-67.

Rook, K.S. (1984). The negative side of social interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 46,* 1097-1108.

Rosmarin, D. H., Pargament, K. I. & Mahoney, A. (2009). The role of religiousness in Anxiety, Depression and Happiness in a Jewish Community Sample: A preliminary investigation. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 12*(2): 97-113.

Sims A. (1994). Psyche-spirit as well as mind? *British Journal of Psychiatry, 165*(4), 441-446.

Turner, R. J. & Marino, F. (1994). Social support and social structure: A descriptive epidemiology. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior,* 35, 195–212.

Umberson, D. & Montez, J. K. (2010). Social relationships and Health: A Flashpoint for Health policy. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior,* 51, 54-66.

V. de Menil, Osei, A., Douptcheva, N., Hill, A.G., Yaro, P. & De-Graft Aikins A. (2012). Symptoms of Common Mental Disorders and Their Correlates among women in Accra, Ghana: A population-based survey. *Ghana Medical Journal,* 46(2), 95-103.

Vangelisti, A. L. (2009). Challenges in Conceptualizing Social support. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships,* 26(1), 39-51.

Veit, C.T. & Ware, Jnr., J.E. (1983). The structure of psychological distress and well-being in general populations. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology,* 51*, 730-742*.

Vilchinsky, N. & Kravetz, S. (2005). How are religious belief and behaviour good for you? An investigation of mediators relating religion to Mental Health in a sample of Israeli Jewish students. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* 44(4), 459-471.

World Health Organization (2000). *Women's mental health: An evidence based review*. Geneva: WHO.

World Health Organization. (2003). *Social determinants of health: The solid facts (2ⁿᵈ ed.)*. In Marcot M. & Wilkinson, R. G. (eds.). Denmark: The regional office for Europe of the World Health Organization.

World Health Organization. (2009). *Mental health, Resilience and Inequalities*. Geneva: WHO

Zhang, W. (2012). Negative Social exchanges, Acculturation-Related Factors, and Mental Health among Asian Americans. *Journal of BSA Medsoc Group, 6*(2), 12-29.

Zimet, G. D., Powell, S. S., Farley, G. K., Werkman, S. & Berkoff, K.A. (1990). Psychometric characteristics of the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 55*, 610-17.

Zimet, G.D., Dahlem, N.W., Zimet, S.G. & Farley, G.K. (1988). The Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 52*, 30-41.

CONFLUENCE OR CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIGENOUS AND WESTERN SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE ON CLIMATE CHANGE: THE CASE OF WA, GHANA

Kenneth Peprah[1] and Anthony N-yelkabong[2]

Abstract

How can indigenous and western scientific knowledge engage climate change dynamics collectively? The study addressed the question through the analysis of primary and secondary data. The primary data was sourced from key informant interviews, group discussion and questionnaire administered to 90 indigenes while the secondary data, which comprised statistics on temperature and rainfall, was obtained from the Wa weather station. The results revealed increasing temperature from 27.5°C in 1970 to 28.6 $^{\circ}$C in 2010, an increase ranging between 1.1°C – 1.6°C, and compatible outcomes from the two knowledge claims. Other findings included increasing wet rains and decreasing dry rains. The net effect on rainfall showed a generally decreasing trend over the period 1961- 2011 at the rate of $y = -0.8685x + 1067.5$. However, indigenous indicators revealed increasing rainfall, confirming incompatible outcomes from the two knowledge sources. The two knowledge sources know climate and any change thereof from accumulated historical information. Indigenous knowledge does this through lived experiences in a repetitive process stored in oral tradition and symbols. Western scientific knowledge does the same through observation, measurement and analysis, of which reports are stored in hard form (paper copies) or soft form (digital copies). Therefore,

[1] Department of Environment and Resource Studies, Faculty of Integrated Development Studies, Wa Campus University for Development Studies, P. O. Box 520 Wa, Upper West Region, Ghana. Email: kpeprah@uds.edu.gh.

[2] Department of Environment and Resource Studies, Faculty of Integrated Development Studies, Wa Campus University for Development Studies, P. O. Box 520 Wa, Upper West Region, Ghana. Email: anyelkabong@yahoo.com.

incompatible outcomes raise questions about intrinsic values and weaknesses embedded in the separate methods.

Keywords: Climate change, indigenous, indicators, temperature, rainfall, Wa.

Introduction

Climate, defined as the average weather condition of a place studied for over 30 years (Arguez and Vose, 2011:699), changes as the arithmetic mean of the weather elements (rainfall, temperature, relative humidity, air pressure, sunshine, wind speed and direction, visibility and cloud cover) show statistically significant differences persistently over a decade, a 30-year period, a century or even a millennium (CWT, 2007:30). The composite term, climate change, had endured global reaction since the Earth Summit in 1992, following the adoption of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (Halvorssen, 2008). In terms of definitions of climate change, the IPCC emphasizes the use of statistical test of changes in the mean and/or variability in the weather elements persistent over an extended period while the UNFCCC stresses upon human and, to some extent, natural factors which alter the composition of the global atmosphere (IPCC, 2014). Whichever definition is used, climate change represents a multifaceted global challenge with accompanying social risks in the form of disaster risks (Lavell, Oppenheimer et al. 2012), exposure of various systems to the impacts (O'Brien and Leichenko 2000), causing various vulnerabilities (Fussel and Klein, 2006) and engendering several adaptations (Adger, Dessai et al. 2008).

The social aspect of climate change discourse highlights certainty and uncertainty (Whitmarsh, 2011); and triad positions as involving the dominant (which privileges climate change awareness creation by political actors), the oppositional skeptic stance (which doubts and questions climate change knowledge) and the emergent position (which is convinced of the occurrence of climate change and requires that

remedial actions be based on justice and fair play) (Jamison, 2010). Then there are global power actors in support of climate change (European Union) or otherwise (United States of America), with special reference to the Kyoto Protocol (Lorenzoni and Pidgeon, 2006); those who advocate integrating biophysical and socio-economic indicators of climate change (Donatuto, Grossman et al. 2014); and others who argue for incorporating indigenous knowledge into climate change concerns to complement modern/western scientific knowledge and arrive at a global knowledge system (Ajani, Mgbenka et al. 2013).

The social climate change context has evolved around many standpoints based on values, worldviews and beliefs that fashion forms of denial and conviction (Wendling, Attari et al. 2013). Specifically, there are issues relating climate change to mental health (Doherty and Clayton, 2011), that climate change undermines human security and induces violent conflicts (Barnett and Adger, 2007), that climate change adversely affects both rich and poor countries (Ford and Berrang-Ford, 2011) and that climate change is increasing environmental migration (Gibb and Ford, 2012).

In Ghana, social climate change studies have investigated farmers' adaptation to climate change (Gyampo et al. 2009; Osei-Owusu et al. 2012; Codjoe et al. 2013). At the institutional level, climate change mitigation is the focus, and it involves mainstreaming climate change, capacity building and leadership development, early warning systems, climate change economics and finance as well as climate change knowledge management (UNDP-Ghana 2013). This paper contributes to the social climate change discourse. The aim is to identify intersections between two different knowledge production systems in science. The objective is to interrogate indigenous constructions of climate change and verify them with weather station data in order to improve upon knowledge on climate change. The critical question is: How can indigenous and western scientific knowledge engage climate change dynamics collectively? In exploring this question, this paper moves away from contesting debates on whether climate change is human-induced or

not and rather adds field evidence to buttress the argument by various UN conventions for integrating indigenous knowledge in the study of environmental issues such as climate change (UNCCD, 1996; UNFCCC, 2014). An empirical basis for doing so, and the capacity of indigenous knowledge to predict environmental events are found in Huntington (2000). The ability, through integrating indigenous knowledge, to provide background information or explain environmental problems, which is often near impossible to do through the use of western scientific methods, is discussed by Forsyth (1996). The integration increases efficiency in the research process of cross-cultural interdisciplinarity (Sillitoe, 2000). The nomenclature on indigenous knowledge of climate change is a thesis on its own: "indigenous ecological knowledge, traditional ecological knowledge, traditional environmental knowledge, traditional knowledge and indigenous knowledge". Also, it is location specific, knowledge residing in a place and memory (Davies, 2011:116). This paper adds to the benefits of the critical realist approach, in which the role of science is to get it right (Peprah, 2014), in this specific case, about climate change.

The paper comprises five main sections. The introduction argues on the side of social climate change, specifically the incorporation of indigenous knowledge into climate change knowledge production. The next section reviews three theoretical frameworks and comes out with a conceptual framework to assess the integration of the two knowledge systems. Consequently, the specific place where both knowledge claims are produced is discussed as the study area and the methods followed in the study are explicitly laid down. Subsequently, the results of the study are categorized into two. There are indigenous people's indicators of climate change, which include sunshine, dryness, coldness, bushfire, rainfall as well as lightning and thunder. The rest involves the presence of trees and grass, occurrence of diseases, availability of drinking water and food as well as the taste of yam, indigenous rice and millet. The second results comprise temperature and rainfall analyses from meteorological data, 1961 – 2011.

Theoretical Framework

The linkages between indigenous and western scientific knowledge have been explored by several studies. Knowledge by definition refers to justified true belief (Soini and Kronqvist, 2011). Science is a methodological process involving knowledge production through statistical analysis of data or instrumental records based on reliability, validity and reproducibility. Scientific knowledge implies facts or fact-like statements produced by scientific activity and community, while indigenous knowledge refers to knowledge accumulated over several generations by people living in a particular natural environment (Erickson, 2005; Alexander et al. 2011; Peprah, 2014). According to Green and Raygorodetsky (2010), indigenous knowledge is the bedrock of successful climate change adaptation and resilience. Hence, co-creation of knowledge would ensure social justice and an amelioration of the disproportionate share of the effects of climate change borne by indigenous people. Alexander et al. (2011) add that the integration of the two knowledge claims will strengthen and benefit both indigenous community and scientific study. Estimates show that there are 350 million indigenous people coming from 5,000 tribes and 70 countries in the world (Davis, 2010:3). The author reiterates the usefulness in considering rights, needs and knowledge of indigenous people on climate change mitigation as well as increasing indigenous groups' participation in climate change negotiations. In spite of studies calling for integration, Nakashima et al. (2012) posit that it is inappropriate to compare results of indigenous and western scientific knowledge claims on climate change because the two sources are incompatible; even though the object of study may be the same, the methods of study differ.

Figure 1 shows the representation of integration of indigenous and western scientific knowledge into climate change inquiry, as adapted from (Agnew and Goodess, 2005; Gearheard et al. 2009; Mercer et al. 2009). Climate change could be assessed in three ways: indigenous, western scientific and integrated inquiry. Different outcomes are generated depending on the method of assessment. Integrated inquiry produces compatible results that overlap and connect relatively easily but

sometimes show limited agreement. However, the separate use of indigenous or western scientific analysis of climate observations may produce incompatible results. Such outcomes are complex in nature and may be incompatible. Inherently, there is feedback from the various outcomes to the three inquiry pathways and to the climate change dynamics.
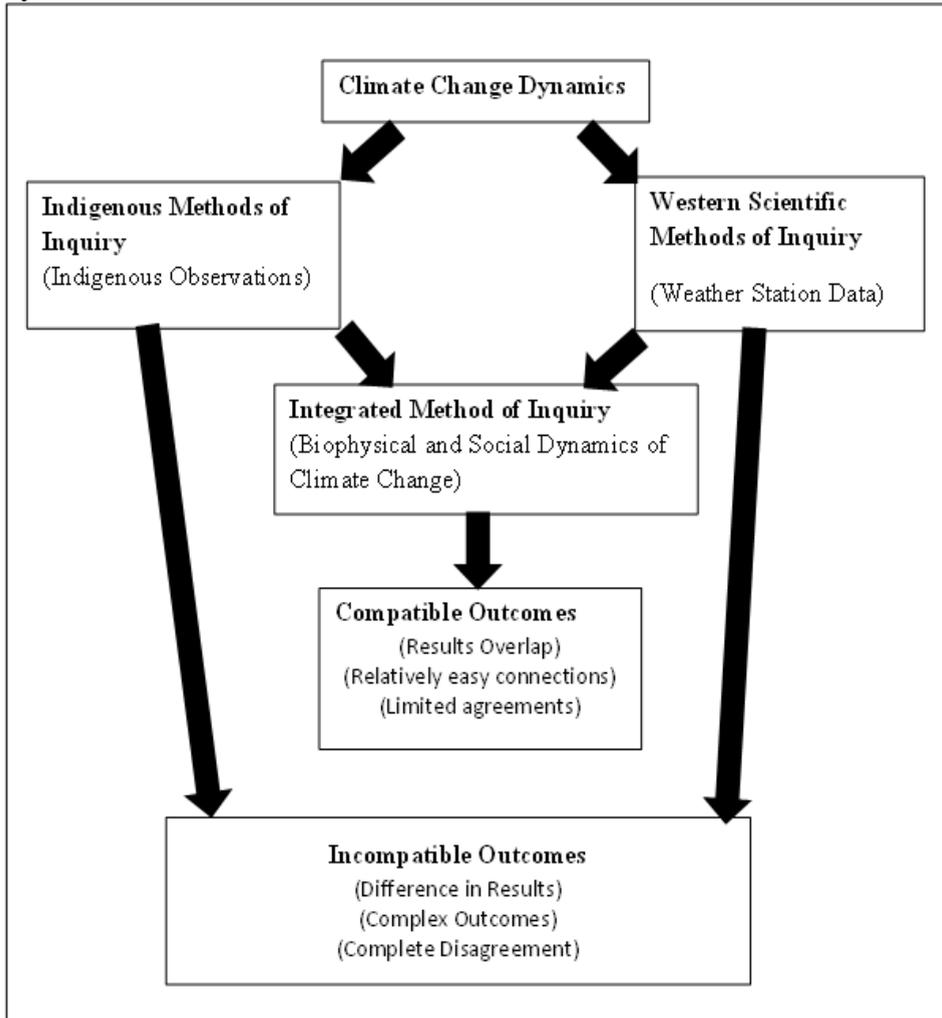
Figure 1. Conceptual Framework for integrating climate change inquiry

Source: Adapted from (Agnew and Goodess, 2005; Gearheard et al. 2009; Mercer et al. 2009)

Study Area and Methodology

According to Ghana's urban hierarchy (metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies [MMDAs]), the study area, Wa, falls under municipal (Government of Ghana 2010) and occupies a land surface area of 234.74 km^2 constituting about 6.4% of the Upper West Region (Aduah and Aabeyir 2012:659). Wa is located on the coordinates of 9º50' N to 10º20' N and 1º40'W to 2º45' W. It shares administrative boundaries with Nadowli-Kaleo District to the North, Wa East District to the east and south and Wa West District to the west and south. The total number of people in Wa increased from 98,675 in 2000 to 119, 387 in 2006; to 107,214 in 2010; and 127,284 in 2012; while maintaining the proportions of 49% male and 51% female (Ghana Statistical Service 2012; Wa Municipal Assembly 2012; Peprah 2013:186).

The study proceeded on the lines of mixed methods; that is, the use of qualitative primary data in addition to quantitative secondary data (meteorological records). In sourcing the primary data, three techniques were used: key informant interviews, focus group discussion and questionnaires administered to 90 indigenes. Indigenous people's perspectives were grouped into two: early life of respondents (about 6-15 years designated as 'past') and old age (60+ years designated as 'present'). Questionnaire responses were entered into SPSS 18.0 as string data and analysed based on descriptive statistics using frequency of occurrence and percentages. Respondents were asked to assess past and present climate separately. This was to aid triangulation of responses. The 90 respondents assessed the climate on the scale of very low, low, moderate, strong and very strong separately for the past climate and for the present climate. Therefore, it would be inaccurate to sum up percentages of past and present climate data and expect to obtain one hundred percent. Low and very low were put together, as were strong and very strong. Past and present climate indicators for low, moderate and strong were compared to find out which had the highest

and lowest responses, as reported in the next section. Chi-square analysis was performed to show differences or otherwise in the responses on the two time period: past and present. The *p* value was compared with an α value of 0.05. The null hypothesis is that there is no difference in past and present climate. For low *p* value, reject the null hypothesis. For high *p* value, maintain the null hypothesis. Schematic boxplot analysis under GenStat was used to assess central tendency in monthly rainfall.

Results
Indigenous People's Indicators of Climate Change

Occurrence of Climate Change
All the 90 respondents acknowledged the occurrence of climate change. Table 1 shows the scale of affirmation where the largest percentage (32%) holds it to be moderate. This implies a change between the past and present climates.

Table 1. Ratings of Perception of Observance of Climate Change

Occurrence of Climate Change	Frequency	Percent
Very low	10	11
Low	22	25
Moderate	29	32
Strong	28	31
Very strong	1	1
Total	90	100.0

Figure 2 shows a summary of the indigenous climatic indicators. The length of the bar indicates the perspective of respondents regarding the past climate (when respondents were between age 6-15) and the present climate (when respondents have attained 60 years and above). Details of each indicator are provided in the sub-sections that follow.
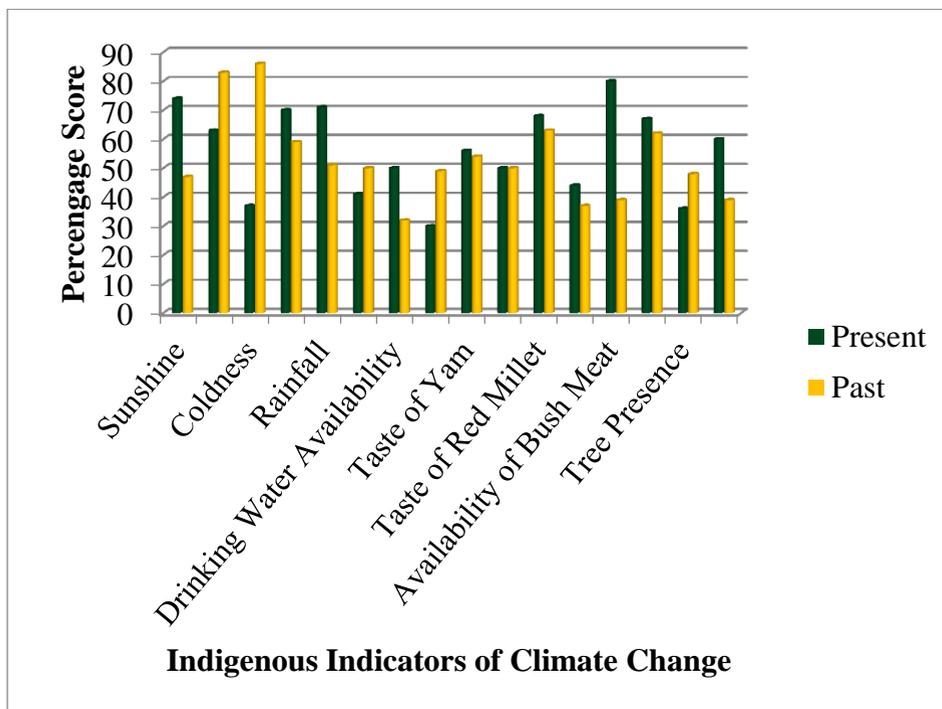
Figure 2. Summary of Perceptions on Performance of Indigenous Climatic Indicators

Sunshine or dryness or coldness

The indigenous people perceived sunshine to be intense. As to whether the sun shines with greater intensity in the present than in the past, 74% (67 out of 90) reported for the present and 47% (42 out of 90) for the past. The p value = .000, where $p < 0.05$; this implies that there was a statistically significant difference in sunshine over the two periods: past and present. An old woman in her 70s said: "*…in present days the sun shines as if God wants to burn down the earth.*" Furthermore, concerning perceptions of the dry season (harmattan), 83% (75) thought it was more severe in the past while 63% (57) perceived it to be harsher

in the present, with a p value = .000 where p < 0.05, supporting statistical difference in the responses.

Moreover, bushfires (the usual burning of the bush in the dry season) were reported to be strong, with a lower occurrence in the past, as reported by 59% (53), and an increased occurrence in the present, as testified by 70% (63), with a p value = .000 where p < 0.05; implying a statistical difference between the two responses.

In addition, coldness (winter coldness during the harmattan, i.e. winter in the northern hemisphere during the dry season) was considered to be strong both in the past (73.3%, 66) and in the present (85.6%, 77), with a p value = .009 where p < 0.05. Hence, the null hypothesis of no difference between the two groups (observed and expected count) and was rejected. This particular group appears to be averse with present global warming information and experience as well as with responses on the dry season.

Rainfall or lightning and thunder or drinking water
The respondents indicated that some animals, soil organisms, insects and birds provided signs that farmers used to determine the commencement of rainfall and the time for planting crops. According to the indigenes, the indicators were accurate, valuable and reliable. Study participants attributed the present absence of some animals to climate change. The general point was that the rains used to start in March and active farming in April. Currently, these dates are unpredictable because the young people cannot interpret the signs and there are inconsistencies in the start of rainfall. A respondent reported: "…*the rain comes at the time we do not need it and stops at the time we need it most*."

The indigenous people perceived increasing rainfall; some 51% (46) reported for the past and 71% (64) for the present, with a p value = .000 where p < 0.05; the null hypothesis was rejected. The measurement of rainfall was done using the amount of crops harvested. Other respondents quantify the rains by the level of some rivers and water

bodies. With regards to lightning and thunder, indigenous people observed more occurrences of lightning and thunder in the past 50% (45) than the present 41% (37), with a p value = .000 where p < 0.05, described as a significant statistical difference between the two groups. Availability of drinking water was higher in the present (50%) than the past (32%); an admittance of improved water supply in the present over the past, with a p value = .043 where p < .05; implying a statistical difference between the past and the present. The respondents were united on these statements on the water situation in the past:

> …getting water during the harmattan season was very difficult and women used to walk so many miles to access water which was not even potable but we had to use it… before a woman could get one pot of water during the dry season, she would have to use the whole day due to the distance and the number of women who would be at the well or dugout waiting for the water to spring out.

Other indigenous indicators of climate change
There was more food in the past as reported by 49% (44) than in the present as testified by 30% (27), signifying the incidence of hunger presently, with a p value = .340 where p > 0.05. Hence, the null hypothesis was not rejected (34% > 5%). It was reported that farmers used to harvest crops in August. Locally, August is nicknamed in the Dagaare language as "Oguri", meaning "so much to chew". The harvesting of maize, groundnuts, beans and other early maturing crops indicated a lot of food literally for "chewing". The respondents lamented: "... *nowadays, harvesting starts in late September, October or sometimes November*".

One respondent had this to say:

> …my father used to farm 3 acres of land and harvest 10 bags of maize and about 6 bags of millet on the same plot without using any fertilizer or chemical…now I usually

use fertilizer, insecticide and herbicide on the same piece
of land yet I cannot get up to 4 bags of maize, [not] to talk
of millet.

However, due to adaptation measures, most indigenous people indicated
that hunger does not strike so many people in the harmattan. Due to the
availability of motorable roads linking the north with the south, northern
migrants in southern Ghana do foodstuff remittance, commonly maize,
dry cassava flour and yam tubers. The taste of indigenous yam
(*Dioscorea sp*.) recorded 54% (49) in the past whilst the present figure is
56% (50); with the $p = .000$ and $p < 0.05$, suggesting a statistical
difference between the two answers. The taste of white millet
(*Pennisetum americanum*) has not changed, as reported by 50% (45) for
the past and 50% (45) for the present. However, the taste of red millet
(*Pennisetum americanum*) has improved, as confirmed by 63% (57) for
the past and 68% (61) for the present, with $p = .000$ where $p < 0.05$,
indicating a statistical difference in the two views. Also, the taste of
indigenous rice (*Oryza sativa*) has improved, as affirmed by 37% (33)
for the past and 44% (40) for the present, with $p = .000$ where $p < 0.05$,
describing a statistical difference in taste over the two periods.
Furthermore, prevalence of diseases during harmattan (e.g. the outbreak
of cerebrospinal meningitis) was confirmed by 62% (56) for the past and
67% (60) for the present, with $p = .000$ and $p < 0.05$, recording a
statistical difference for the two responses. Additionally, the results
revealed that the presence of trees was lower in the past (36%, 32) than
in the present (48%, 43) with $p = .000$ and $p < 0.05$, implying a rejection
of the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between the
past and present. Likewise, the presence of grass cover in Wa was
regarded by 39% (35) as lower in the past and by 60% (54) as lower in
the present, with $p = .000$ and $p < 0.05$, indicating a statistical difference
between the two results.

Scientific Evidence on Climate Change
A review of the literature showed an increase in temperature over a 40-
year period: from 27.5°C in 1970 to 28.6 $^{\circ}$C in 2010, indicating an

increase of 1.1^{o}C with a temperature increase ranging between 1.1^{o}C and 1.6^{o}C (Rademacher-Schulz and Mahama 2012:61, 63). These figures confirm the indigenous proxy indicator of increased temperature, that is, increased sunshine. It appears the increasing temperature trend will continue in the future (Techie-Obeng et al. 2010:10); with near-future (2045-2065) and in the far-future (2081-2100), exhibiting an annual mean of 2.0 ^{o}C and 3.9 ^{o}C correspondingly; with a minimum annual mean of 2.2 ^{o}C and 4.2 ^{o}C respectively and a maximum annual mean of 2.1 ^{o}C and 4.0 ^{o}C respectively.

 Figure 3 shows a schematic boxplot of monthly rainfall (1961 – 2011) that focuses on the shape of distribution, median, data variability and outliers. Whenever the median is located beyond the exact-mid portion of the box, that is, whenever the median is higher or the top whisker is longer than the bottom one, a lot more rainfall was received in the top 50% than the bottom 50%, as shown in the case of August. Also, the longer parts of the box and whisker imply that the rainfall data showed a greater range, while the shorter portion of a box indicated that values in the data were closely packed.
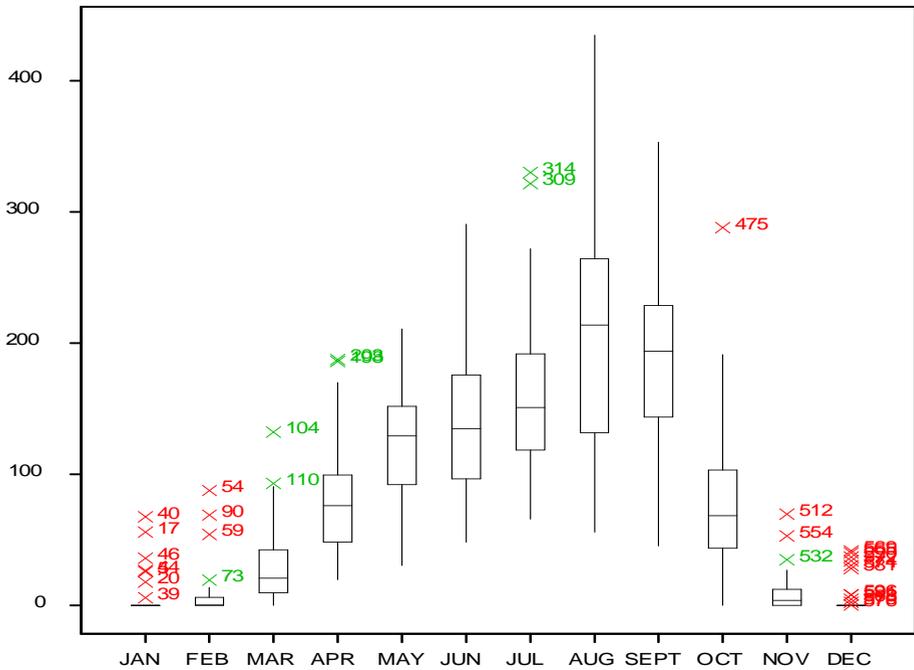
Figure 3. Schematic boxplot of monthly rainfall of Wa (1961 – 2011).

Figure 4 displays time series of annual rainfall (1961 – 2011), depicting a general decreasing trend indicated by y = -0.8685 x +1067.5; the year 1986 revealed the lowest rainfall, while 1963 showed the highest rainfall.
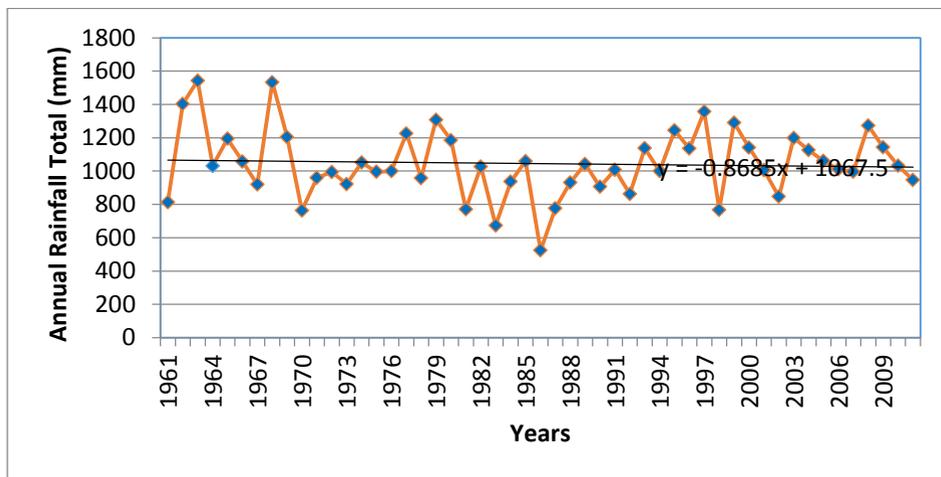
Figure 4. Annual Rainfall Total (mm) 1961 – 2011.

Figure 5 shows a rainfall graph for the dry season (called harmattan) calculated as rainfall in the months of October + November + December + January + February + March. The trend line indicates a decreasing dry season rainfall at a rate of y = -1.0837x +161.53, indicating the driest year as 1961 and the least dry year as 1976. The emphasis is on minimum rainfall.
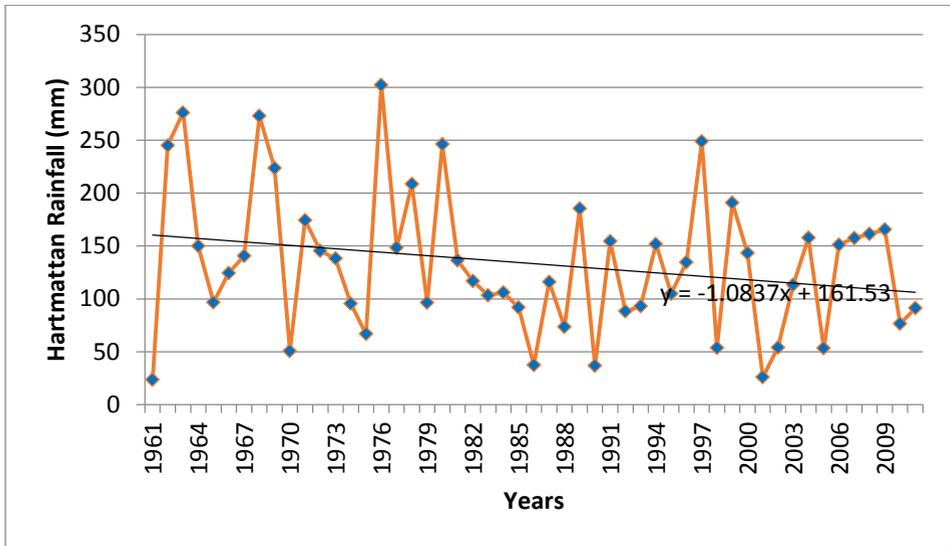
Figure 5. Harmattan rainfall (mm) 1961 – 2011.

Figure 6 depicts rainfall values for the raining season comprising the months of April + May + June + July + August + September. The trend line shows an increasing rainfall rate of y = 0.2152 x + 906.01, with the lowest in 1986 and the highest in 1963. The mean maximum monthly rainfall (1961 – 2011) is represented by extracting maximum rainfall values from the total rainfall.
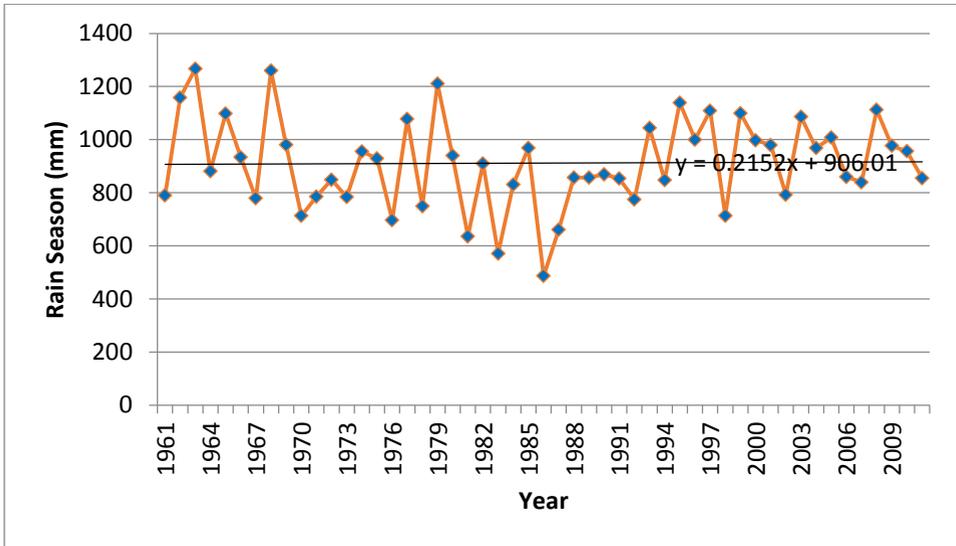
Figure 6. Rain season rainfall (mm) 1961 – 2011.

Figure 7 shows 50 years of rainfall in Wa categorized into five decades depicting clear variability. The third decade looked characteristically different from the rest. Although August rainfall was the most dominant in four of the decades, September and July rainfall was much higher than that of August in the second decade. The first three decades showed some amount of December rainfall. The remaining two decades (four and five) displayed no rainfall in December. Also, March rainfall indicated a regular reduction from the first to the fifth decade.
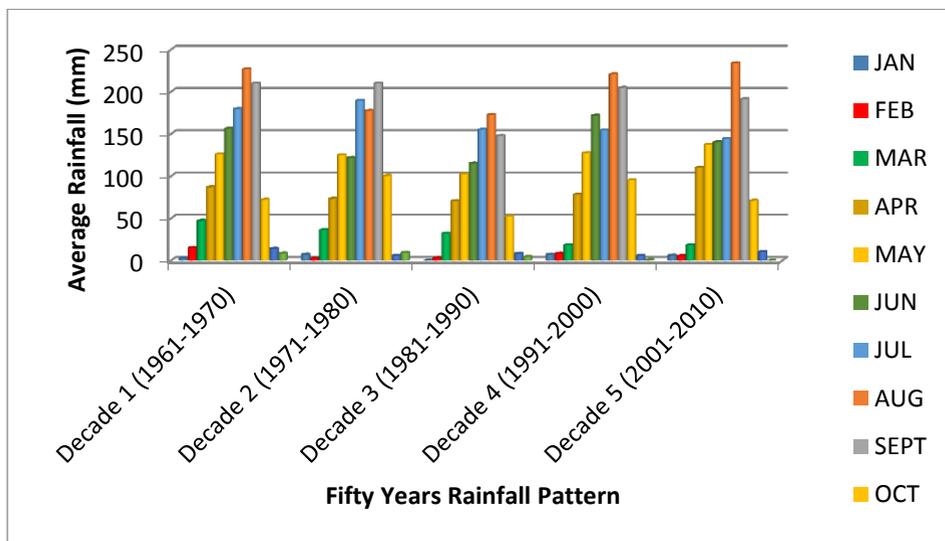
Figure 7. Decadal analysis of 50 years rainfall data of Wa synoptic weather station

Discussion
Climate Change Dynamics

The purpose of this paper is to validate the claims of indigenous people on the occurrence of climate change using temperature and rainfall data from Wa synoptic weather station. The findings suggest mixed outcomes. On the one hand, temperature results of both indigenous and western scientific methods of inquiry overlap. Both knowledge sources pointed to increasing temperature. On the other hand, rainfall results show difference outcomes. Indigenous observation claims that rainfall is increasing while western scientific rainfall data analysis shows a decreasing trend of rainfall over the 50 years (1961-2011). The different outcomes notwithstanding, the indigenous claim on rainfall cannot be said to be wrong since an analysis of rainfall values for the raining season (April, May, June, July, August and September) for the 50 years (1961-2011) shows an increasing trend.

Indigenous Methods of Inquiry

Indigenous methods of assessing climate change dynamics use obvious traditional indicators, many of which are not directly related to climate but indirectly depend on the climate for survival or functioning. Many of the indicators are linked to the climate, e.g., sunshine, dryness, coldness, rainfall, lightning and thunder, as well as drinking water produced mainly from rainfall. Boon and Ahenkan (2012) also found that indigenous people perceive climate change through changes in rainfall pattern and prolonged dry season. Invariably, crops, the source of food, depend on climate for sustenance. Hence, the behaviour of crops is readily used by indigenous people to indicate changing climate, this is corroborated by Gyampo et al. (2009). In addition, the prevalence of diseases, particularly in the dry season, as well as the characteristics of the vegetation, particularly the presence of trees and grass cover, help indigenous people to mark climate change.

Western Scientific Methods of Inquiry

The western scientific methods analyze climate data on rainfall, temperature, relative humidity, air pressure, sunshine, wind speed and direction, visibility and cloud cover, based on reliability, validity and reproducibility, to show persistent deviations from the normal as variation or change in the prevailing climate. This method is applied by various ecological departments in universities worldwide, research organizations, individuals and groups such as UNFCCC and the IPCC. For instance, the 2014 assessment and management of climate change risks was based on large scientific literature (IPCC 2014).

Integrated Method of Inquiry

The integrated method of inquiry into climate change dynamics appears to be the ideal assessment procedure advocated by many studies. The strength and benefits of combining indigenous and western scientific methods of investigation have been discussed variously (Agnew and Goodess, 2005; Gearheard et al., 2009; Mercer et al., 2009; Davis 2010; Green and Raygorodetsky 2010; Alexander et al., 2011). A further

significance of the integrated method is that climate change dynamics deal with both social and biophysical processes and phenomena which are not static but change over time. Hence, the integrated method of inquiry needs regular improvement to adequately operate well.

Compatible Outcomes

All 90 indigenous respondents affirm the occurrence of climate change. Although IPCC (2014) uses low, medium and high to assess the level of agreement, the present study used very low, low, moderate, strong and very strong; about 88% was spread among low, moderate and strong occurrence. There was correspondence between indigenous indicators and western scientific climate analysis showing decreasing temperature. Probably, with the daily rising and falling of the sun, the heat intensity of the sun becomes obvious to the indigenous observer, contrary to rainfall which pours in a particular season and even occurs erratically during the season. The results is complemented by Ajani et al. (2013) who argued that indigenous knowledge and scientific proof are equally necessary to support climate change programmes.

Incompatible Outcomes

The analyses of rainfall data clearly distinguishes two seasons: a raining season of six months (April, May, June, July, August and September) and a dry season of six months (October, November, December, January, February and March). However, the schematic boxplot confirmed four dry season months (November, December, January and February), and the shape of the box and whisker emphasize December and January as the driest months within the period (1961 – 2011). The long term trend in total annual rainfall (mm) is decreasing, although the raining season annual total is increasing; the dry season total is decreasing at a higher rate and feeds into the overall total annual rainfall decline. However, indigenous people observed increasing rainfall. A problem is created in a situation with such different outcomes. Which method is correct and which method is wrong?

The western scientific method with its rigorous empirical approach is often preferred to the indigenous method when a decision is to be made based on just one of the outcomes. This is so because there is evidence over a 50 year history of the western scientific method getting it right. The indigenous method may not be equally accurate due to the differences in the observers (study respondents) in terms of age and experience with climate issues. Often, the largest percent is deemed right irrespective of the composition of that specific majority. However, Gearheard et al. (2009) points out that the western scientific method sometimes uses data that is not representative of region. Hence, extrapolation is employed to cover areas with inadequate or no data. As a result, both methods come with certain intrinsic weaknesses which make it difficult to fault solely the indigenous method for the incompatible outcomes.

Conclusion

The changing climate has to be assessed by an equally dynamic method of inquiry. Both the indigenous and western scientific methods contain various weaknesses. However, the western scientific method is the most preferred method. The long history of reliable and reproducible outcomes is enough justification to base climate decisions on such a method. However, history also shows that the western scientific methods have benefited from indigenous knowledge in several ways. Hence, an integration of methods is justified based on the social justice argument; the fact that indigenous societies do not participate much in the creation of anthropogenic climate change; and the disproportionate burden of consequences borne by indigenous societies due to reduced resilience and increased vulnerability. Again, the integrated method stands a better chance of assessing climate change in both the social and biophysical dynamics. Due to variation in personnel, instruments, experience, and climate processes and phenomena, differences in outcomes may arise with the use of separate or combined indigenous and western scientific methods. As posited by Gearheard et al. (2009), the differences in result may raise critical questions which, when addressed, will improve the climate change assessment.

Climate change represents a global environmental challenge but exerts localized effects on societies and people. Hence, vulnerabilities, resilience and adaptations are very relevant at the fine scale level. The merits and demerits of climate change mitigation find justification at the local actors' locations (site-specific), where prior indigenous experiences with the climate have a great influence on the prospects of climate change projects.

After all, the two knowledge sources know climate and any change thereof from accumulated historical information. Indigenous knowledge does this through lived experiences in a repetitive process stored in oral tradition and symbols. Western scientific knowledge does the same through observation, measurement and analysis, in which reports are stored in hard form (paper copies) or soft form (digital copies). Methods of analyzing the two historical accounts on the climate simultaneously become important. The conceptual framework of this study supports the use of an integrated method of inquiry. The basis is that weather station data analysis indicates that the raining season (April, May, June, July, August and September) is getting wetter with increasing rainfall. The dry season (October, November, December, January, February and March) is getting drier with increasing temperature and declining rains. Indigenous knowledge claims from this study corroborate these findings.

References

Adger, W. N., S. Dessai, et al. (2008). "Are There Social Limits to Adaptation to Climate Change?" *Climate Change: Springer* 93: 335-354.

Aduah, M. S. and R. Aabeyir (2012). "Land Cover Dynamics of Wa Municipality, Upper West Region of Ghana." R*esearch Journal of Environmental and Earth Sciences* 4(6): 658-664 http://maxwellsci.com/print/rjees/v654-658-664.pdf.

Agnew, M. and C. Goodess (2005). "Developing a Conceptual Framework." University of East Anglia, UK:

www.cru.uea.ac.uk/projects/circe/concept_framework_2ndDRAFT.doc

Ajani, E. N., R. N. Mgbenka, et al. (2013). "Use of Indigenous Knowledge as a Strategy for Climate Change Adaptation among Farmers in sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for Policy." *Asian Journal of Agricultural Extension, Economics & Sociology* 2(1): 23-40.

Alexander, C., N. Bynum, et al. (2011). "Linking Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge of Climate Change." *BioScience* 61: 477-484.

Arguez, A. and R. S. Vose (2011). "The Definition of the Standard WMO Climate Normal." *BMS: 699-704.*

Barnett, J. and W. N. Adger (2007). "Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict." *Political Geography: Elsevier* 26: 639-655.

Boon, E. and A. Ahenkan (2012). "Assessing Climate Change Impacts on Ecosystem Services and Livelihoods in Ghana: Case Study of Communities around Sui Forest Reserve." *Ecosystem & Ecography* S3: 1-8.

Codjoe, F. N. Y., C. K. Ocansey, et al. (2013). "Climate Change Awareness and Coping Strategies of Cocoa Farmers in Rural Ghana." *Journal of Biology, Agriculture and Healthcare* 3(11): 19-29.

CWT (2007). Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report. Valencia, Spain, IPCC Plenary XXVII**: 1-52.

Davies, M. (2011). "I Live Somewhere Else but I've Never Left Here" Indigenous Knowledge, History, and Place." *Counterpoints* 379: 113-126.

Davis, S. H. (2010). "Indigenous Peoples and Climate Change." *The International Indigenous Policy Journal* 1(1(2)): 1-17.

Doherty, T. J. and S. Clayton (2011). "The Psychological Impacts of Global Climate Change." *American Psychologist* 66(4): 265-276.

Donatuto, J., E. E. Grossman, et al. (2014). "Indigenous Community Health and Climate Change: Integrating Biophysical Social Science Indicators." *Coastal Management* 42: 355-373.

Erickson, M. (2005). *Science, Culture and Society: Understanding Science in the Twenty-First Century.* Cambridge, Polity.

Ford, J. D. and L. Berrang-Ford (2011). "Climate Change Adaptation in Developed Nations: From Theory to Practice." *Advances in Global Change Research: Springer Science:* 21-32.

Forsyth, T. (1996). "Science, Myth and Knowledge: Testing Himalayan Environmental Degradation in Thailand." *Geoforum* 27(3): 375-392.

Fussel, H. M. and R. J. T. Klein (2006). "Climate Change Vulnerability Assessments: An Evolution of Conceptual Thinking." *Climate Change Springer* 75: 301-329.

Gearheard, S., M. Pocernich, et al. (2009). "Linking Inuit Knowledge and Meteorological Station Observations to Understand Changing Wind Patterns at Clyde River, Nunavut." *Climate Change*.

Ghana Statistical Service (2012). *2010 Population and Housing Census: Summary Report of Final Results*. Accra, Ghana Statistical Service**:** 1-117.

Gibb, C. and J. Ford (2012). "Should the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Recognize Climate Migrants." *Enrion. Res. Lett.* **7**: 1-9.

Government of Ghana (2010). Medium-Term National Development Policy Framework: Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda. Accra, Government of Ghana**: 1-278.

Green, D. and G. Raygorodetsky (2010). "Indigenous Knowledge of a Changing Climate." *Climate Change* 100: 239-242.

Gyampo, B. A., S. Amisah, et al. (2009). "Using Traditional Knowledge to Cope with Climate Change in Rural Ghana." *Unasylva* 60(231/232): 70-74.

Halvorssen, A. M. (2008). "UNFCCC, The Kyoto Protocol, and the WTO - Brewing Conflicts of are They Mutually Supportive?" *Denv. J. Int'l L. & Pol'y* 36(3/4): 369-379.

Huntington, H. P. (2000). "Using Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Science: Methods and Applications " *Ecological Applications* 10(5): 1270-1274.

IPCC (2014). Climate Change 2014 Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability: Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jamison, A. (2010). "Climate Change Knowledge and Social Movement Theory." *Climate_Change: Springer* 1: 811-823.

Lavell, A., M. Oppenheimer, et al. (2012). Climate Change: New Dimensions in Disaster Risk, Exposure, Vulnerability, and Resilience. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lorenzoni, I. and N. F. Pidgeon (2006). "Public Views on Climate Change: European and USA Perspective." *Climate Change: Springer* 77: 73-95.

Mercer, J., I. Kelman, et al. (2009). "Framework for Integrating Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge for Disaster Risk Reduction." Overseas Development Institute/ Blackwell Publishing.

Nakashima, D. J., K. Galloway McLean, et al. (2012). Weathering Uncertainty: Traditional Knowledge for Climate Change Assessment and Adaptation. Paris, UNESCO and UNU.

O'Brien, K. I. and R. M. Leichenko (2000). "Double Exposure: Assessing the Impacts of Climate Change within the Context of Economic Globalization." *Global Environmental Change: Pergamon* 10: 221-232.

Osei-Owusu, Y., R. M. Al-Hassan, et al. (2012). Assessing the Adaptation Mechanisms of Smallholder Farmers to Climate Change and Agrobiodiversity Losses in Northern Ghana. Accra, START/Conservation Alliance: 1-359.

Peprah, K. (2013). "Sand Winning and Land Degradation: Perspective of Indigenous Sand Winners of Wa, Ghana " *Journal of Environment and Earth Science* 3(14): 185-194.

Peprah, K. (2014). "Knowledge Production Contest between Natural and Social Scientists with Regards to Land Degradation Assessment." *The Journal of Arts and Philosophy* 2(1): 5-11.

Rademacher-Schulz, C. and E. S. Mahama (2012). Where the Rain Falls project. Case Study: Ghana Results from Nadowli District, Upper West Region. Rainfall, Food Security and Human Mobility Case Study: Ghana. Bonn, United Nations University Institute for Environment and Human Security (UNU-EHS). 3: 1-132.

Sillitoe, P. (2000). "Let Them Eat Cake: Indigenous Knowledge, Science and the "Poorest of the Poor." *Anthropology Today* 16(6): 3-7.

Soini, H. and E. Kronqvist, Eds. (2011). Epistemology - A Tool or a Stance. Qualitative Psychology Nexus VIII Epistemologies for Qualitative Research. Tubingen, Germany, Die Deutsche Bibliothek.

Techie-Obeng, E., E. Gyasi, et al. (2010). Farmers' Adaptation Measures in Scenarios of Climate Change for Maize Production in Semi-Aric Zones of Ghana. 2nd International Conference: Climate, Sustainability and Development in Semi-Arid Regions. Fortaleza - Ceara, ICID +18: 1-20.

UNCCD (1996). About the Convention Part I. Bonn, Germany, United Nations Organization: http://www.unccd.int/en/about-the-convention/Pages/Text-Part-I.aspx.

UNDP-Ghana (2013). Africa Adaptation Programme in Ghana. Accra, UNDP-Ghana: 1-8.

UNFCCC (2014). Reporting on the Meeting on Available Tools for the Use of Indigenous and Traditional Knowledge and Practices for Adaptation, Needs of Local and Indigenous Communities and the Application of Gender-Sensitive Approaches and Tools for Adaptation. Bonn, United Nations: 1-63.

Wa Municipal Assembly (2012). The Composite Budget of the Wa Municipal Assembly for the Fiscal Year 2012. Wa, Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development: 1-109 http://www.mofep.gov.gh/.

Wendling, S. A., S. Z. Attari, et al. (2013). "On the Importance of Strengthening Moderate Beliefs in Climate Science to Foster Support for Immediate Action." *Sustainability* 5: 5153-5170.

Whitmarsh, L. (2011). "Scepticism and Uncertainty about Climate Change: Dimensions, Determinants and Change over Time." *Global Environmental Change* 21: 690 - 700.

GENDER OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS, ASSETS AND CHOICE OF BASIC SERVICES

George Domfe[1] and Ellen Bortei-Doku Aryeetey[2]

Abstract
The paper examines how assets owned by men- and women-headed households could help in enhancing the choice of different basic social services. It uses the data of a comprehensive field survey conducted by the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research in 9,310 households across 23 MiDA intervention districts in Ghana in 2008. A multinomial logistic regression was employed to assess how ownership of a particular asset could enhance the choice of basic social services such as education, health and sanitation. The results of the study indicate that women-headed households control less productive assets and are therefore more likely to depend on the cheaper but lower quality public educational facilities than on the expensive but higher quality private educational facilities. Recommendations were therefore made for policy to ensure that opportunities are provided for women-headed households to own more productive assets.

Keywords: Gender, Household, Assets, Choice, Social Services

Introduction
In the on-going efforts to understand the dynamics of well-being among men and women, it has become increasingly clear that the ownership of material and non-material assets is critical for success. Based on the

---
[1] Research Fellow at the Centre for Social Policy Studies (CSPS), College of Humanities, University of Ghana. E-mail: gdomfe@ug.edu.gh or gdomfe@gmail.com.

[2] Associate Professor of Sociology at the Centre for Social Policy Studies (CSPS), College of Humanities, University of Ghana. E-mail: awo.aryeetey@gmail.com.

historical patriarchal legacy of gender inequalities in resource distribution, it is often assumed that men and women have differential access to household assets, in arrangements that normally favour men. One would expect therefore that women would be less equipped to face poverty compared to men.

While in most modern legal systems, property rights are assigned to individuals instead of households (Doss, Grown & Deere, 2008), the gender of household heads often affects the type of assets owned by the households. According to Kassie, Ndiritu and Stage (2014), the legal and social traditions that regulate the distribution of assets in some cultures tend to favour men and therefore households headed by women are usually disadvantaged in terms of ownership of certain assets. They specifically blamed the existing arrangements for distribution of assets in Kenya as the reason why households headed by men, compared to those headed by women, own more bicycles. Debela (2016) and Aryeetey (2004), studying respectively Ethiopia and Ghana, indicated that households headed by women own significantly less livestock compared to those headed by men.

As with other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, in Ghana assets are often perceived to be owned collectively by households and mostly controlled by their heads. Though household economists like Duflo and Udry (2004) and feminist economists like Oduro, Baah-Boateng and Boakye-Yiadom (2011) have argued strongly for a shift to intra-household asset distribution analysis, the widely conducted household survey for studying welfare at the household level remains popular, producing considerable data on the subject. It is therefore important to continue exploring ways of making that data more meaningful in studying wellbeing.

With household surveys, the assumption is that, irrespective of the gender composition of a household, its asset ownership is usually determined by the gender of household head and shaped by male-biased customary norms for the distribution of assets (Kassie et. al., 20014).

This tends to give women less control over productive assets such as land and houses. One of the questions that arise is whether or not this affects the capacity of women-headed households to escape poverty. Therefore, the main objectives of the study are: first, to examine differences in the assets owned by men- and women-headed households and second, to assess how type of assets owned by such households could affect their choice of basic social services.

The paper begins with a discussion of the literature on assets and measurement of welfare. This is followed by a discussion of the portfolio of assets of men-headed and women-headed households across the three different ecological zones in Ghana. The next section employs econometric analytical techniques to examine the extent to which households' ownership of particular assets could influence their choice of basic social services. The paper then concludes with policy implications.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of the paper is premised on the ability of household assets to establish economic security in times of need (Zhan & Sherraden, 2003). Studies have demonstrated that assets owned by households tend to be the gateway to accessing essential services (Filmer & Pritchett, 2001; Xie & Dow, 2005). In other words, households could rely on their accumulated assets to be able to procure essential basic needs of life, especially when in distress. This could be done by either using household productive assets to produce cash or transforming the household durable and luxury assets directly into cash (see Figure 1).

Moser and Felton (2007) underscored the importance of ownership of household assets and classified them as physical, financial/productive, human and social capital. They further divided financial/productive capital into labour/security, productive and transfer/rental assets and defined the productive assets as household assets with an income-generating capability. Therefore, households which own productive assets such as sewing machines, refrigerators and cars could use them to

generate income to smoothen household consumption. On the other hand, ownership of luxury assets such as jewels and household durable assets, including radio and television sets, could only be turned into income through direct sales to enhance households' access to basic goods and services to improve welfare.

Figure 1: How assets enhance access to basic social services
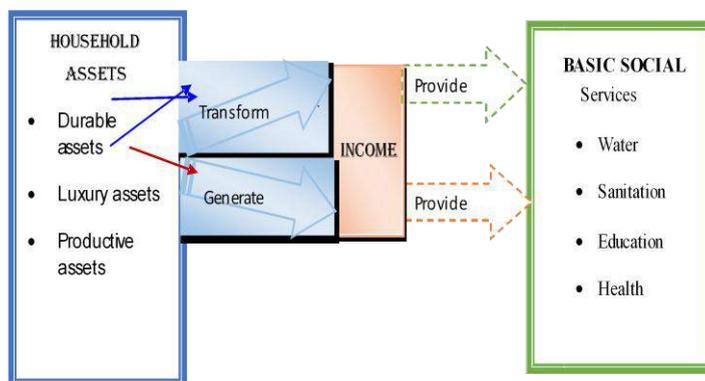
Figure 1 is based on an assumption that ownership of assets could guarantee access to basic social services to enhance the wellbeing of household members. A household's assets could be used as investment to ensure a better future for its members. For instance, studies have found that ownership of various forms of assets by households enhances households' accessibility to basic social services such as healthcare, education and training (Aryeetey, 2004; Filmer 2005; Guitirrez, 2002). In other words, a household is said to be making a viable investment if it uses its assets to provide education and training for the children in the household. According to McKernan, Ratcliffe and Nam (2007), households which do not have assets are usually not able to make a high investment in their children.

Assets and Measurement of Welfare

Traditionally, money metric approaches for analysing poverty have been popular among analysts. These approaches usually include income and consumption expenditure measures (Ravallion, 1992). However, some of these approaches to measuring welfare have been found to be inappropriate for certain areas. For instance, while an income approach to welfare measurement is suitable for the developed countries because of regularity of household income, the same method appears unsuitable for developing countries where the pattern of flow of household income is highly volatile. This is worsened by the unavailability of regular comprehensive data on household income and expenditure in many developing countries. Even where such information is available, its quality is often debatable and it comes at long intervals.

Ground-breaking studies by Sen (1991) in his early work on entitlements and capabilities reinforced the need to use alternative ways of measuring welfare, as against the traditional approaches to welfare measurement. This position was supported by Sahn and Stifel (2001) who identified challenges such as poor quality of income measurement, unavailability of consumer price indices and high levels of measurement errors as some of the reasons why the traditional approaches of welfare measures are not suitable for developing countries. Apart from these challenges, households in developing countries find it difficult to divulge their income for fear of either being taxed or attacked by armed robbers. While economists may be more comfortable with the use of income to measure wealth, welfare, and other indicators of wellbeing, they are fully aware that income data has limitations in both accuracy and measurement, particularly in the context of developing countries (Moser and Felton, 2007).

The idea of using assets measurement to study welfare has become widely accepted since assets are seen to be critical to well-being. Therefore, their absence could adversely affect a poor household. Moser (1998) proposed the asset vulnerability index (AVI) to analyse welfare by using durable and non-durable household assets. However, the asset

approach has also been criticised on the grounds that the components of the index are taken from a generic list of commodities whose quality or value may not be equal between the poor and non-poor households. Also, the index provides a relative analysis of welfare and nothing about absolute income or poverty. In spite of these shortcomings, asset measurement still appears to be a better approach to measuring welfare, especially in the developing countries.

In Aryeetey's (2004) paper on household asset choice in Ghana, he highlighted the importance of diversifying assets as the critical factor for a household's ability to withstand unexpected shocks. This works through promotion of alternative sources of income flow. Gender differences were observed in asset portfolios, in which men and women were noted to be holding different kinds of assets, but no further analysis was done to determine the effects of ownership of assets on access to basic social services. This study moves a step further by investigating different assets owned by men- and women-headed households and how ownership of a particular group of assets could influence a household's choice of a particular basic service.

Methods of the Study
Data Sources and Analyses[3]

Data for this paper was taken from a comprehensive field survey, the *Ghana Living Standards Survey Five Plus (GLSS 5+)*, conducted by the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) at the University of Ghana in collaboration with the *Millennium Development Authority (MiDA)*. The GLSS 5+ was conducted to gather household baseline data for the implementation of the Millennium Challenge Account projects in the country. Altogether, 9,310 households were interviewed using structured interview schedules, based on a randomised sample selected from 23 districts across the following ecological zones

---

[3] The authors hereby declare that this paper is their own work and that it was written with permission from the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) and the Millennium Development Authority (MiDA) for the use of their data.

of the country: the Northern Agricultural Zone (NAZ), the Afram Basin (AfB) and the Southern Horticultural Zone (SHZ). The sample included 69% (6,444) of households headed by men and 31 % (2,866) of households headed by women.

In view of the various limitations associated with income and expenditure approaches to measuring welfare, alternative approaches known as non-monetary measures have been developed. The non-monetary measure approach seeks to assess household welfare in a more comprehensive manner relying mainly on a household's asset portfolio. It comprises varied approaches such as the household asset index, the occupational status score (OSS), the household prestige (HHP) score and the socio-economic surveys (SES) (Krieger & Williams, 1997; Filmer & Pritchett 1998; Moser & Felton, 2007). Interestingly, each of the non-monetary methods also has different strengths and weaknesses due to its characteristics and the nature of data collected (Moser & Felton, 2007). Considering the focus of the study and the data of *GLSS 5+*, the paper adopts the non-monetary approach introduced by Filmer and Pichette (1998) to construct an asset index for households headed by men and women using *principal component analysis* (PCA).

Principal Component Analysis (PCA)

According to Prakongsai (2005), households with high economic status tend to possess assets with a high factor score, which helps to cushion them against risk in times of emergency, while households with low economic status possess assets with a low score and are, therefore, more exposed to risk. To get a clear perspective on the scope of assets owned by men- and women-headed households in the MiDA intervention zones, the study considered the following groups of assets: productive assets, household durables, luxury assets and housing characteristics. The assets were classified into the four categories based on the type of asset variables available and captured by the data and the classification of households' assets by Moser and Felton (2007). The intention here is to understand how these groups of assets influence access to key basic social services.

Theoretically, PCA is a statistical technique closely related to factor analysis. It is a procedure that is used to reduce a set of measures of observed variables to a smaller set of artificial (representative) variables known as the principal components. PCA can determine the weight as a factor score for each asset variable. It seeks a linear combination of variables such that the maximum variance is extracted from the variables (Prakongsai, 2005). Thus the PCA approach seeks to linearly transform a set of p correlated variables X_j to an uncorrelated set of p principal components. While the first principal component usually has the largest possible variance for any transformation, the second principal component has the next highest in that order.

In our case, we rely on ***first principal components*** for all asset index analysis. Following closely Prakongsai's (2005) application of PCA in generating an asset index for measuring household living standards in Thailand, the PCA is represented mathematically as:

$$A_j = f_1 * (a_{j1} - a_1) / (S_1) + \ldots + f_{n*} (a_{jn} - a_n)/ (S_n) \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots \text{(1)}$$

$$A_j = \sum_{i=1}^{n} f_i (a_{j_i} - a_i)/ S_i \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\text{(2)}$$

Where:

A_j is an asset index for each household (j = 1,…....., n)
f_i is the scoring factor for each durable asset of household (i = 1,.., n)
a_{ji} is the ith asset of jth household (i ,j =1,……, n)
a_i is the mean of ith asset of household (i =1,……, n)
S_i is the standard deviation of ith asset of household (i =1,…..…, n)

First, all non-dichotomous variables in the data are changed into a dichotomous character. When the entire asset variables are dichotomous (zero or one), a move from zero to one changes the asset index by a factor score of each asset divided by its standard deviation or f_1/ S_1. Therefore, an asset index is defined as the sum of factor scores of each property (Prakongsai, 2005).

PCA works by extracting a variable that captures all the variability in the original variables, thus enhancing its ability to reduce multicollinearity. The coefficient on any one variable is related to how much information it provides about the other variables. If ownership of one type of asset is highly indicative of ownership of other assets, then it receives a positive coefficient. However, if ownership of an asset indicates that a household is likely to own few other assets, then it receives a negative coefficient (Moser and Felton, 2007). Thus, the estimated coefficients rise with the increasing quality of each asset as a predictor variable and greater coefficient values (either positive or negative) mean that the variable provides more "information" on the household's housing characteristics.

Apart from PCA, other types of factor analysis including multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) and polychoric PCA could have been employed to generate the asset indices. However, because asset ownership was captured in the data as dichotomous [ownership = 1, otherwise = 0], a polychoric PCA approach that works best with continuous variables may not be an appropriate option. While MCA is an equally good technique for generating indices for categorical variables, the paper employed PCA for its ability to reduce multicollinearity in an event where the independent variables are suspected to be correlated with one another (Moser and Felton, 2007). The correlation coefficients among the composite asset indices generated with the data of the study are expected to be higher because the selected assets are from the same households. This makes the choice of PCA for the analysis superior to MCA. Besides, PCA is able to aggregate several binary asset ownership variables into a single dimension, is easy to compute and also provides more accurate weights (Filmer & Pritchett, 1998).

Analytical Technique of How Assets Enhance Choice of Public Social Services

In line with the focus of the study on assets and vulnerability, the asset indices generated for the various groups of assets by PCA are combined

as one asset variable. ***Multinomial logistic regression analysis*** is then employed to assess how a unit change in any of these assets affects choice of basic social services such as education, health, water and sanitation (disposal of garbage).

The simplest approach to multinomial data is to nominate one of the response categories as a baseline or reference cell, calculate log-odds (the log of the likelihood of a thing occurring rather than not occurring) for all other categories relative to the baseline, and then let the log-odds be a linear function of the predictors. Multinomial logistic regression usually uses a <u>linear predictor function</u> $f(k, i)$ to predict the probability that observation i has outcome k, of the following form:

$$f(k, i) = \beta_{0,k} + \beta_{1,k}x_{1,i} + \beta_{2,k}x_{2,i} + \ldots + \beta_{M,k}x_{M,i} \ldots \ldots (3)$$

Where: $\beta_{M,k}$ is a <u>regression coefficient</u> associated with the Mth explanatory variable and the kth outcome. The regression coefficients and explanatory variables are normally grouped into vectors of size $M+1$, so that the predictor function can be written more compactly:

$$f(k, i) = \beta_k . x_i \ldots \ldots \ldots (4)$$

Where β_k is the set of regression coefficients associated with outcome k, and x_i (a row vector) is the set of explanatory variables associated with observation i. In this study, (values x_i includes):

$$x_i = \begin{bmatrix} \text{Household durables} \\ \text{Productive assets} \\ \text{Luxury assets} \\ \text{Housing characteristics} \end{bmatrix} \ldots \ldots \ldots (5)$$

The dependent variable, $f(k, i)$ is a composite index of the basic social services such as education, health, water and sanitation which is regressed on the asset indices of household durables, productive assets, luxury assets and housing characteristics to find out how a unit change in the assets would affect the accessibility of the social services.

Separate relative risk ratios (RRR) are then determined for all independent variables for each category of the independent variable except the comparison category of the dependent variable, which is omitted from the analysis. Relative risk ratios, the exponential beta coefficient, represent the change in the odds of being in the dependent variable category versus the comparison category associated with a one unit change on the independent variable. Mathematically, relative risk ratio is represented as:

$$Pr(y_i = j) = \frac{\exp(X_i\ \beta_j)}{1 + \sum_{j=1}^{j}\ \exp(X_i\ \beta_j)} \quad ....\ldots\ldots..........(6)$$

where for the ith individual, y_i is the observed outcome and X_i is a vector of explanatory variables. The unknown parameters β_j are typically estimated by maximum likelihood.

Discussions of Results

The paper adapts Moser and Felton's (2007) classification of household assets to suit Ghanaian circumstances. Guided by their classifications, household assets in this study are divided into four, namely: household durable assets, productive assets, luxury assets and housing characteristics. Adopting the definition by Moser and Felton (2007) that productive assets are those that could be used to further generate income for the household, the list of household assets in the data was carefully examined and those that Ghanaian households often use to generate income were selected. These included: sewing machines, refrigerators, printers, cars and houses (see Table 1). Households in Ghana usually rent out their houses to generate income, use printers for commercial activities and may also use refrigerators to sell 'iced water' to generate income. Household assets such as television sets, computers, furniture and radio sets were considered as household durable assets because Ghanaian households usually use them daily with no commercial motive. While personal computers are usually used for productive purposes, it was realised that at the household level they are usually used for entertainment, just like radio sets or televisions.

We followed Moser and Felton's (2007) approach to classify characteristics of houses such as type of roof, wall type and floor type to generate a composite index called housing characteristics. For instance, the wall type in the data was transformed into a dichotomous variable; a wall made with cement = 1, otherwise = 0. The luxury assets are described in the paper as those household assets that are considered as 'luxury' in the eyes of Ghanaians. The main distinction between household durable assets and luxury assets in this paper is the price of the commodity in question. For example, few households in Ghana can afford to use 'air conditioners' because they think it costs too much to purchase and maintain them. Yet, by its nature, a used 'air conditioner' is more valuable, expensive and can be sold more easily than 'used furniture' in the house.

Table 1, illustrates the asset portfolios of men- and women-headed households based on household durable, productive and luxury assets. The data indicate some differences in the proportion of assets owned by men- and women-headed households. For instance, while 20.8 per cent of men-headed households own box irons, only 14.1 per cent of their women counterparts have box irons. With the exception of few assets, men-headed households appear to have a higher proportion of most of the assets than women-headed households. Even though operating a mobile phone requires regular financial commitment on the part of the user, it emerged as the third commonest asset for both men- and women-headed households.

Table 1: Ownership of assets by male-headed and female-headed households

Asset Number	Asset	Percentage of Men-headed Households that have Asset	Percentage of Women-headed Households that have Asset
Household Durable Assets			
1	Furniture	50.3	53.0
2	Kerosene Stove	6.3	2.7
3	Electric Stove	1.2	0.0
4	Gas Stove	8.5	7.5
5	Fan	17.9	20.5
6	Radio	52.9	51.1
7	Radio Cassette Player	35.1	32.1
8	Record Player	3.6	1.4
9	Three-in-one Radio System	2.4	3.1
10	Television	24.0	21.3
11	Electric Iron	19.1	14.1
12	Box Iron	20.8	14.5
13	Mobile Phone	35.7	35.5
14	Desktop Computer	1.2	1.1
15	Laptop Computer	1.9	0.0
16	Computer Accessories	0.7	0.0
Productive Assets			
1	Sewing Machine	19.8	16.0
2	Refrigerator	10.5	10.3
3	Freezer	5.4	3.9
4	Bicycle	33.3	25.0
5	Car	4.3	1.4
6	House	27.5	28.9
7	Land	17.5	21.5
8	Shares	1.1	0.0
9	Printer	0.0	0.0
10	Canoes	4.8	3.0
11	Food Processor	1.3	0.0
12	Generator	0.0	1.3
Luxury Assets			
1	Jewelry	13.3	14.5
2	Air Conditioner	0.0	0.0
3	Satellite Disc	0.6	0.0
4	Washing Machine	0.6	0.0
5	Microwave	0.6	0.0

Source: MiDA GLSS 5+ Baseline Survey, 2008

A Gender Comparison of Asset Index in the MiDA Intervention Zones

Men and women-headed households were compared in terms of their ownership of tangible assets under the four groups – productive assets, household durable assets, luxury assets and housing characteristics— based on a determination of composite factor scores for the four groups of assets. The composite factor score is a summation of the factor scores of individual assets of the various tangible asset groups. From Figure 2, men-headed households appear to be living in better houses with a composite housing characteristic factor score of 0.682 compared to their women-headed counterparts with a composite factor score of 0.381.

Furthermore, men-headed households own more valuable productive assets (1.289 composite factor score) than the women-headed households (0.938 composite factor score). On the other hand, women-headed households have more valuable household durables (0.965 composite factor score) compared to men-headed households (0.746 composite factor score).

Additionally, women-headed households are ahead of their men-headed counterparts in terms of the ownership of luxury assets. The data confirm existing information on gender and asset ownership in Ghana, where men are traditionally more associated with productive assets and landed property. Women, on the other hand, appear to be more inclined to invest in household goods as part of their preparation for marriage and housekeeping obligations. In addition, women tend to invest in luxury items such as jewellery and cloth as savings. Women's strategies in some ways represent mechanisms that help them to offset traditional constraints on their ownership of fixed assets in some cultures in the country (GSS, 2012; Doss, 2006).

Figure 2: A comparison of asset index for men-headed and women-headed households
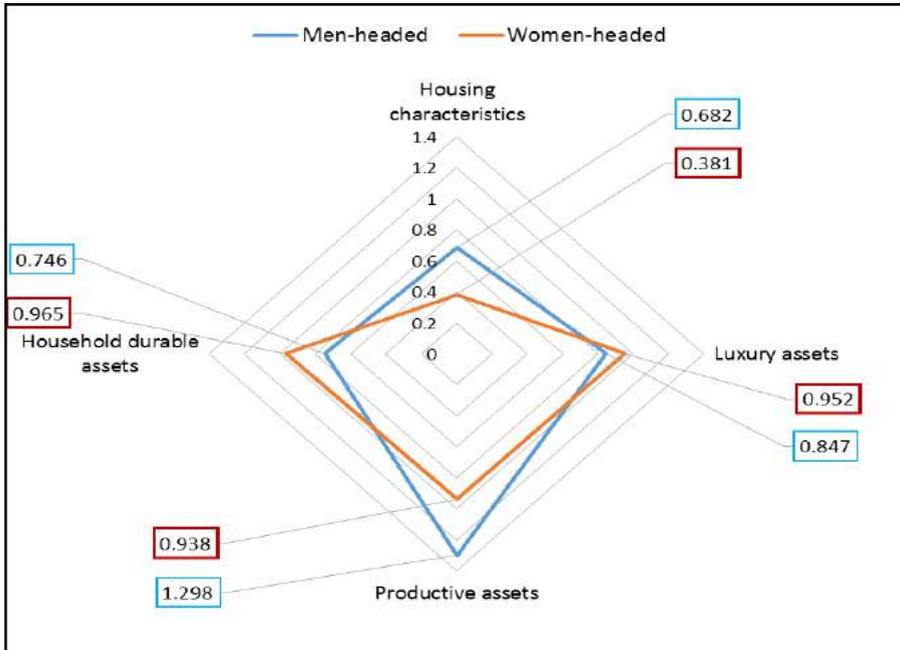
Source: MiDA GLSS 5+ Baseline Survey, 2008

Figure 3 illustrates different assets owned by households in the various MiDA zones. Apart from ownership of household common assets, in which households in the Northern Agricultural Zone appear to be slightly ahead of households in other MiDA zones, households in the Southern Horticultural Zone appear to own significantly more assets. While luxury assets are nearly absent in the Afram Basin (0.003) and the Northern Agricultural Zone (0.001), they are relatively common in the Southern Horticultural Zone (0.936).

Figure 3: Different assets owned by households in the various MiDA zones
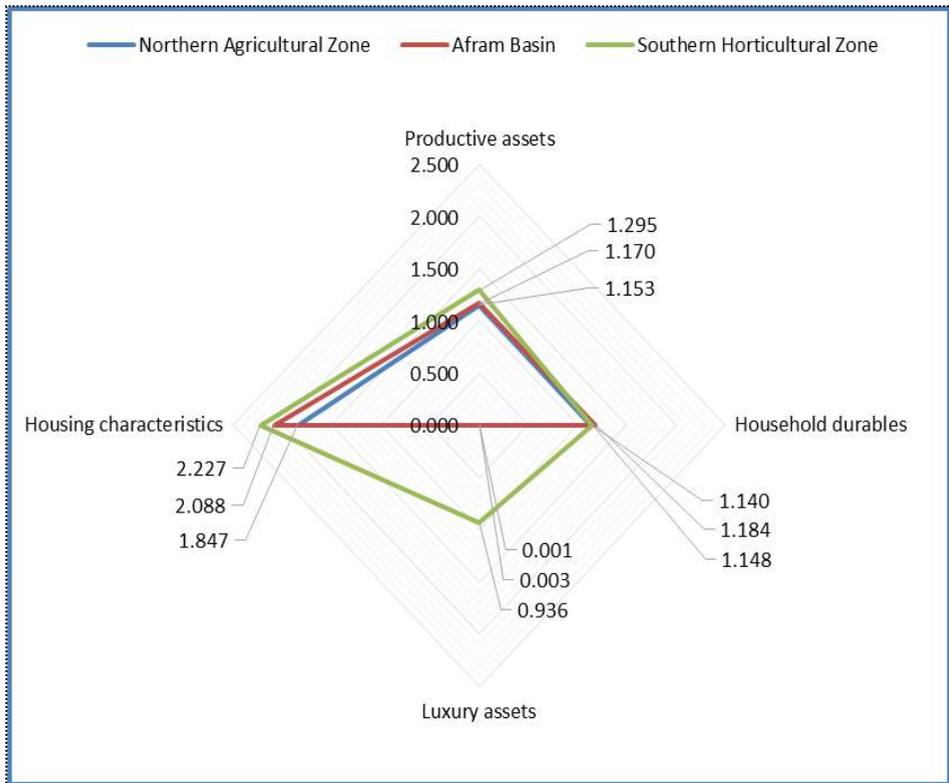
Source: MiDA GLSS 5+ Baseline Survey, 2009

Figure 4 presents ownership of assets by urban and rural location in the MiDA intervention zones. Not surprisingly, overall, households in urban areas have a comparatively higher number of productive assets, household durables and luxury assets. Unexpectedly, however, households in rural areas (2.192) appear to live in slightly better houses compared to their counterparts in the urban locations (2.115).

Figure 4: Different assets owned by households in the urban and rural locations of MiDA intervention zones
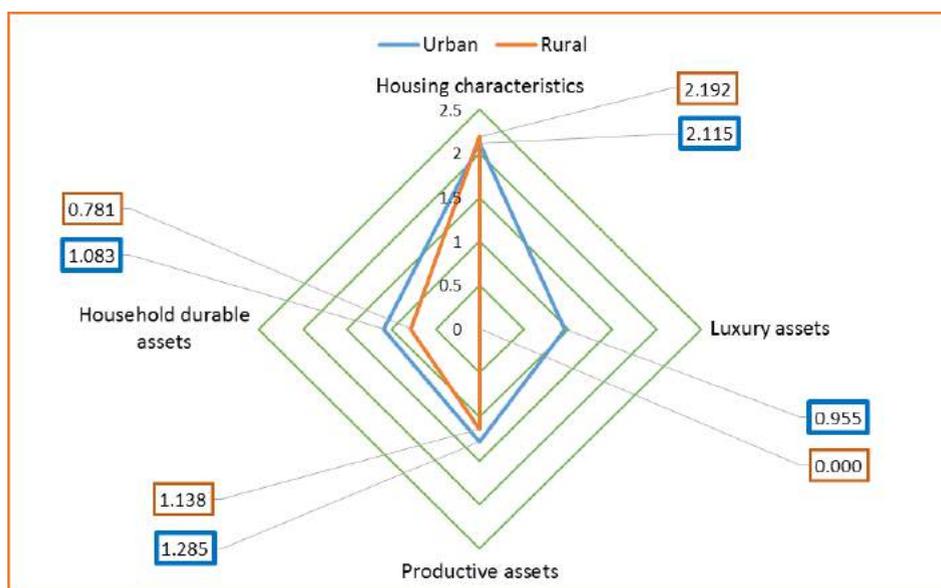
Source: MiDA GLSS 5+ Baseline Survey, 2009

Linkages between Assets and Choice of Public Social Services

The technique of marginal effects after multinomial logistic regression was employed to investigate how ownership of an asset would influence households' probability of choosing a particular basic social service. The dependent variables, types of health facility, water, education and sanitation were each run over five sets of independent variables, namely: household durable assets, productive assets, luxury assets, housing

characteristics and area of residence (urban). For simplicity and clarity of interpretation of results, the multinomial coefficients are exponentiated to obtain a relative risk ratio (RRR).

All the dependent variables are polytomous. For instance, type of health facility has three categories: public health facility (health facilities entirely owned by the government), quasi health facility (types of health facility owned by the government and the private sector) and private health facility. In each of the regressions, a base outcome is used as a reference point for comparison.

Table 2a and Table 2b present results on the influence of ownership of assets on the choice of type of healthcare facility by households. The data indicate that ownership of household durable assets, luxury assets and better housing conditions has a statistically significant influence on the choice a household makes for a particular type of healthcare facility. For instance, if a household were to increase its luxury assets by an additional unit, the probability of choosing a public healthcare facility instead of a private one would change by 6.3 percentage points (see Table 2a). In other words, ownership of luxury assets would enhance a household's desire for a public healthcare facility compared to a private one. Therefore, women-headed households that have more luxury assets (see Figure 2) would prefer a public health facility to a private one.

On the other hand, as a household improves its housing characteristics, its desire to choose a public healthcare facility over private one declines. This means that people who live in better houses have a greater affinity for private healthcare services. By implication, men-headed households are better placed to choose private health care compared to women-headed ones (see Figure 2 & Table 2a). This may have implications for the welfare of members of the households headed by women since, on average, private healthcare facilities in Ghana tend to render better healthcare services (Ghana Guide, 2016).

Table 2a: Marginal effects after multinomial logistic regression

y = Pr(Public Healthcare Facility = =1) (predict)
x = ownership of household assets and area residence

Assets	dy/dx	t-Statistics
Household durables	-0.0045	-1.84*
Productive assets	0.0014	0.46
Luxury assets	0.0636	2.56**
Housing characteristics	-0.0109	-3.3***
Urban	0.1203	4.97***

Source: Author's calculation based on GLSS 5+ data
Significance Level: 1 %(***), 5 %(**), 10 %(*)

Table 2b: Choice of Type of Healthcare Facility [Multinomial logistic regression with dependent variable of Health Facility Type]

Health Facility Type	Relative Risk Ratio	t-statistics
Public Health Facility		
Household durables	0.99869	-1.50
Productive assets	1.00030	0.21
Luxury assets	1.00297	2.63*
Housing characteristics	0.99961	-3.19***
Urban	1.72461	4.95***
Quasi-Public Health Facility		
Household durables	1.0070	2.04*
Productive assets	0.9910	-1.53
Luxury assets	1.0029	0.62
Housing characteristics	1.0002	0.36
Urban	1.1695	0.37
Diagnostic Statistics		
Number of Observation	1,727	
LR chi2(10)	54.23	
Prob > chi2	0.0000	
Pseudo R2	0.0223	

Log likelihood	-1189.6355

(Private Hospital is the base outcome)
Source: Author's calculation based on GLSS 5+ data
Significance Level: 1 %(***), 5 %(**), 10 %(*)

Studies have found that clean drinking water is an important element for the general health conditions of all persons (Anderson et al. 2002; Vidyasagar 2007). Therefore the type of water used by household members has implications for their well-being. The data (Table 3a and Table 3b) explain the predictors of choice for types of water used by the households. The types of water considered by the study included *community managed water* which typically comprises streams, rivers and ponds protected and managed by the entire community. Even though households do not have to pay for this type of water, it is mostly contaminated with waterborne diseases and therefore not good enough as drinking water.

The study also describes wells constructed at homes and managed by households as *home managed water,* while boreholes constructed and managed by NGOs are described as *NGO managed water*. The choice for these three types of water by households in the multinomial regression analysis was made with *government managed water* as a reference outcome (see Table 3b). Government managed water appears to be the cleanest form of water, but in most cases households have to pay for its use. This category of water included water produced by the Ghana Water Company and the district assemblies. Even though not all communities in Ghana have these four categories of water, according to the data, most of them have at least three types to choose from.

Table 3a shows that ownership of durable, productive and luxury assets as well as better housing conditions have a statistically significant influence on the choice households make for *community managed water*, *home managed water* and *NGO managed water* in preference to *government managed water*. The data (see Table 3b) also indicate that ownership of some assets has varying effects on choice for type of water.

For example, while ownership of household durable assets would boost chances of choosing *home* and *NGO managed water* over government managed water, acquisition of the same household durable assets would make the household choose community managed water instead of the government managed water.

Table 3a: Marginal effects after multinomial logistic regression [Type of Water]

y = Pr(Government Managed Water) (predict)
x = ownership of household assets and area residence

Assets	dy/dx	t-Statistics
Household durables	0.0391	4.37**
Productive assets	-0.0802	-5.1***
Luxury assets	0.0356	4.6**
Housing characteristics	-0.0013	-3.1*
Urban	0.0138	1.21

Source: Author's calculation based on GLSS 5+ data
Significance Level: 1 %(***), 5 %(**), 10 %(*)

Table 3b: Choice of Type of Water [Multinomial logistic regression with dependent variable of Type of Water Management System **]**

Type of Water Management System	Relative Risk Ratio	t-statistics
Community Managed Water (e.g streams, rivers & ponds)		
Household durables	0.9835	-2.88**
Productive assets	1.0323	3.13***
Luxury assets	0.9790	2.46**
Housing characteristics	1.0017	2.99***
Urban	0.9956	-0.06
Home Managed Water (wells)		
Household durables	1.0206	9.02***
Productive assets	0.9849	-3.32***
Luxury assets	1.0007	0.21
Housing characteristics	0.9995	-1.59
Urban	0.7220	-2.51*
NGOs Managed Water (e.g boleholes)		
Household durables	1.0241	4.62***
Productive assets	1.0350	3.52***
Luxury assets	0.9718	2.88**
Housing characteristics	1.0032	2.50*
Urban	0.4809	-7.30***
Diagnostic Statistics		
Number of Observation	8509	
LR chi2(10)	5831.04	
Prob > chi2	0.000	
Pseudo R2	0.3469	
Log likelihood	-5488.4172	

Government Managed Water (Ghana Water Company & District Assemblies) is the base outcome.
Source: Author's calculation based on GLSS 5+ data
Significance Level: 1 %(***), 5 %(**), 10 %(*)

By these results (Table 3a & Table 3b), ownership of luxury and household durable assets appears to enhance choice for *government managed water*. Therefore women-headed households which have more

household durable assets and luxury assets (see Figure 2) will choose *government managed water*, which is by far the cleanest source of water.

Apart from water, type of educational facility used by household members may affect their long-term welfare. A considerable proportion of the schools captured by the data is basic schools. However, in Ghana, private basic schools tend to perform better than public ones. Table 4a and Table 4b show how ownership of certain assets would affect the decision of a household with school age children to choose a particular school over the others. The study considers three categories of schools: public schools (schools run and controlled by the state), private religious schools (schools run and controlled by religious bodies) and private non-religious schools (schools run and controlled by individuals or non-religious organisations). The multinomial regression analysis was performed with public schools as the base outcome (see Table 4b).

Results from the marginal effects after multinomial regression (Table 4a) suggest that ownership of both household durable assets and productive assets has a statistically significant influence on a household's choice for a particular type of school. For instance, the acquisition of one more productive asset would change the probability of a household choosing a public school by 3.2 percentage points.

Additionally, households that are resident in urban areas, own household durable assets and/or live in houses with better conditions would choose public schools instead of private religious schools (Table 4b). By Moser and Felton's (2007) classification of assets, households that do not have productive assets tend to be poor and would therefore settle for public schools that are usually less expensive compared with the private religious schools. As would be expected, households with productive assets will choose the more expensive but higher quality-service-providing private non-religious schools over public schools. Comparing these results with those in Figure 2, it means men-headed households that own more productive assets would always choose the higher quality private basic schools over the public ones.

Table 4a: Marginal effects after multinomial logistic regression [Types of school]

Assets	dy/dx	t-Statistics
y = Pr(Public school) (predict)		
x = ownership of household assets and area residence		
Household durables	0.0321	5.08***
Productive assets	0.0612	-2.22**
Luxury assets	0.0052	1.26
Housing characteristics	0.0106	1.59
Urban	0.0481	1.46

Source: Author's calculation based on GLSS 5+ data
Significance Level: 1 %(***), 5 %(**), 10 %(*)

Table 4b: Multinomial logistic regression [Choice of type of school]

Type of school	Relative Risk Ratio	t-statistics
Private Religious School		
Household durables	0.9960	-1.61*
Productive assets	1.0048	0.88
Luxury assets	0.9964	-0.79
Housing characteristics	0.9993	-1.27**
Urban	0.3929	-1.98**
Private Non-Religious School		
Household durables	0.9932	-5.18***
Productive assets	1.0055	2.19**
Luxury assets	0.9975	-1.16
Housing characteristics	0.9996	-1.39
Urban	0.8148	-1.03
Diagnostic Statistics		
Number of Observation	567	
LR chi2(10)	46.18	
Prob > chi2	0.000	
Pseudo R2	0.0459	
Log likelihood	-479.53	

Public School is the base outcome
 Source: Author's calculation based on GLSS 5+ data
Significance Level: 1 %(***), 5 %(**), 10 %(*)

Places where households' dispose of their refuse could, to some extent, indicate their level of welfare. In other words, households with higher welfare status are expected to engage waste collectors to collect their waste for some fee instead of throwing it around indiscriminately. The study considers the following types of waste treatment: dumped indiscriminately, burnt/buried by households and collected by waste

collectors. The data (see Table 5a) indicate that owning household durable assets and luxury assets and living in houses with better conditions as well as residing in urban areas have a statistically significant influence on what households choose to do with their waste.

From Table 5b, the data suggest, among other things, that households that live in houses with better housing conditions are more likely to engage the services of waste collectors than to dump their waste indiscriminately. By implication therefore, men-headed households that mostly live in houses with better housing characteristics (see Figure 2) would always engage waste collectors to manage their waste.

Table 5a: Marginal effects after multinomial logistic regression [Choice of treatment of households' refuse]

y = Pr(Collected by waste collectors) (predict)
x = ownership of household assets and area residence (Urban)

Assets	dy/dx	t-Statistics
Household durables	0.1160	13.16***
Productive assets	0.0153	0.96
Luxury assets	0.0622	-10.94***
Housing characteristics	0.0018	12.3***
Urban	0.0117	-14.97***

Source: Author's calculation based on GLSS 5+ data
Significance Level: 1 %(***), 5 %(**), 10 %(*)

Table 5b: Multinomial logistic regression [Choice of treatment of households' refuse]

Health Facility Type	Relative Risk Ratio	t- statistics
Dumped Elsewhere		
Household durables	0.9972	-6.48***
Productive assets	1.0009	1.21
Luxury assets	1.0009	1.57
Housing characteristics	0.9995	-7.31***
Urban	2.4370	16.1***
Burnt/Buried by Household		
Household durables	0.9902	-14.5***
Productive assets	0.9961	-3.83***
Luxury assets	1.0159	15.76***
Housing characteristics	0.9988	-15.25***
Urban	1.4847	5.46***
Diagnostic Statistics		
Number of Observation	8844	
LR chi2(10)	999.62	
Prob > chi2	0.000	
Pseudo R2	0.0614	
Log likelihood	-7645.5328	

Collected by waste collectors is the base outcome
Source: Author's calculation based on GLSS 5+ data
 Significance Level: 1 %(***), 5 %(**), 10 %(*)

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

As part of the on-going effort to link ownership of assets to well-being, the study investigated ownership of assets and choice of basic social services. It found that men-headed households and women-headed households own different assets and that the type of assets owned, to some extent, enhances choice of a particular basic social service. From the findings, there is a strong indication that the more diversified a household's assets, the better equipped it is to choose the basic social service its members want. This is true for both men-headed and women-headed households. For instance, ownership of productive assets and

better housing characteristics by men-headed households would enhance household members' chances of choosing privately owned health and educational facilities. Similarly, ownership of household durable assets by women-headed households promotes the choice of government managed water over other types of water. This means that ownership of more of each kind of household assets would promote the choice of one kind of basic social service or the other.

While ownership of a wide range of assets is highly recommended, it also emerged from the study that ownership of some assets does not impact directly on welfare. For instance, while private health facilities are usually rated above public health facilities, the study finds that ownership of luxury assets rather enhances the choice of public health facilities over private ones. Therefore, women-headed households which own more luxury assets and might therefore be expected to be rich enough to choose private health facilities rather prefer public health facilities. The study therefore appears to confirm the notion that women mostly hold luxury assets for self-gratification rather than as a safeguard against hard times.

The results of this study and of others which have investigated the links between gender of household heads and asset ownership demonstrate clearly that the enduring perception that gender by itself is a powerful explanatory variable for the wellbeing of households in all parts of Ghana needs to be carefully re-examined. Therefore, the study recommends that poverty reduction strategies in Ghana should aim at building capabilities in both men- and women-headed households in ways that enable household members to increase their stock of assets over a wide rather than a limited range of assets.

References

Anderson, B.A., Romani, J. H., Phillips, H. E., & van Zyl, J. A. (2002). Environment, access to healthcare, and other factors affecting infant and child survival among the African and Coloured populations of South Africa, 1989-94. *Population and Environment*, 23:349-364.

Anderson, B., Romani, J., Wentzel, M. & Heston , P. (2010). *Awareness of Water Pollution as a Problem and the Decision to Treat Drinking Water among Rural Africa Households with Unclean Drinking Water: South Africa 2005,* Michigan: Population Studies Center, University of Michigan.

Aryeetey, E. (2004). Household asset choice among the rural poor in Ghana. *A workshop on 'Understanding Poverty in Ghana', by the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research, July 18-20.* Accra: University of Ghana.

Debela, B. L. (2016). Factors Affecting Differences in Livestock Asset Ownership Between Male- and Female-Headed Households in Northern Ethiopia. *The European Journal of Development Research* 29(2):328-347.

Doss, C. (2006). The effects of intra household property ownership on expenditure patterns in   Ghana. *Journal of African Economies*, 15 (1): 149-180

Doss, C., Grown, C., & Deere, C. D. (2008). *Gender and Asset Ownership: A Guide to Collecting Individua-Level Data.* Washington: Working paper 4704, World Bank.

Duflo, E., & Udry, C. (2004). *Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Cˆote d'Ivoire: Social Norms, Separate Accounts and Consumption Choices.* NBER Working Paper No. 10498.

FAO. (2011). *Gender differences in assets.* Rome: ESA Working Paper No. 11-12.

Ferguson, D. C., Moser, C., & Norton, A. (2007). Contesting rights: Citizenship, power and assets. In C. Moser, *Reducing global poverty: The case fro asets accumulation.* Washington D. C: Brookings Press.

Filmer, D., & Pritchett, L.,1998. Estimating wealth effects without expenditure data or tears: An application of educational enrolment in states of India. *Demography*, 38 (1), 115-132.

Ghana Guide (2016). Healthcare in Ghana: Facilities and the system. Retrieved from the https://www.justlanded.com/english/Ghana/Ghana-Guide/Health/Healthcare-in-Ghana: Retrieved on 3^(rd) November, 2016.

GSS. (2008). *Reports on the Ghana Living Standard Survey 'V'.* Accra: Ministry of Finance and Economic planning, Government of Ghana.

Gutiérrez, K. (2002). Studying cultural practices in urban learning communities. *Human Development* 45*(4), 312–32.*

Kassie, M., Ndiritu, S. W., & Stage, J. (2014). What Determines Gender Inequality in Household Food Security in Kenya? Application of Exogenous Switching Treatment Regression. *World Development*, 56, 153–171.

Krieger, N., & Williams, D. R. (1997). Measuring social class in US public health research: Concepts, Methodologies and Guidelines. *Anual Review of Public Health*, 18: 341-378.

McKernan, S-M., Ratcliffe, C. and Nam, Y. (2007). "The Effects of Welfare and IDA Programme Rules on the Asset Holdings of Low-Income Families." A Report in the Series, *Poor Finances: Assets and Low-Income Household.* Washington, DC: The Urban Institute. Retrieved form *http://www.urban.org/Upl* on 30th October, 2016.

Moser, C. (1998). The asset vulnerability framework: Reassessing urban poverty reduction strategies. *World development* 26 (1): 1-19.

Moser, C., & Felton, A. (2007). *The construction of an asset index: Measuring asset accumulation in Ecuador.* Washington D C: CPRC Working paper 87: Brookings Institution.

Oduro, A.D., Baah-Boateng, W. & Boakye-Yiadom, L. (2011). *Measuring the Gender Asset Gain Ghana*, Accra: University of Ghana and Woeli Publishing Services.

Prakongsai, P. (2005). *An application of asset index for measuring household living standard in Thailand.* Thailand: International Health Policy Programme (IHPP).

Pritchett, L., Suryahadi, A., & Sumarto, S. (2000). *Quantifying vulnerability to poverty: A proposed measure, with application to Indonesia.* Washington: Working Paper, Social Monitoring and Early Response Unit (SMERU), World Bank.

Ravallion, M. (1992). *Poverty comparison: A guide to concepts and methods", Living Standards Measurement Study.* Washington D C: Working Paper 88, World Bank.

Sahn, D. E., & Stifel, D. C. (2000). Poverty comparisons over time and across countries in Africa. *World Development*, 28 (12), 2123-2155.

Sahn, D. E., & Stifel, D. C. (2001). *Exploring alternative measures of welfare in the absence of expenditure data.* Cornell: Cornell University.

Sen, A. (1991). *Poverty and famines: An essay on entitlement and deprivation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vidyasagar, D. (2007). Global minute: water and health - walking for water and water wars. *Journal of Perinatology* 27, 56–58.

Xie, J., & Dow, W. H. (2005). Longitudinal study of child immunization determinants in China. *Social Science and Medicine* 61, 601−611.

Zhan, M., & Sherraden, M. (2003). Assets, expectations, and children's educational achievement in female-headed households. *Social Service Review 77(2), 191-211*

LAND DISPUTES BETWEEN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND INDIGENES OF WEH FONDOM, 1957-1996

Michael Kpughe Lang[1]

Abstract
An important goal of church planting and growth in Africa was to acquire land required for the provision of public goods such as schools, clinics and cemeteries. This made the church become the owner of relatively large parcels of land in communities across Africa. As would be expected, the increasing competition over land and the ensuing conflicts which have become more and more common in the continent have not left the church unaffected. Indeed, episodes of conflict over land between churches and host communities are common in Africa's land conflict history. This paper, based on primary and secondary data, provides evidence of land conflicts between churches and members of host communities. The Roman Catholic Church in Weh in the Northwest of Cameroon is used as a case for examining the issue. Informed by the conflict theory, the paper attempts an analysis of the underlying factors, dynamics and settlement of land disputes involving the church and some Weh indigenes. The study reveals that the mounting wave of land disputes between the Catholic Church and Weh indigenes that manifested itself in the form of conflicting borderlines and competing ownership claims which were brought about by both informal and formal institutions charged with the resolution of such conflicts. While some of the disputes were laid to rest, others remain unsolved due to the inefficiency of customary and statutory land conflict resolution bodies as well as the attitude of the disputants. It is, therefore, time for land administration systems to be enhanced and developed to end the

---

[1] Michael Kpughe Lang, Department of History, Higher Teacher Training College, University of Bamenda, Cameroon. P. O. Box 39, Bambili-Bamenda, Cameroon, E-mail: mickpughe@yahoo.com

maldistribution of land, forestall land disputes or minimize their occurrence, and achieve a quick and effective resolution of such conflicts. The paper concludes that the Catholic Church and its host communities need to rethink their land deals.

Keywords: Land, conflict, Roman Catholic Church, Weh, Land Tenure

Introduction

The management of land is one of the most critical challenges facing human societies across the world. The tendency for land to trigger conflict has been aggravated by the ever increasing competition over it, especially due to the fact that it is a diminishing resource. Scholars who have worked on conflicts have observed that where there is conflict, land is often found among the root causes or as a major factor. In societies across Africa, land disputes resulting from the ambiguity of land rights, population increase, urbanization and increase in the value of land, among others, are a source of much complexity. These disputes over land are categorized into many types such as those between states, those between ethnic communities and those between individuals. Then there are those disputes that arise between political, economic, social and religious institutions which require land for their work, on the one hand, and the host people, on the other. The church's dependence on land for its huge holistic mission work has got many churches caught up in such land disputes, most of them over ownership and boundaries.

In Cameroon, churches are confronted with many land-related conflicts. The most affected of these churches is the Roman Catholic Church. It is important to note that the Catholic Church enjoys a nationwide presence and occupies land in most ethnic communities for its numerous evangelical, economic and social engagements. The disputes that confront the Catholic Church are not new, given that their roots have been traced to the white missionaries who began the process of acquiring land for the church. Since 1890 when the first Catholic missionaries arrived in Cameroon, land has had a central place in the history of the

church. So far, parcels of land in small and large quantities have been acquired at various places for the establishment of mission stations, schools, health facilities, cemeteries, and farms, and for carrying out other activities. This land acquisition took place mostly through grants from traditional rulers whom the indigenous land tenure system empowered to manage land on behalf of their people. Accordingly, the church became the owner and exploiter of large tracts of land in rural communities such as Weh. But the church's ownership of most of these parcels of land was/is disputed and contested by individuals, institutions and communities. Simply put, there is an upsurge in the number of land disputes between the church and the host community. In a jubilee work on the Archdiocese of Bamenda, it is observed that the church was involved in land disputes in villages such as Esu, Njinikom, Nkwen, Nso and Baseng (Ndi et al., 2014, p. 74). Since 1957, the Catholic Church has been confronted with similar land-related grievances and conflicts in Weh village.

Weh village is situated in the Fungom Sub-Division in the Menchum Division of the North West Region of Cameroon. It forms part of the area referred to in ethnographic literature as the northwestern grassfields (Nkwi and Warnier 1982). The polity shares boundary with Esu on the northwest, Wum on the southwest, Kuk on the south, and Zhoa on the northeast (Lang 2013: 16, Geary 1979: 2). The people of Weh are said to have migrated from the Bamun country and arrived in their present site in the last quarter of the eighteenth century after passing through Bagam, Babadzu, Bangang and Bafut (Geary 1973: 4). Upon arrival, the people of Weh acquired the land, which at the time was unoccupied. Weh is headed by a Fon and is divided into five quarters headed by quarter heads. There existed an indigenous land tenure system which defined the acquisition and use of land, with the Fon and the Council of Elders (*Ndau-Tse*) as administrators and adjudicators of land and related disputes. The tenure system established the communal status of land as the collective property of the people of Weh and made it clear that individuals and institutions could only be given rights to use the land and not to own it.

It was in 1924 that Catholic missionaries of the Mill Hill Mission reached Weh. With time, the Weh station grew into an institutionalized congregation. The congregation was administratively attached to the Wum Parish (Ndi et al., 2014). The Wum Parish was governed from the Buea Diocese which came into existence in 1950 when its status as a Vicariate Apostolic was terminated. Later, in 1970, the Wum Parish was administratively linked to the Bamenda Diocese which was created out of that of Buea (Lang, 2008, p. 38). With time, the church began acquiring land for use from the Council of Elders through the traditional land tenure system. The tracts of land on which the church's head station, cemetery and primary school came to be established were at the centre of conflicts between the church and some members of the host community.

The opposing claims which were centered around the delineation of boundaries or competing claims for land ownership set the stage for three successive land disputes, namely Tiko Lang and others versus the Catholic Church, Freeboy Ughe Kalla versus the Catholic Church and Lucas Ngbang versus the Catholic Church. The disputants resorted to both informal and formal justice institutions for resolution. The informal system adjudicated on land matters in the light of the traditional land tenure system within the context of the customary justice system. Hence, the Fon and elders were central actors in resolving such conflicts. The heydays of this system continued throughout the colonial and the early years of the post-colonial periods. In fact, the West Cameroon Land and Native Rights Ordinance of 1962 recognized community ownership of land and the position of the Fon as the trustee of all lands within his chiefdom. Added to this was the 1962 Customary Court Ordnance which recognized the customary court system and empowered such courts to handle land and other matters (Samah, 2006: 187-188).

The formal institutions that came with the crafting of the modern Cameroon state and its commitment to administer land was/is an alternative to the customary justice system. In 1961 when the modern Cameroon state came into existence, formal institutions such as modern

courts, state administrative officials and the Department of Land and Surveys were also given the power to adjudicate land disputes. Little wonder that the Senior Divisional Officer (SDO) for the Menchum Division and the Divisional Officer (DO) for the Wum Sub-Division to which Weh was administratively attached were involved in the resolution of the land disputes under study. In 1974, new land laws made new provisions for acquiring land and settling disputes. The laws brought to an end the prerogative of traditional rulers as custodians and distributors of all lands within their chiefdoms, while allowing them to remain as adjudicators of land disputes within the customary court system. The law conferred on the state the right to own and distribute all lands except those with titles. Consequently, acquiring land from the state, a process which had to be sanctioned by a land certificate, became the task of local administrative officials such as the SDOs, Dos, Mayors and the staff of the Department of Land and Surveys (Government of Cameroon, 1981). These persons came together under the Land Consultative Board (LCB) and addressed land matters at the level of each sub-division.

The aim of this study therefore is to examine land disputes in Weh between the Catholic Church and some members of the host community in the light of the dual contexts of informal and formal land administration and land dispute resolution. In the pages that follow, the paper presents a case for why churches are increasingly involved in land conflicts with their host communities and provides an overview of the dynamics and resolution of such disputes. In doing so, the manner in which the traditional and modern land tenure systems intertwined with these disputes is considered. Attention is also given to the bearing of the informal and formal land dispute resolution institutions on the land disputes. Both institutions, it is argued, were alternatives to one another, with neither replacing the other. This paper therefore seeks to demonstrate the implication of the Roman Catholic Church in land disputes in Weh village. For this objective to be attained, the paper will examine three of such disputes: Tiko Lang and others vs the Catholic Church over the school land, Freeboy Ughe Kalla vs the Catholic Church

over the cemetery land, and the boundary dispute between Lucas Ngbang and the Church.

Research Methodology

This study significantly rests on primary data collected during field work in 2015. Most of the data derives from archival materials that were obtained from the divisional archival repository in Wum as well as from the disputants. The archival materials included letters, minutes, reports, court hearings and verdicts and site maps that were designed by the Catholic Church and the Department of Lands and Surveys. Data was also garnered through interviews that were conducted with carefully selected men and women. The informants were mostly the disputants and some persons who lived through the events. In addition to interviews, there is the author's firsthand experience of witnessing the unfolding of some of the conflicts, especially the demolition of Lucas Ngbang's house in an execution of a court verdict on the boundary dispute he had with the church. This event partly motivated this paper. Besides, a plethora of works on land disputes in general were consulted, and through this it was noticed that little or no research has been carried out on land disputes between the Catholic Church and its host communities. Most of the works have examined inter-ethnic land disputes, farmer-grazer conflicts, land grabs by elites and multinational corporations. The discussion on the bases and dynamics of land disputes involving the church remains thin. This paper brings all these issues on board as it examines three cases of such disputed lands.

Analytical Framework

This study on the land disputes between the Roman Catholic Church and the indigenes of Weh is grounded in and shaped by the conflict theory. For many years now, conflict theorists have raised debates about the sources and resolution of the conflicts that have been a defining factor of human societies. Within the conflict theory literature, it is the 'plurality of opposing interest groups' school of thought that is capable of informing analysis on land disputes in Weh. Proponents of this school argue that human societies comprise a plurality of opposing and

competing aggregates in a context of scarce resources, in this case land (Le Meur, 2006, Turner, 1978). This, in their thinking, accounts for the high incidence of land conflicts in modern society. Simply put, land disputes occur over circumstances of land scarcity and plurality of groups requiring land. Hence, land disputes are explained by the clash of group interest articulated by some conflict theorists. In the thinking of Simmel, rivalry over scarce land creates the potential for a conflict of interests in situations where two parties desire the same tract of land (cited in Turner, 1978, pp. 128-129). It is evident in the land conflict literature that such opposing interests constantly occur in most societies when two or more parties compete over the same parcel of land (Gado, 2002, Downs & Reyna, 1998, Kalande, 2008, Le Meur, 2006, Peters, 2013, Dahrendorf, 1959, Peters, 2013).

Among the contenders for ownership over land in Africa in general and in Cameroon specifically is the Catholic Church and individuals who need land for various purposes. The land disputes in Weh take quite a similar form as those elsewhere. In Weh, contested claims to land between the Catholic Church and indigenes are commonplace. The planting of the Catholic Church in Weh as an organized faith tradition intensified competition over land. Interestingly, Peters (2013, p. 543) has argued that private actors, very likely including churches, are central to land deals that result in conflict and should not be ignored.

Johnstone (1992, pp. 130-131) sees religious groups as a source of many challenges (including land disputes) to society. For him, the pursuance of liberation theology by religious groups in the example of the Catholic Church necessitates land acquisition for diverse socio-economic projects. It has been established that organized religion requires land, given its status as an owner of property and a builder of facilities. Generally, the church in Weh, like elsewhere, is a major landowner. This was the context in which the church and Weh indigenes were involved in competition over tracts of land that led to disputes. Drawing on the conflict theory postulation of opposing group interest, this study analyses

land disputes between two of such groups in Weh, namely the Roman Catholic Church and some indigenes of the host community.

To this debate should be added the discussion on the settlement mechanism of land disputes. The literature on land conflict resolution reveals that protagonists in a land dispute very often seek to reach a local solution and are reluctant to immediately resort to modern state institutions (Le Meur et al., 2006, p. 15). The Catholic Church and the people with whom it disputed over land in Weh first resorted to Weh traditional institutions as a means of reaching a local settlement. On this subject, Ayittey (1991), after laying out the African customary land tenure, acknowledges the ability of tribal groups to address conflicts pertaining to land. The failure of such traditional institutions to resolve such conflicts, argues Le Meur, often brings modern institutions into the settlement process. Generally, disputants resort to traditional and modern institutions according to how they understand their own situations as well as the benefits they can expect from each institution. This serves as a basis for understanding the settlement processes of the various land disputes in Weh. Hence, the postulations of Le Meur and Ayittey could be applied to the Weh case where contending parties resorted to traditional institutions (the *Fon* and the Council of Elders) and modern judiciary institutions (local administrators and courts) in the land dispute solving process. In fact, some of the land disputes ended up in court after transiting through traditional institutions.

But some scholars have come to the conclusion that the land rights and land laws underpinning litigation in these institutions are very ambiguous (Mope Simo, 2011, Downs & Reyna, 1988). In his analysis of elites' land grabbing strategies in the North West Region of Cameroon, Mope Simo found that land deals violate the observance of the rule of law. He observes that "While customary tenure arrangements offer weak defences, the modern land law displays huge opportunities for land grabbing." (Mope Simo, 2011). In his conflict theory of law, Turk (1969) understands the law as a weapon that can be used by one group to protect its own interests at the expense of the interests of

another group. As an organized religious group, the Catholic Church undeniably possesses the bureaucratic and economic power which can permit it to influence judiciary processes. But there is no evidence that the Catholic Church brought its economic power to bear on the informal and formal land conflict adjudication institutions. These postulations can inform the critical analysis of the judicial responses to land disputes between the Catholic Church and indigenes of Weh.

In the light of the foregoing, the analytical framework in this paper incorporates the contributions of the plurality of opposing interest groups school on conflict theory and the debate on the land dispute settlement mechanism, and engages Weh land disputes between the Catholic Church and indigenes with support from the existing land conflict literature. The paper demonstrates the link between the scarcity of land, the presence of the Catholic Church and indigenes as opposing interest groups, on the one hand, and land disputes in Weh, on the other. This paper therefore contends that land scarcity and the plurality of interest groups, in this case the church and indigenes, interacted in Weh to create conditions conducive for disputes. In fact, it is suggested in this paper that the context of land scarcity and interest group plurality interacted with maladministration of land to create the potential for land competition between the church and indigenes. To support its suggestion, the paper discusses the underlying factors of these conflicts and analyses three cases that occurred over the tracts of land on which the school, church and cemetery have been built.

Factors Underlying Catholic Church Land Conflicts in Weh

The mounting wave of land disputes between the Catholic Church and Weh indigenes since 1958 (to pick a somewhat arbitrary date) can be traced to several developments: competing land tenure systems; the expanding populations; the planting of the Catholic Faith in Weh and its desire for land. The church land disputes in Weh resulted from land tenure reforms. As Downs & Reyna (1988) observe, land tenure reforms across Africa have increased the intensity and frequency of conflicts over

land. The land tenure of the people of Weh before colonialism, like elsewhere in Africa, was a customary one where the traditional leadership prepared and implemented plans about the use of land. Control over land was exercised by the Fon and Quarter heads. They in consultation with the Council of Elders determined rights to the Weh community land area over which the community exercised jurisdiction.

The management of land therefore began and ended with the Fon, the legitimate traditional leader of the Weh, and the complex governance institutions that assisted him (Interview with Miselele Akwa). Conveniently, the sacrality of land, along with the authority and legitimacy of customary institutions linked to it, were recognized by the citizenry (Kaberry, 2004, p. 29). This explains the perception among Weh people that land is not sold because it is not a commodity. It was a common practice in Weh culture that foreigners including individuals and missionaries were welcome to settle among them and were given land rights. But such an individual or institution gave only a sort of token to the land leadership.

The disputed Catholic Church lands in Weh were given to the protagonists by the Weh land leadership under this customary land tenure system. As will be later discussed, the lapses that were inherent in this system of land governance contributed to land contestations. The code of conduct inherent in customary tenure arrangements was violated as the same piece of land was allocated to two different parties. To the people of Weh, access to land provides an individual with his social standing, economic opportunity, and a privileged position in the political structure (Interview with Tieheart Akwo). Because land was a source of wealth and power, a Weh indigene was expected to fight to safeguard his land if there were indicators that it could be grabbed without legal approval. This was the main issue of the conflict over the Catholic burial ground between the church and Ughe Kalla.

Indeed, the successive colonization of Weh village by the Germans and the British, along with Cameroon's emergence from the colonial mould,

ushered in land tenure reforms that influenced the dynamics and settlement processes of church land conflicts. In this milieu, the British, through the West Cameroon Land and Native Rights Ordinance, recognized community ownership of land and the position of the traditional ruler as the trustee of all land within his fondom (Samah, 2006, p. 191). Peters (2013, p. 545) found that some colonial officials and missionaries described land tenure systems in Africa as "primitive and in need of change." However, the British policy made the Fon of Weh, like others in the territory, important as he had to be contacted each time land was needed by Christian Missions. As already noted, this was how the Catholic Mission obtained land in Weh for its school and cemetery. In 1974, traditional rulers and their governance institutions ceased to be custodians and distributors of land within their fondoms, given that Decree No. 73/805 of 28 December 1974 conferred to the state the right to own all lands except titled ones. The state in this case was represented by local state officials (SDO, DOs and Mayors) who, together with other persons, constituted members of the Land Consultative Board (LCB). This land legislation brought in new actors on land issues in Weh. The LCB had to play an important role in the settlement processes of land disputes between the Catholic Church and its neighbours. The SDOs and Assistant Divisional Officers, described by Samah (2006: 227) as "over-zealous and corrupt", became influential in land matters in ways that led to prolonged litigations over lands that were obtained through customary land tenure arrangements.

Although the legal system for acquiring disputed church land in Weh was completely customary, the settlement processes were underpinned by modern land judiciary rules with state land legal agencies such as the LCB playing an influential role. Clearly, land reforms amounted to competing land tenure systems (Downs & Reyna, 1988). While the traditional authorities in Weh allocated land to the church and addressed conflicts over it according to customary law, local government officials did so through statutory land administration laws. This situation of dual co-existing rules and institutions caused confusion and difficulties of understanding rules regulating people's relationship to land. The church

land conflict dynamics in Weh reveal that the church and the other disputants went from customary to statutory land administration institutions seeking redress. Using its bureaucratic and economic power, the Catholic Church, as will be demonstrated later in this work, benefitted from this lack of legal clarity to resolve disputes over its tracts of land in Weh. In its guidance note on land conflict management, UN-HABITAT (2012) observes that "Uncertainty regarding land rights tends to benefit the more powerful groups in society, often at the expense of more vulnerable populations."

Another contributing factor to church land disputes in Weh was the expansion of the Catholic Church in the Weh community. As an organized Christian tradition whose theology went beyond worship, the church manifested huge interest in land acquisition. This need for land for the construction of church buildings, schools, health centres and cemeteries anchored competing interests, thereby sowing seeds of conflict. Given its special status as a powerful religious institution, the Catholic Church yielded to the temptation of expressing the fullness of its power to get land. This authoritative weight of the Catholic Church in Weh increased the potentially conflictive actors regarding land. As the Catholic Church ensured its land holding in Weh, a main competing cleavage emerged in the village between the church and the Wehs. The villagers whose land rights were already being weakened had to rise up against the acquisition strategies employed by the Church. The affected people were those who shared boundaries with land hastily acquired by the Catholic Church. One of such land contestations was the dispute over part of the Catholic Mission school land. The church, as will be discussed later, acquired the land from the Weh Traditional Council and swiftly applied for a land certificate from land administration institutions when opposing claims emerged.

Finally, the surge in church land conflicts in Weh is broadly traceable to the ever expanding population. It is revealed in the land conflict literature that increasing demographic pressure generates negative impacts on scarce natural resources such as land (Le Meur et al, 2006).

Disputes over parcels of land owned by the Catholic Church relate to rapid population growth in the sense that it increases competition over land, along with raising its value. This is connected with Simmel's observation that conflict is a product of the competition for scarce resources in every society (cited in Turner, 1978). The population of Weh has steadily increased from the first half of the eighteenth century when the village came into existence. The German colonial administrators who reached Weh in 1910 estimated the population as 1000 inhabitants. At this time, there was little competition over land. But this population began increasing during the British colonial era, given that Weh served as the seat of Fungom Native Authority Area and was host to the Native Court. At the same time, Weh was the headquarters of a Basel Mission Station from 1932 to 1957. The station covered the present-day Menchum and Boyo divisions (Lang 2012: 72-73). This was how Weh became an attraction for many people across this region. The population further increased when the migration of the Fulani into the village heightened in the 1960s, along with the creation of the Wum Area Development Authority with some of its workers based in Weh. In 1993, the population of the village was estimated to be 8,000 by *Société Internationale de Linguistique*. In 2005, the national population census in Cameroon placed the population of Weh at around 13,000 inhabitants (Cameroon National Institute of Statistics, 2005). This demographic pressure caused the scarcity of space due to the concentration of population in the Weh settlement area where the church needed tracts of land. The outcome was increased competition over land between the Catholic Church and members of the host community.

It is evident that the competition over land between individuals and groups in Weh was due to the above factors. These factors provided the potential for the value of land as a scarce natural resource to increase, hastening the expected competition between the Catholic Church and some Weh indigenes. The disputes manifested themselves in conflicting borderlines and competing claims for land ownership. But like elsewhere, these underlying factors were not key triggers of the land contestations in Weh. They only provided a background for the key

factors to come into play. These key factors that were specific to cases of land disputes involving the Catholic Church in Weh will become clearer when the dynamic trends and settlement processes of three of such conflicts that occurred at different moments are discussed.

The Catholic Primary School Land Case

The dispute over the Catholic school land involved opposing claims over part of the land between the church and some members of the host community, namely Tiko Lang, Paul Nyoh Meh, Simon Njuh and George Kang. The dispute can be traced to 1957 when the Weh Council of Elders allocated the parcel of land to the Catholic Church for the construction of a school and a church building. When the Catholic officials began constructing buildings on the plot in 1966 following government permission for the school to be officially opened, the above mentioned persons where already occupying part of the land. This engineered a dispute over this land as these Weh indigenes argued that the head of Mbaukusu Quarter, Councilor Jeremiah Kpwe, had allocated the land to them in 1954 in accordance with customary tenure (File No DWN 116/S. 3, Letter of 8 February 1957). According to the Weh customary tenure, land administrators include the fon, the Traditional Council and quarter heads. The quarter heads had control over the land in their quarters while the fon and the elders applied the customary mechanism for the entire village, especially in situations where the land was required by state and private investors. The determination of land rights was therefore done at the quarter level by the quarter head and his elders and at the level of the palace by the *Fon* and the Council of Elders.

In effect, the land in dispute was assigned to the individuals by the Mbaukusu Quarter Head and to the Church by the *Fon* and the Traditional Council. In his 3 February 1967 letter to the Wum District Officer (see File No. DWN. 116/S.3), the Headmaster of the school, Zachary Ngong, explained that the Traditional Council "showed the plot to the Catholic Mission for the building of the school." Writing to the District Officer, Tiko Lang explained that the boundaries with his neighbours where marked out in 1955 when he wanted to construct the

first building on his plot (File No. DWN. 116/S.3, Letter of 7 June 1968). So by the time the construction of the school was commencing in 1966 following official operation permission from the government, according to Tiko Lang and the other disputants, the land that had been assigned to the church had not yet been demarcated. Their letters on the matter reveal that it was only when they opposed the occupation of their land by the church that members of the Traditional Council, led by Fon Bame II, visited the plot in December 1967 to demarcate boundaries. The school land which was carved out during this demarcation included the entire land these individuals had occupied. The Council asked the four men to vacate the land and to apply for plots elsewhere. The school land covered a surface area of 439, 960 square feet with the following dimensions: 780 feet by 636 feet by 575 feet by 658 feet (File No. DWN. 116/S.3, School ground sketch map). The portion of this land occupied by the individuals extended to the main road leading to Esu, obstructing the Catholic ambition to extend the school to the road. It was therefore the opposing claims over this piece of land that threw the church into conflict with these members of its host community.

There is substantial evidence to explain why the tract of land which was allocated within the customary tenure system became the centre of dispute between the church and the four Weh indigenes. The ensuing conflict over the land is attributed to the tenure system and the attitude of the Council of Elders, the Quarter head and the disputants. The customary tenure system, which empowered quarter heads to distribute land to individuals in their quarters while at the same time allowing the Council of Elders to grant land to institutions and corporate bodies, caused the same parcel of land to be allocated to the disputants. Clearly, the indigenes acquired the land from the Quarter head in 1954 while the church obtained it from the Council of Elders in January 1957. In their letters to the District Officer on this matter, the indigenes stressed that "the land was given to us in 1954 by councilor Jeremiah Kpwe, the quarterhead in charge of the land" (see File No. DWN. 116/S.3). Perhaps, the Quarter head who doubled as councilor failed to notify the Fon that the land had already been allocated to some people when the

Catholics expressed a need for it in 1957. The dispute therefore resulted from double allocation, at different times, by the Quarter head and the Council. This double allocation, I think, should be understood as maladministration on the part of traditional land administrators who failed to play their roles well. It came about due to the overlapping of administrative powers of the Quarter head and Council of Elders who were responsible for land allocations.

Unable to reach an amicable settlement with the other protagonists, the church lodged the dispute at the Council for its resolution. During the hearing at the palace presided over by Fon Bama II, the elders came to understand that Jeremiah Kpwe, Quarter head in charge of the land, had allocated it to the four indigenes. They visited the disputed land and found that buildings had been erected there by the indigenes. As a way out, the elders resolved that the indigenes be allocated land elsewhere, given that the school project was important for the entire community. The Council then demarcated the school land in the presence of the four indigenes, warning them to end all activities on the said land (see File No. DWN. 116/S.3, Letter of 11 March 1968). But this opportunity to resolve the dispute was lost when the indigenes refused to leave and showed no interest in the land promised by the Council. All attempts by the elders to implement the judgment of the Council were futile as the indigenes defiantly refused to vacate the land.

In February 1967, the headmaster of the school wrote to the Wum District Officer reporting the dispute and referring to Lang, Nyoh, Njuh and Kang as a "mob determined to cause a riot in the village by not abiding by the Traditional Council's judgment on the matter (See File No. DWN. 116/S.3, Letter of 3 February 1967). While they were waiting for a response from the DO, the Traditional Council wrote directly to the SDO for Wum Division on 11 March 1968. The Council, after explaining the crux of the matter as examined above, pleaded with the SDO to pay an inquiry visit to the land with a view to finding a solution. In his reply to the Council with copies to the protagonists, the SDO accepted to meet with the Weh Traditional Council together with the

protagonists on 15 May 1968 for a walk through the land and for discussions. It may be worth mentioning that while the SDO was still preparing for this inquiry visit, the Catholic Church applied for a Certificate of Occupancy over the disputed land on 4 April 1968 (File No. DWN. 116/S.3). The application was addressed directly to the Director of Land and Surveys, West Cameroon, probably without the knowledge of the SDO.

The inquiry team that was led by the SDO visited the disputed land on 15 May in the absence of Lang, Nyoh, Njuh and Kang because the SDO's letters did not reach them as disclosed in the report of the inquiry visit. In fact, appropriate measures were not taken to notify them to be present on the day of the visit. But in spite their absence, the SDO and his entourage, along with the members of the Traditional Council and some observers, walked round the school land with particular attention to the disputed area. As noted in the inquiry report, it was found that the four persons had already erected buildings on their respective portions of the plot and had planted eucalyptus trees as boundary marks (see File No. DWN. 116/S.3 for Inquiry Report). But a conclusion could not be reached on the dispute because the four individuals were unintentionally absent. This explains why the SDO wrote to them requesting information on when they started exploiting the disputed land. In separate replies, they maintained that the land was assigned to them by Jeremiah Kpwe, Mbaukusu Quarter Head, in 1954 (These letters are found in case file No. DWN. 116/S.3).

While the SDO, Oscar Bokwe, was still studying the information from these individuals, he learnt of the Church's application for a certificate over the land. This was on 6 August 1968 when the Director of Land and Surveys in West Cameroon asked the SDO to forward a report on the said parcel of land. The church's application bearing the signature of the Bishop of Buea Diocese, to which the Weh Congregation was administratively attached, and the sketch plan they had sent to the Department of Land and Surveys were enclosed in the letter (see case file No. DWN. 116/S.3). Worth highlighting is the fact that the sketch

plan enclosed the entire land that was occupied by the four persons. As the latter interpreted it, "the church was employing tricks to appropriate their land and straying away from justice" (see joint letter of 11 October 1971entitled Acquiring Land by Tricks). The Bishop failed to mention in the application that there was an unresolved dispute over the said parcel of land. But it was the SDO's stance on this unethical and flat-out illegal occurrence that was of great importance at the time. In filling the Land Form sent by the Director of Land and Surveys, the SDO's response to one of the questions (Does the plot encroach on any other person's land?) indicated that he had taken sides with the church. He answered the question in these words: "No. Instead people have encroached on the land". In his final comments, the SDO recommended in favourable terms that the church be given a certificate of occupancy over the plot to avoid future embarrassments (This report is found in case file No. DWN. 116/S.3). Evidently, the SDO was attempting to persuade the Land and Surveys authorities to issue a land certificate over a piece of land that was still being disputed. This was unfolding when the SDO had not yet reacted to the reports sent to him in June 1968 by the four indigenes after his visit to the disputed land. His reaction, it should be noted, never came, as surveying and registration of the land became the new path to a peaceful settlement. In this light, Samah may be right in describing local administrators involved in land administration as "over-zealous and corrupt" (2006: 227).

But the Director of Land and Surveys, after receiving the SDO's report, refused to act illegally, given that it was illegitimate to issue a land certificate on a land in dispute. In his reply to the SDO, the Director observed that "The Traditional Council cannot rightfully assign a piece of land to the mission without extinguishing customary rights by payment of compensation to claimants." It was from this position of doubt that the Director asked the SDO to investigate why the four persons had occupied the land. He insisted that a peaceful settlement be reached before a certificate of occupancy could be issued to the mission. The SDO's reply marked a turning point in the land dispute. He admitted that all the persons claiming customary rights over parcels of land in the

area had to be compensated, and added that the Manager in-charge of the school had earlier noted that the church did not have money to compensate the claimants. So, the SDO suggested to the Land and Surveys Department that the certificate of occupancy be granted to the mission for only the piece of land over which there was no dispute (File No. DWN. 116/S.3, Letter of 23 0ctober 1968). The Land and Surveys Department then made a similar suggestion to the church in its letter of 18 November 1968 to the Secretary of the Diocese of Buea, stressing that "If you are in agreement with the suggestion made by the Senior Divisional Officer Wum, would you please forward two copies of a sketch plan of the revised area excluding the portions claimed by the uncompromising inhabitants of Weh".

Faced with this Land and Surveys commitment not to issue a certificate of occupancy on a disputed land, the authorities of the Church, probably with the backing of the SDO, went back to the Weh Traditional Council for a peaceful settlement. This time around, the church argued that if the disputed land had to be left out, then the land had to be readjusted and added to make up for the area that had to be left out. The Traditional Council welcomed the proposal given that there was a tract of unallocated land that could be given to the mission. This was how a compromise was finally reached between the parties, with the church accepting to surrender the disputed land to the four indigenes and to be allocated more land to the South of the undisputed one by the Council. In its letter to the SDO, the Council explained how it found a peaceful settlement to the land dispute:

> We the Traditional Council members have deemed it necessary to settle the matter between the Roman Catholic Mission Ground boundary and those who have built on this ground. In order to create peace on both sides, we have made the following changes: (1) We have left out the disputed area. (2) We have increased the remaining Roman Catholic Mission School Ground to make up for the former area which has been left out. (3) We have

decided a common boundary between the disputed area
and the Roman Catholic School Ground (File No. DWN.
116/S.3, Letter of 11 December 1968).

The sketch plan of the readjusted Roman Catholic School plot as mapped
out by the Traditional Council was attached to the letter sent to the SDO.
The latter then wrote to the authorities of the church, suggesting that they
should "resubmit an application for a certificate of occupancy with the
new sketch map." In response, the authorities of the church accepted the
suggestion and reapplied for the certificate with a modified sketch plan
of the site. In April 1969, the SDO refilled the land certificate application
form in which he stated that there was no dispute over it any longer.

This time around, the Land and Surveys Department accepted to issue a
certificate of occupancy to the Catholic Church. In 1970, a survey team
marked and pegged the plot in the absence of the four persons who had
disputed part of the land with the church. This caused another land
conflict between the church and the four persons, this time over
boundaries. The indigenes claimed that there was a boundary
encroachment when the school land was surveyed and pegged in their
absence. In a letter addressed to the West Cameroon Secretary of State
for Interior on 11 October 1971, they accused the church of "acquiring
land by tricks", and wondered why the survey team could mark and peg
a plot for the issuance of a certificate of occupancy without ensuring that
the neighbours were present. As they put it, "We were not in when the
incident of marking the school compound took place but came in later
only to find a trace running through the eves *(sic)* of our kitchens. To our
dismay, each of us was losing three quarters of the property in the plot."
What emerges from this letter is that part of the land that the four
individuals had received when the Council resolved the conflict in 1968
was carved and included in the map plan of the school in violation of the
Council of Elders' judgment. The four persons rightly or wrongly
concluded that the Catholic authorities did not work in collaboration with
them when they modified the sketch plan that was demanded by the
Land and Surveys Department because they had a hidden agenda. The

128

church officials went ahead with plans to acquire a land certificate, arguing that the boundary encroachment allegations were baseless. All efforts by these inhabitants to stop the church from acquiring a land certificate were futile. In 1978 the certificate of occupancy over the parcel of land was issued. Since then, there have been consistent disagreements over the boundary between the church and the four persons. Some of them, like Tiko Lang and Simon Njuh, died while still battling to be properly compensated for their lands and crops that were lost to the Catholic Church.

It emerges from the foregoing discussion that the land dispute was a product of double allocation of land to the church and the four indigenes by the allocation authorities. This resulted in opposing claims, necessitating the lodging of the matter with both informal and formal resolution institutions. While the dispute over the land was finally resolved in 1968 by the Council of Elders, the church's acquisition of a land certificate over the readjusted school plot provoked a land boundary dispute that is still begging for a permanent settlement.

Lucas Ngbang v Catholic Church

The land dispute between Lucas Ngbang and the Catholic Church needs to be placed in its proper context. It concerned the boundary between the land occupied by Ngbang and that occupied by the church. The latter claimed that Ngbang had encroached upon the land which was acquired from the Weh Traditional Council in 1957. The church further argued that in 1968, the Land Commission demarcated the area and that the church planted beacons round the plot in 1970, on the basis of which a land certificate was obtained in 1978. Ngbang's name, stressed the church, is not in the land certificate as one of its neighbours; rather, it was Goodboy Ateghe who shared a boundary with the church before later handing over his plot to Ngbang. The latter argued that the land was his, given to him in 1968 by his relation Goodboy Ateghe (Read Court Judgment of Dispute between Ngbang and the Church, 9 March 1995). He remarked that in 1970 when the Church invited surveyors to

demarcate its land, pillar No. W2/69 was planted six meters into his plot in his absence.

The dispute over the land first emerged in the 1980s when Ngbang built a house that extended into the six meters over which he was disputing with the church (Interview with Mughe Joseph). The inability of both parties to reach a peaceful settlement caused the intervention of the Traditional Council, but neither party accepted to back down on their claim. It was the failure of this traditional mechanism that pushed the Church to take the matter to the Court of First Instance in Wum in 1993. On cross-examination, Ngbang told the court that he first saw the pillar in his plot only in 1993, insisting that he had built on a piece of land belonging to him (See Court Judgment of Dispute between Ngbang and the Church, 9 March 1995) . This claim was rejected by the church, which insisted that the boundary pillar was planted in 1969. The church accused Ngbang of disturbing its quiet enjoyment of the land. The case dragged on for two years through a tortuous litigation process marked by many adjournments. It was in March 1995 that the case was concluded with a judgment given on the basis of the evidence before the court. It was established that Ngbang entered a tract of land quietly enjoyed by the Catholic Church, constructed two structures on the land and extended his house into it. Hence, Ngbang was declared guilty as charged by the church. He was asked to demolish the houses and to pay the sum of 500,000 FCFA to the church (See Court Judgment of Dispute between Ngbang and the Church, 9 March 1995).

The frustrated Ngbang refused to demolish the structures. Consequently, the State Council and forces of law and order destroyed the buildings in 1996 (Interview with Ngbang Oscar). At the same time, Ngbang had to serve a six month prison sentence for failing to pay the 500,000 FCFA to the church. Besides, Ngbang's property was auctioned in order to raise the money he refused to pay. When interviewed, Ngbang's children maintained that the court settlement was very costly for their father who had to face the powerful and wealthy Catholic Church. Although they could not state how much it actually cost their father to take the land case

through the court system, they underlined the complexity of the case and the number of times their father had to attend court sessions. The cost was heightened by Ngbang's decision to employ a lawyer in the process. The church, with its financial strength, was able to meet the cost of going to court and to employ a lawyer.

Conflict over the Cemetery Land

The Catholic Church and Ughe Kalla were in opposition for decades, with the Catholic burial ground as an underlying cause of controversy. The main point was that the church acquired the land from Ughe Kalla's grandfather, Buh, in the 1930s under conditions that were culturally relevant (Interview with Freeboy Ughe Kalla). It is important to mention that the legalities of documenting land transaction were not employed by the locals and the mission's they either ignored them or saw no risk in not engaging with the already-available legal land agencies. Consequently, there is no document on the land transaction, either as a mission freehold or mission-lease land. With time, conflicting claims over the land emerged between the mission and the person from whom it was acquired. The mission argued that it acquired the land from Buh as a freehold while Buh insisted that it was acquired as a mission-lease land. This generated to litigation between the mission and the Ughe Kalla family. The mission consistently stressed that it was a freehold while the opposing party held that the mission simply obtained rights of use which were to be terminated whenever the mission acquired a permanent site. This explains why Buh was against the mission's construction of buildings on the land. As narrated by Freeboy Ughe, the mission maintained that it was constructing temporary buildings and promised to demolish them when moving to a permanent site.

In 1957, the mission obtained land from the Weh Traditional Council and constructed its buildings. This heightened the dispute over the already contested land as the church refused to vacate it. Instead, the mission transformed the land into a burial ground for its members. Interestingly enough, the village elders, acting as the Traditional Council, made attempts to arbitrate the matter. Buh who had initially

permitted the church to use the plot insisted that the mission should forfeit the temporary rights of use that it had gained. On its part, the mission maintained that the allocation of the land was done on freehold basis. But after prolonged litigation, the village elders accepted the mission's interpretation that Buh had lost all rights to the land when he allocated it to the missionaries. In an interview with Buh's grandson Freeboy Ughe Kalla, he noted that the litigation process was corrupt, as some influential members of the Catholic Mission like Sylvestre Akwa bribed the village elders to rule in favour of the mission. Angered by the elders' refusal to accept his claims, Buh, along with his children, vowed not to uphold the verdict.

This was what accounted for the persistence of the dispute over the land, as Buh's children and grandchildren were consistent in claiming that their ownership of the land was legitimate. As the conflict dragged on, the mission resorted to state institutions in the 1990s for a permanent settlement. The local administrators had to deal with a claim by the mission accusing the Ughe Kalla family of obstructing the church's use of its burial ground. After listening to the protagonists on numerous occasions, the SDO led the LCB to the site in the mid-1990s. But the refusal of the Ughe Kalla family to back down caused the matter to be referred to court. The lengthy litigation which followed ended with the court's decision to uphold the mission's right to own the land (See Court Judgment). The judgment embittered Freeboy Ughe Kalla since he had used a lot of financial and material resources during the settlement process. When interviewed, Ughe Kalla accused the mission of corrupting the settlement process and stressed that state institutions facilitated the mission's grabbing of his family land. Though there is no evidence backing this claim, it is probable that the mission manifested the fullness of its institutional and economic power for a court settlement. Ughe Kalla noted in an interview that "if an individual has money to waste, then he can engage in a court case with the Catholic Mission." Although Ughe Kalla has surrendered the land to the mission, his children have assured him that the family land cannot be confiscated by the mission and are threatening to take action. What form such action

will take remains unspecified. Perhaps, the court should expect a knock on its door.

Conclusion

This paper has examined underlying causes, dynamics and settlement processes of land conflicts in Weh between the Catholic Church and members of the host community. It has laid bare the conflicting claims and boundary disputes over the land hosting the Catholic school, church and cemetery. The paper attributes the mounting wave of land disputes between the Catholic Church and Weh indigenes to several developments: competing land tenure systems, double allocations, expanding populations, and the planting of the Catholic Faith in Weh and its desire for land. The disputes manifested themselves in the form of conflicting claims over borderlines (Ngbang versus Catholic Church) and competing ownership claims, as was the case between Ughe and the church as well as Tiko Lang, Paul Nyoh, Simon Njuh, and George Kang versus the Catholic Church. The protagonists approached local government officials (SDO and ADO) only after the customary mechanism had failed to resolve the conflict. All the three land conflicts discussed in this paper were brought to both informal and formal institutions charged with the resolution of such conflicts. In all three settlement processes that ended with the victory of the church, the community members concerned manifested fears of abuse and made allegations of corruption against village elders and local government officials.

The study found that these land disputes manifested themselves in a context of conflict between customary and statutory laws on land as well as maladministration by land administration bodies. While the land was distributed for use to the disputants by officials empowered by the customary system, the resolution of the ensuing conflicts and the final decisions that were taken were largely informed by the statutory land laws and adjudication by institutions charged with handling land matters. It is also revealed that the resolution processes were tortuous, given that they were marked by delays accruing from the conflict between

customary and statutory laws. There was also the failure to fully implement some of the final decisions of the adjudicating bodies, especially the readjustment of the land hosting the school. The surveying and registration of the disputed lands, the study reveals, was a defective approach to land dispute resolution. The state officials surveyed and registered only the land belonging to the church, probably because the church could meet the costs involved. Besides, the failure to involve the other disputants in this process made the inclusion of surveying and registration in the settlement rather problematic. Besides, the survey of the school land failed to secure the resolution agreement, instead provoking a yet to be resolved boundary conflict between the church and its neighbours.

In the light of these findings, this study recommends that both informal and formal land administration systems be enhanced and developed to support and complement each other to forestall land disputes, minimize their occurrence and achieve a quick and effective resolution of such conflicts between churches and indigenes of Weh. Such conflicts abound in Cameroon, with some as old as the history of the church in such communities. In 2014, this high incidence of land conflicts involving the church came to full public notice when the Roman Catholic Church's acquisition of land to construct its university in Bamenda met with serious disapproval through open manifestation from the minority Mbororo community. Through this study, churches' involvement in land disputes is part of the ongoing debate about African land rights and land conflicts. Across the continent, Christian religious institutions are increasingly competing with host communities to get access to tracts of land for the provision of public goods such as schools, cemeteries and clinics.

 These land conflicts, the paper believes, are further fed by the questioning of this philanthropic rationale for churches' quest for land. The allegation that churches have undeclared profit-making ambitions for acquiring land is pushing rural communities to challenge their ownership of tracts of land. This is happening at a time when land is of

utmost importance for the survival of the church in Africa. Minimizing the ensuing conflicts, such as those in Weh, and promoting cordial relations between churches and host communities should be encouraged. This can only be achieved by reforming informal and formal land administration institutions with a view to providing them the capacity to check the potential of land as a conflict-ridden scarce resource between churches and its host communities.

References

Ayittey, G.B.N. (1991). *Indigenous African Institutions*. Ardsley-on-Hudson, NY: Transaction Publishers.

Barron, Patrick, Smith, Claire Q. & Woolcock Michael. (2004). "Understanding Local Level Conflict in Developing Countries: Theory, Evidence and Implications from Indonesia", *Social Development Papers,* Paper No. 19, http://www.worldbank.org/conflict, Accessed on 29 December 2014.

Court Judgment of land dispute between Lucas Ndbang and Catholic Church, March 1995.

Divisional Archives Wum, File DWM. 116/S.3, Letter of Headmaster of Catholic School Weh to the District Officer of Wum Division, 3 February 1967.

Divisional Archives Wum, File DWM. 116/S.3, Letter of Weh Traditional Council to the SDO, 11 March 1968.

Divisional Archives Wum, File DWM. 116/S.3, Report on the Inquiry Visit to the RCM School Boundary on 15 May 1968.

Divisional Archives Wum, File DWM. 116/S.3, Tiko Lang's letter to the DO dated 7 June 1968.

Divisional Archives Wum, File DWM. 116/S.3, Paul Nyoh's letter to the DO dated 7 June 1968.

Divisional Archives Wum, File DWM. 116/S.3, Letter of the Director of Land and Surveys Department to the SDO, Wum Division, dated 23 October 1968.

Divisional Archives Wum, File DWM. 116/S.3, Letter of Weh Traditional Council to the SDO dated 11 December 1968.

Divisional Archives Wum, File DWM. 116/S.3, Joint letter by Tiko Lang, Paul Nyoh, Simon Njuh and George Kang to the West Cameroon Secretary of State for Interior, 11 October 1971.

Downs, R. E. & Reyna, S. P. (1988). *Land and Society in Contemporary Africa*. Hanova/London: University of New Hampshire/University Press of New England.

Gado, B. A. (2002). "Arbitration and Resolving Tenure Conflict in Boboye, Niger" In Toulmin C., Lavigne Delville & Traore S., editors, *Dynamics of Resources Tenure in West Africa* Oxford/Portsmouth: James Currey/Heinemann, pp. 157-169.

Galtung, Johan, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research*, 6, (3), 167-191.

Geary, Christraud. (1979). "Traditional Societies and Associations in We (North West Province, Cameroon)". *Paideuma,* 25, 53-72.

Government of Cameroon, *Land Tenure and State Lands*, Yaounde, n.pl., 1981.

Hondolwa, Simil. (2013). "Land, Church, and Community Issues in Rural Melanesia with Regard to Land Conflicts". *Melanesian Journal of Theology*, 29, (1), 5-83.

Interview with Miselele Akwa, 87 Years, Member of Weh Traditional Council, 8 January 2015.

Interview with Freeboy Ughe Kalla, Weh, 18 August 2014.

Interview with Mughe Joseph, Catechists, Catholic Mission Weh, 23 August 2014.

Interview with Teiheart Akwo, Member of Weh Traditional Council, 12 May 2013.

Johnstone, L. Ronald. (1992). *Religion in Society: A Sociology of Religion*. Fourth Edition, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Kaberry, P. (2004). *Women of the Grassfields*, London, Routledge.
Kalande, William. 2008., "Kenyan Land Disputes in the Context of Social Conflict Theories", Paper presented at the FIG Commission 7 Annual Meeting and Open Symposium on Environment and Land Administration 'Big Works for Defence of the Territory', Verona-Italy, 11-15 September.

Lang, Michael Kpughe. (2012). "The Menchum-Boyo Presbytery-Goppingen Deanery Partnership 1968-2008: A Historical Investigation" PhD Thesis in History, University of Yaounde 1.

Lang, Michael Kpughe. (2013). "The Role of Local Communities in Self-Help Development: The Case of the Weh Water Supply Project in Northwest Cameroon". *Global South SEPHIS e-magazine,* 9 (1), 15-24.

Lang, Michael Kpughe. (2015). "Traditional Religious Purification Rituals Among the Weh in North West Cameroon Since the Pre-Colonial Period". *Pan-Tikar Journal of History*, 2 (1), 24-41.

Le Meur, Pierre-Yves et al. (2006). « Conflict over Access to Land and Water Resources Within Sub-Saharan Dry Lands: Underlying Factors, Conflict Dynamics and Settlement Processes", GRET-FAO LEAD Final Report, gret@gret.org – http://www.gret.org, Accessed on 28 December 2014.

Mope Simo, Mope J.A., "Land Grabbing, Governance and Social Peace-Building Issues in Cameroon: Case Study of the Roles of Elites in Land Deals and Commoditisation in the North West Region", Paper Presented at the International Conference on Global Land Grabbing, 6-8 April 2011, Organised by the Land Deals Politics Initiative at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Ndi, A. et *al.,* eds. (2014). *A Concise Centenary History of the Catholic Church: Archdiocese of Bamenda 1913-2013,* Bamenda: Archdiocesan Information Service.

Nkwi, P. N. and Warnier, J. P. (1982). *Elements for a History of the Western Grassfields,* Yaounde: SOPECAM.

Peace and Justice Commission of the Archdiocese of Bamenda, "Land: A Source of Inter-Tribal Conflict in the North West", The Observer, Bulletin No. 1, September-December 2011, www.justiceandpeacebamenda.org, Accessed on 5 January 2014.

Peters, Pauline E., "Conflicts Over Land and Threats to Customary Tenure in Africa", *African Affairs*, 112/449, 543-562, http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org, Accessed on 30 December 2014.

Turner, Jonathan. (1978). *The Structure of Sociological Theory*, Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.

Uganda Conflict and Market Assessment. (2011). "Land Disputes in Acholiland". mercycorps.org, Accessed on 25 August 2014.

UN-HABITAT. (2012). "Toolkit and Guidance for Preventing and Managing Land and Natural Resource Conflict", Nairobi, UN-HABITAT.

Yamano, Takashi & Deininger, Klause, "Land Conflicts in Kenya: Causes, Impacts and Resolutions", FASID Discussion Paper 2005-12-002, December 2005.

THE DEGREE OF SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEFS AMONG BRITISH AND GHANAIAN STUDENT ATHLETES

Patrick Kwaku Ofori[1]

Abstract

One major limitation to the literature on superstition in sports is that researchers attempt to measure only negative superstitious beliefs. Yet to date, little is known about types of superstitions or the psycho-social differences between such superstitions and their consequences. The purpose of this study was to explore the prevalence and demographic variations in types of superstitious beliefs among British and Ghanaian student athletes. The participants were 177 British and 172 Ghanaian student- athletes. There were significant main effects of gender and nationality on both positive and negative superstitious beliefs. For positive superstitious beliefs, significant main effects were observed for both gender, $F(1, 364) = 43.27$, $p<.05$, $\eta p2 = 0.11$, and nationality, $F(1,364) = 162.12$, $p<.05$, $\eta p2 = 0.31$. For negative superstitious beliefs, significant main effects were observed for both gender, $F(1, 364) = 25.76$, $p<.05$, $\eta p2 = 0.66$, and nationality, $F(1,364) = 102.41$, $p<.05$, $\eta p2 = 0.22$. The findings offer some suggestions concerning the social context relativity of types of superstition. Superstitions may serve as either adaptive or maladaptive to those who believe in them, based on the type of beliefs.

Keywords: Superstitions, positive superstitious beliefs, negative superstitious beliefs, Ghanaian student athletes and British student athletes.

[1] Lecturer, Department of Sports Science, University of Cape Coast (UCC), Cape Coast, Ghana, Tel: +233 (0) 244 528685 / +233 (0) 505819079. Email: patrick.kwekuofori@ucc.edu.gh /bainkoop@gmail.com

Introduction

Superstitions are not uncommon in sports (Foster, Weigand, & Baines, 2006), and student athletes are as steeped in superstition as other professional or amateur athletes. From the greatest achievers in sports to the myriad others hoping to make it in this field, everyone engages in some superstitious practices and routines before, during or after a game, making such activities as much a part of the sport as playing the game itself. Superstition in sport has been defined as "actions which are repetitive, formal, sequential and distinct from technical performance and which the athletes believe to be powerful in controlling luck or other external factors" (Womack, cited in Bleak & Frederick, 1998, 2). Sporting competitions are not only high-stakes events, but also notoriously unpredictable. No matter how well an athlete performs the outcome of a game or match is never entirely under his or her control. Athletes have to face opponents or deal with conditions (e.g. weather or quality of equipment) that are determined by external, uncontrollable factors. This lack of control often leads to a lack of confidence (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978; Maier & Seligman, 1976), which can affect performance negatively. In the face of this inability to control certain conditions, it is not surprising that student athletes, professional athletes and spectators alike take part in often elaborate superstitious behaviour to ward off bad luck and ensure victory.

Anthropologist Malinowski (1955) maintains that superstitions are psychologically necessary for human existence and should not be dismissed as futile primitive beliefs. According to his "theory of the gap", magic and/or superstition fulfills some vital functions within any given culture, as it helps fill the void of the unknown and thus mitigate anxiety. The need to retain a feeling of control is so strong in mankind that, in the words of Scheibe & Sarbin (1965, 148), "where [man] lacks truth and needs it, he makes it up, somehow." In the attempt to find meaning and an understanding of the unknown, people resort to superstitious actions or beliefs (Kienan, 2002). It appears that one of the most significant factors affecting the emergence of superstitious beliefs is psychological stress. Superstition can promote an athlete's sense of

control. For instance, superstitious beliefs help athletes generate solutions that increase their control over the uncertainty and unpredictable nature of their sport. Thus, for example, there is the belief that making the sign of the cross before stepping on the field will bring success or forestall injuries in the game. Outcomes such as injuries and successes are uncertainties athletes cannot control.

Uncertainty is an inescapable feature of an athlete's career experience, and sports people deal with it in different ways. Some explain their circumstances by relying on information from supernatural sources; for them superstition, which supposedly allows access to a higher knowledge, gives the false impression of relief from their physical limitations (Tsang, 2004) and offers an illusion of control over uncertainty (Matute, 1994). In fact, studies have revealed that superstition increases generally with the uncertainty of a situation (Rudski, Lischner, & Albert, 1999), presumably because athletes want to gain control of the uncertain situation. Burger & Lynn, (2005) refer to this as "the uncertainty hypothesis".

The uncertainty hypothesis posits that magical rituals increase performers' sense of control, which reduces anxiety and allows individuals to cope with their unpredictable conditions in order to successfully perform the high-risk tasks they face. The hypothesis also suggests that a general desire for control (Burger & Cooper, 1979) would be related to greater superstitious beliefs (cf. Darke & Freedman, 1997). The desire for control relates to the degree to which a person wants to control his or her life (McCutcheon, 2000), and it has been shown experimentally to be related to superstitious behaviour. Specifically, those higher in desirability of control show increased superstitious behaviour in stressful conditions (Keinan, 2002). Those who want more control over their lives may endorse superstitious beliefs to help fulfil that desire.

Sociological and psychological evidence documents that superstition still enjoys surprisingly high levels of popularity in modern Asian, African

and Western societies, and it influences attitudes and decisions in many spheres of daily life (Tsang, 2004; Burger & Lynn, 2005). Superstitious beliefs and practices are culturally relativistic. Culture is viewed as a relatively organized system of shared meaning with subjective elements such as values, beliefs, attitudes, norms, roles, affects, cognitions, meanings, and mental processes (Leung & van de Vijver, 2008). Investigating superstition involves matters of globalization and cultural syncretism. People don't become less superstitious with the passage of time, but rather, the nature of their beliefs changes with the times. Instead of gradually fading, as some theorists would have expected (Campbell, 1996), superstitious thinking actually seems to have increased over the last two decades. However, past researchers on the subject focus on student athletes from only developed countries in the West (Bleak & Frederick, 1998; Brevers, Dan, & Noel, 2011; Sarkar, Hill, & Parker, 2014), hence, a study of this nature is useful because it explores the phenomenon from different social contexts. Bearing in mind the interests of sports scientists as well as some practical considerations, this study not only dealt with measuring superstitious beliefs and their relationship with personality variables, but went a step further to establish ethnic differences in terms of types of superstitious beliefs.

The importance of socio-cultural factors in the explanation of superstition and its acquisition has been affirmed by several studies. Brooks (1964), for example, reported that magical disease beliefs are related to cultural orientation in Mexican Americans. Cultural influences may contribute to a large extent to superstitious beliefs, as Kouabenan (1998) also pointed out in in a study on the Ivory Coast (West Africa) which found that professional drivers express an especially high degree of superstitious beliefs. Superstitions in connection with pregnancy in South Africa depend on cultural affiliation (Schoeman, 1969). The fact that qualitative and individual differences and sources of superstitious beliefs are related to culture is further evidenced by, and in fact partly forms the basis of, both sociological and psychological investigations (Plug, 1976). Plug's assertion provides ample justification to compare the use of superstition across two distinctively different social contexts.

In particular, the United Kingdom and Ghana can be used as prototypic examples of an individualistic and a collectivist culture respectively (Heine, 2001).

The literature on superstitions suggests that the measurements of such beliefs are subject to the demand characteristics of the test context. In the sporting context, not much has been done in respect to athletes' superstitious belief systems. Furthermore, the little that has been done has concentrated on athletes from Western cultures. For instance, researchers have actively explored the emergence of superstitious behaviour across diverse sporting disciplines among western athletes, including golfers (Damisch et al., 2010; Wright & Erdal, 2008); baseball players (Burger & Lynn, 2005); track and field athletes (Todd & Brown, 2003); and various other athletes (Bleak & Frederick, 1998; Schippers & Van Lange, 2006; Womack, 1992). This focus on western athletes has not prevented researchers and applied sports science practitioners from taking an interest in individual athletes' belief systems emerging directly from such social differences. Few other studies have examined individual dimensions of superstitious beliefs in a sporting context. Ter Keurst (1939) found superstitious beliefs to be stronger in geographical regions of low socioeconomic status. Ethnic background has been included in some investigations of superstition because of the socially marginal status accorded some ethnic groups within a given society.

Given that underprivileged societies continue to be associated with superstitious beliefs, the current study sought to examine the social marginality hypothesis of paranormal belief from the perspectives of British and Ghanaian student athletes. The social marginality hypothesis posits that people most susceptible to paranormal belief are members of socially marginal groups, that is, groups such as the poorly educated, those who have poor standard of living or are unemployed, who possess characteristics or play roles that rank low among dominant social values (Bainbridge, 1978; Wuthnow, 1976). Irwin (1993) claimed that the significant data for superstitions are nonetheless consistent with the social marginality hypothesis. Burger and Lyn (2005) asserted that the

differences between their participants appear to reflect larger cultural differences between a collectivist culture (Japan) and an individualistic culture (United States of America).

Few investigations have been made into the variable of ethnicity in relation to superstition in sports, possibly because athletes resist sharing their beliefs, thinking that by doing so they will become less effective. Another difficulty is measurement and the perceived intrusiveness of questions used as indices to evaluate what constitutes superstitious or religious beliefs (Irwin, 1993). It is thought that superstitions are held because they serve a significant psychological function. For centuries, people have believed that the use of certain objects or the performance of certain rituals will influence their own (or others') luck. Belief in luck also appears to be an important source of optimism for people in their daily life (Darke & Freedman, 1997a). This may be grounded in objective reality or it may be illusory. Sports scientists are interested in the functions served by superstitious beliefs. The view that superstitions are psychologically beneficial to their believers suggests that the personalities of superstition believers are essential areas to be studied. Research into this field is reasonably substantial in mainstream psychology; however, in the literature on sports psychology there are very few sports related studies, and this study is intended to fill that gap.

The purpose of this study was to explore the prevalence of types of superstitious beliefs among UK and Ghanaian student athlete populations. The study aimed to find out whether university student athletes exhibit superstitions, as the extant literature shows (Albas & Albas, 1989; Gallagher & Lewis, 2001). Specifically, the present study sought to further explore the demographic knowledge about superstitious beliefs by addressing gender and nationality issues. In addition, given the mixed results in the literature, this study assessed the main and interactive effects of gender and nationality on superstitious beliefs. Some studies indicated that women more greatly endorse superstitious beliefs (e.g., Dag, 1999; Voracek, 2009; Wiseman & Watt, 2004), while others found no differences (Tobacyk & Milford, 1983; Wiseman &

Watt, 2004). Regardless, not much has been done by past researchers to explore the gendering of superstitious beliefs; neither is there adequate research to project how nationality influences the endorsement of various superstitious beliefs and practices.

Method

Participants

The participants were 349 student athletes from Britain and Ghana. The ethnic breakdown was 177 British students and 197 Ghanaian students. The age range, mean age and the number in each group sampled are represented on Table 1.

Table 1: Gender and Age Statistics

Ethnicity	Mean Age	Age Range	N
British Students	21.18 years	19-45 years	177
Ghanaian Students	24.11 years	19-45 years	197
British Females	21.2 years	19-32 years	71
British Males	21.16 years	19-45 years	106
Ghanaian Females	23 years	19-40 years	93
Ghanaian Males	25.11 years	19-51 years	104

Procedure

The data collection took place in Ghana and Britain, with permission from and in compliance with the University of Stirling Ethics Committee. The participants in this investigation were given a brief explanation of the purpose of the study before being given the questionnaires. After the explanation, all participants were asked to read and sign an informed consent form. Each group of students completed the inventories during their seminar and tutorial periods. No lecturers were present during the administration of the questionnaires. The inventories were administered in the following order: a one-page demographic questionnaire and the Belief in Superstition Questionnaire

(BSQ). Although data were collected from 375 students, 26 were excluded from the results due to incomplete information.

Instrumentation

Each participant completed a set of standard demographic questionnaires designed for the present study. The information collected centred on participants' age, ethnicity, gender and the sports they played. Ethnicity refers to a group's shared sense of peoplehood based on a distinctive social and cultural heritage passed on from generation to generation (Gordon, 1964). Ethnicity was determined on the demographic questionnaire by the participants' real or perceived commonalities of culture, history and language as suggested by Smith (2007). Information obtained from the demographic questionnaire was used to describe the sample. In addition, age, gender and ethnicity were included in the research analyses.

The *Belief in Superstition Questionnaire* (Wiseman & Watt, 2004) was used to measure types of superstitious beliefs. Participants were asked to indicate the degree to which they endorse three negative and three positive superstitious beliefs using a Likert scale with five response options (anchored with Definitely Yes and Definitely No). The three negative items concerned were: walking under a ladder (Have you avoided walking under a ladder because it is associated with bad luck?); breaking a mirror (Would you be anxious about breaking a mirror because it is thought to cause bad luck?); and the number 13 (Are you superstitious about the number 13?). The three positive items used were: crossing fingers (Do you say fingers crossed or actually cross your fingers?); touching wood (Do you say touch wood or actually touch or knock on wood?); and carrying a lucky charm (Do you sometimes carry a lucky charm or object?). Ofori, Tod, & Lavallee (2017) reported that the reliability of scores from the negative superstitious beliefs subscale was Cronbach's alpha = 0.83, and the positive beliefs subscale was Cronbach's alpha = 0.83. For this study positive correlation for all the six items with each other ($r = .22-.65$, $p < .001$) and reliability of the scale was Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$.

Analysis of Data

SPSS was used to analyse the data. The data were screened to detect missing data and outliers by using boxplot. A 2 (gender: male, female) by 2 (nationality: British, Ghanaian) analysis of covariance was conducted to assess the main and interactive effects of gender and nationality on positive superstitious beliefs, negative superstitious beliefs and superstitious behaviour. Age was entered as a covariate to control for individual difference in all the ANCOVA run. A follow-up one-way ANCOVA was run to establish whether there was any significant effect on any of the interactions.

Age was controlled to prevent possible age disparities that are likely to influence the results due to differences in school starting age in the two countries in which the research took place. This was done to prevent a situation where age differences between the two populations under investigation would skew the results.

Results

A 2 (gender: male, female) by 2 (nationality: British, Ghanaian) analysis of covariance was conducted to assess the main and interactive effects of gender and nationality on positive superstitious beliefs. Age was entered as a covariate to control for individual difference. The mean scores for positive superstitious beliefs and negative superstitious beliefs are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: The mean scores for positive superstitious beliefs, negative superstitious beliefs and superstitious behaviour.

Dependent Variable	Factors	Obtained		Adjusted	
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation
Positive Superstitious Beliefs	Females	8.37	3.12	8.62	2.36
	Males	7.02	2.64	7.00	2.34
	British	9.21	2.80	9.46	2.38
	Ghanaian	6.14	2.20	6.16	2.34
	FB	10.73	2.40	10.75	2.38
	MB	8.19	2.58	8.21	2.39
	FG	6.51	2.25	6.51	2.34
	MG	5.80	2.11	5.78	2.44
Negative Superstitious Beliefs	Females	7.34	3.23	7.59	2.63
	Males	6.23	2.71	6.19	2.60
	British	8.06	3.30	8.35	2.73
	Ghanaian	5.47	2.02	5.42	2.67
	FB	9.44	3.20	9.50	2.63
	MB	7.14	3.04	7.21	2.65
	FG	5.69	2.11	5.67	2.59
	MG	5.28	1.93	5.18	2.71

Note: FB = Female British, MB = Male British, FG = Female Ghanaian and MG = Male Ghanaian.

Preliminary checks were conducted to ensure that there was no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, homogeneity of variances or homogeneity of regression slope. After controlling for age, significant main effects were observed for both gender, $F (1, 364) = 43.27$, $p<.05$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.11$, and nationality, $F (1,364) = 162.12$, $p<.05$, $\eta p^2 = 0.31$. Females ($M = 8.37$, $SD = 3.12$) engaged in more positive superstitious beliefs than males ($M = 7.02$, $SD = 2.64$). British student athletes ($M = 9.21$, $SD = 2.80$) engaged in more positive superstitious beliefs than

Ghanaian student athletes (M = 6.14, SD = 2.20). Both main effects, however, were qualified by a significant interactive effect, F (1,364) = 13.32, $p<.05$, ηp^2 = 0.04. A follow-up one-way ANOVA indicated that there was a statistically significant difference at the $p<$ .05 level for positive superstitious beliefs scores for all the six gender and nationality groups: $F(3,365)$ = 71.17, p = .00. The actual difference in the mean scores between the groups was large (large effect size according to Cohen's (1988) guidelines). The effect size calculated using eta squared was .37.

Post-hoc comparisons using the LSD test indicated that the mean score for Female British (M =10.73, SD = 2.40) was significantly different from Male British (M = 8.19, SD = 2.58). There was also a significant difference between Female British (M = 10.73, SD = 2.40) and Female Ghanaian (M = 6.51, SD = 2.25), and Female British (M = 10.73, SD = 2.40) and Male Ghanaian (M = 5.80, SD = 2.11). This shows that British female student athletes engage in positive superstitious belief more than their male counterparts and both male and female Ghanaian student athletes. There was a significant difference between Female Ghanaian (M = 6.51, SD = 2.25) and Male British (M = 8.19, SD = 2.58) respondents. This indicates that male British student athletes engage in more positive superstition beliefs than female Ghanaian student athletes. Also, there was a significant difference between Female Ghanaian (M = 6.51, SD = 2.25) and Male Ghanaian (M = 5.80, SD = 2.11) athletes. This is an indication that female Ghanaian student athletes engage in positive superstition more than their male counterparts. A significant difference existed between Male Ghanaian (M = 5.80, SD = 2.11) and Male British (M = 8.19, SD = 2.58) student athletes. The results indicate that male British student athletes exhibit more positive superstitious beliefs than their male Ghanaian counterparts.

A 2 (gender: male, female) by 2 (nationality: British, Ghanaian) analysis of covariance was conducted to assess the main and interactive effects of gender and nationality on negative superstitious beliefs. Age was entered as a covariate to control for individual difference.

Preliminary checks were conducted to ensure that there was no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, homogeneity of variances or homogeneity of regression slope. After controlling for age, significant main effects were observed for both gender, F (1, 364) = 25.76, $p<.05$, ηp^2 = 0.66, and nationality, F (1,364) = 102.41, $p<.05$, ηp^2 = 0.22. Females (M = 7.34, SD = 3.23) engage in more negative superstitious beliefs than males (M = 6.23, SD = 2.71). British student athletes (M = 8.06, SD = 3.30) engaged in more negative superstitious beliefs than Ghanaian student athletes (M = 5.47, SD = 2.02). Both main effects, however, were qualified by a significant interactive effect, F (1,364) = 10.64, $p<.05$, ηp^2 = 0.03. A follow-up one-way ANOVA indicated that there was a statistically significant difference at the $p<.05$ level for negative superstitious beliefs scores for some of the six gender and nationality groups: F (3,365) = 71.17, p = .00. The actual difference in the mean scores between the significant groups was large according to Cohen's guidelines (1988). The effect size calculated using eta squared was .26. Post-hoc comparisons using the LSD test indicated that the mean score for Female British (M = 9.44, SD = 3.20) was significantly different from Male British (M = 7.14, SD = 3.04) student athletes. There was also a significant difference between Female British (M = 9.44, SD = 3.20) and Female Ghanaian (M = 5.69, SD = 2.11) respondents; and between Female British (M = 9.44, SD = 3.20) and Male Ghanaian (M = 5.28, SD = 1.93) student athletes. This shows that British female student athletes engage in negative superstitious beliefs more than their male counterparts and both male and female Ghanaian student athletes.

There was a significant difference between Female Ghanaian (M = 5.69, SD = 2.11) and Male British (M = 7.14, SD = 3.04) student athletes. This indicates that male British student athletes engage in negative superstition beliefs more than female Ghanaian student athletes. However, there was no significant difference between Female Ghanaians (M = 5.69, SD = 2.11) and Male Ghanaians (M = 5.28, SD = 1.93). This is an indication that female and male Ghanaian athletes do not differ in their engagement in negative superstitious beliefs. A significant difference existed between Male Ghanaian (M = 5.28, SD = 1.93) and

Male British ($M = 7.14$, $SD = 3.04$) student athletes. The results indicate that male British student athletes display more negative superstitious beliefs than male Ghanaian student athletes.

Discussion

One of the main aims of this study was to examine the differences in superstitious belief types in relation to gender and nationality. Previous research found differences in specific rituals used by each gender (Ofori, in press). The current findings support Scheidt's (1973) finding that females are more favourable toward supernatural attitudes than males, though he used a smaller sample. The present study extends the frontiers by examining the type of superstitious beliefs, and interrogates whether Ghanaian female athletes engaged in negative or positive superstition beliefs than Ghanaian male athletes and British male and female athletes.

One major limitation in the literature on superstition in sports is that researchers attempt to measure only negative superstitious beliefs. This observation informs one of the purposes of this study: to address this measurement gap in the area of superstition in general, and in sports in particular, by using scales that measure positive and negative superstitious beliefs and behaviour in sports. Gender differences emerged, with females from both countries showing higher levels of both positive and negative superstitious beliefs than males. This finding confirms reports from past research (Wiseman & Watt, 2004; Vyse, 1997) that women are more likely to believe in superstitions than men. It can be suggested that women place more importance on sporting contests and evaluate them as high-risk and uncertain ventures. Hence, female student athletes are more likely to have superstitious beliefs than male athletes across the two countries in which the study took place.

The present dataset found the same significant patterns as revealed by Wiseman and Watt (2004) that women tended to endorse both types of superstition to a greater extent than men. British female student athletes engage in both positive and negative superstitious beliefs more than their male counterparts and both male and female Ghanaian student athletes.

Within the same country, females showed more involvement in superstitious beliefs than their male counterparts. The present study was also consistent with Lewis and Gallagher (2001), who reported that female students were more likely to prefer not to take a test on Friday the 13th. However, this finding contradicts that of Emmons and Sobal's (1981) finding that the correlation between astrological belief and unemployment was not significant. The present findings are nevertheless consistent with the social marginality hypothesis. According to Bainbridge (1978) and Wuthnow (1976), people most susceptible to paranormal beliefs are members of socially marginal groups, that is, groups such as the poorly educated or the unemployed, which possess characteristics or roles that rank low among dominant social values. It can also be suggested that the sometimes disadvantaged status of women may partially explain why they are more likely than men to report superstitious beliefs. This assertion was confirmed by Wuthnow (1976), who reported that belief in astrology is stronger in people who are unable to work or who are looking for a job. The present study certainly confirms the best established finding in the psychology of superstition – that women show more evidence of 'superstitiousness' than men (Plug, 1976).

However, British males engaged in both positive and negative superstitious beliefs more than Ghanaian males and females. This may be explained by the psycho-social interpretation given to superstitions within a particular social setting. Again, the different level of 'superstitiousness' across gender is essentially a product of more basic differences in attitudes to science and religion. Thus, males have been socialised to take more interest in, and be better informed about, scientific matters than about religious/paranormal beliefs, whereas female children's interest in such matters is minimal (Ofori, 2013). Although the trend is changing, females are generally trained towards domestic duties like child rearing and managing the household and the family. The deprivation and alienation associated with marginal status in society is held to encourage such people to appeal to superstitious

beliefs, presumably because such beliefs bring various rewards to the lives of their adherents.

Male British student athletes displayed more positive and negative superstitious beliefs than male Ghanaian student athletes. This cross-cultural difference was most marked for groups of items, although differences were also evident for individual items widely considered as superstition. In Africa, elite athletes (mostly men) openly demonstrate their pre-game rituals (Ofori, Lavallee, & Biddle, 2012). It has been argued that African children learn about juju from a very young age, as they see players of well-known teams engaging in these superstitious rituals on the pitch, either live or on television, and immediately want to copy what they have observed (Bentivegna, Atkeson, & Cheng, 2004). It must however be noted that in most 'marginalized' regions, many children do not get to see national or regional athletes in action, and they have no access to television. On the other hand, every house in their village has a shrine in front of it and rituals/sacrifices are performed at these shrines regularly. Soothsayers abound in their communities and are visited daily for divination. It is probable to say that these children and many others around the country learn their first lessons about superstition from such activities around them, how people in their community use charms to ward off evil in local dance competitions etc. before they are able to walk to a sports stadium or to watch and understand sports on television. Hence, there is by extension a high possibility of their learning by observation from such elite athletes.

British students scored significantly higher than Ghanaian students regarding superstitious behaviour. This finding contradicts Burke et al's (2006) findings that African-American athletes scored significantly higher than Caucasian athletes regarding the use of prayer. On this basis it can be suggested that a person's worldview can be a determining factor in activating superstitious beliefs. However, British students (male and females) tended to believe in both positive and negative superstition as do Ghanaian students (male and female). This result can be explained by a cultural understanding of some of the items on the scale and social

belief surrounding them. Again, the British may believe in superstition (positive or negative) but may not actually live out their thoughts, while a Ghanaian may not consider superstitions cognitively but will be more likely to act on them. Another major reason may be that in an African context, superstitions have direct magical connotations that include rituals recommended often by mallams, traditional priests and prophets.

The examples of superstition used in measuring superstitious beliefs might have been more familiar to people in Western cultures than those in African cultures, although the items may be culturally relevant in both countries. This was evident in the present study, where both male and female British students engaged in more positive and negative superstitious beliefs than their Ghanaian counters, to the extent that British male students reported more positive and negative superstitious beliefs than Ghanaian females. These interactions clearly support Ofori et al.'s (2012) assertion that superstition is a function of culture. The type of superstitions commonly practiced within a given society may be reinforced by certain cultural rituals (Ofori, Tod, Lavallee, 2016). For instance, Ghanaian athletes and teams often engage in a ritual bath made of concoctions from animal remains, herbs and sea water usually prepared by a spiritualist. There are occasions when animal sacrifices are performed on the eve of a match. Match day rituals that are common include sprinkling of millet seeds, cow milk or other substances on the field of play. These rituals and practices constitute superstition for an average Ghanaian student athlete but are not common in British sports, and hence may not constitute superstition to British student athletes.

Admittedly, the field of superstitions includes a wide range of varied thoughts and behaviours. Thus, some superstitions are socially transmitted, whereas others develop as idiosyncratic beliefs (Rudski, 2003). It was in the light of this that the present study adopted measures that distinguish positive superstitious beliefs from negative ones with regards to their origins and their function. The current results offer some suggestions concerning the social relativity of types of superstition. Specifically, the reported findings indicate that there is an essential

difference between types of superstition in terms of socio-cultural understanding of what constitutes positive and negative superstitions.

A mutually supportive interaction is set up between positive superstitious beliefs and negative superstitious beliefs; thus, belief encourages the interpretation of anomalous experiences as positive or negative, and personal encounters with seemingly magical meanings further buttress superstitious beliefs. When a superstitious belief provides the individual with a sense of empowerment to cope with an otherwise uncontrollable event, the attenuation of feelings of helplessness may reinforce the superstitious rituals as functional. On the other hand, when superstitious beliefs create seemingly unpleasant consequences, they are termed dysfunctional (Ofori, 2013). Superstitious types and sources may be deduced from a social context. That is to say, the likelihood of previous negative experience within certain social settings and the occurrence of uncontrollable events in the athlete's career can influence the athlete's demand appraisal of the situation.

Congruent with the findings of previous studies in a performance-related context (Albas & Albas, 1989; Wiseman & Watt, 2004), the present findings indicate that there is a clear distinction between superstitions that are performed to bring good luck and those used to ward off bad luck. It is too simplistic to think of superstitions according to the purposes they serve and the traditional generalization of superstition as either adaptive or maladaptive to its believers. The present study also clarifies the conceptual difference between types of superstitious beliefs, as it was evident that they may all have their roots in the individual's culture, but serve different psychological functions.

Further research is needed in the use of an established theory of anxiety to explain the nationality and gender difference in superstitious beliefs. Future research should examine how these psychological attributes predict positive and negative superstitious belief types and superstitious behaviours. It is suggested that individual personal beliefs, as well as particular sport environments, are stronger predictors of superstitious application (Ofori, et al, 2017). Superstitious beliefs can have

implications for athletes' behaviour in relation to psychical matters and their psychological readiness before competitions; it is therefore legitimate for sport scientists to consider whether such attitudinal aspects of superstitious beliefs extend to other domains of the athlete's behaviour and career as a whole. The present study has identified demographic variability but, it is necessary to examine the relationship among psychological constructs such as coping, helplessness, personal control and superstition. These variables have been used by in the past by some researchers to explain superstition, hence the need to take them into account in the formulation of an effective theory to explain why athletes believe in superstitions.

A limitation of the present study is the failure to clearly distinguish superstitious behaviour from superstitious beliefs. An additional limitation was the scales used in measuring superstitious beliefs because they have limited psychometric evidence. However, this scale was used because it has been used by previous researchers like Watts et al. (2004) and it contains items that are culturally relevant across the two countries that the study examined.

In conclusion, superstitions may serve as either adaptive or maladaptive to believers, based on the type of beliefs. The results suggest that female student athletes endorse both positive and negative superstitious beliefs more than male student athletes. In relation with the social marginality hypothesis, female student athletes may enact superstitious beliefs due to their marginalized status within university sporting environments. British student athletes subscribe to both positive and negative superstitions more than their Ghanaian counterparts. It is also interesting to note that male British student athletes displayed more positive and negative superstitious beliefs than female and male Ghanaian student athletes. The results suggest that gender and nationality are key demographic factors of superstitious belief types. The findings offer some suggestions concerning the social context relativity of types of superstition.

References

Abramson, L. Y, Seligman, M. E. P., &Teasdale, J. D. (1978). Learned helplessness in humans: Critique and reformulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 87: 49-74.

Albas, D., & Albas, C. (1989). Modern magic: The case of examinations. *Sociological Quarterly* 30:603-613.

Bainbridge, W. S. (1978). Chariots of the gullible. *Skeptical Inquirer* 3(2):33-48.

Bentivegna, D. C., Atkeson, C. G., & Cheng, G. (2004). Learning tasks from observation and practice. *Robotics and Autonomous Systems* 47(2):163-169.

Bleak, J. L. & Frederick, C. M. (1998). Superstitious behavior in sport: Levels of effectiveness and determinants of use in three collegiate sports. *Journal of Sport Behavior* 21:1-15.

Buhrmann, H. G., Brown B., & Zaugg, M. K. (1982). Superstitious beliefs and behavior: A comparison of male and female basketball players. *Journal of Sport Behavior* 5:75-185.

Buhrmann, H. G. & Zaugg, M. K. (1981). Superstitions among basketball players: An investigation of various forms of superstitious beliefs and behavior among   competitive basketballers at the junior high school to university level. *Journal of Sport Behavior* 4:163-174.

Buhrmann, H. G. & Zaugg, M. K. (1983). Religion and superstition in the sport of basketball. *Journal of Sport Behavior,* 6:146-157.

Burger, J. M, & Lynn, A. L. (2005). Superstitious behavior among American and Japanese professional baseball players. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 27:71-76.

Cohen, J. W. (1988). Statistical power analysis for the behavioural sciences (2nd edn). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Darke, P. R., & Freedman, J. L. (1997a). The belief in good luck scale. *Journal of Research in Personality* 31:486-511.

Emmons, C., Sobal, J., (1981). Paranormal beliefs: functional alternatives to mainstream religion? *Review of Religious Research* 22, 301-312.

Foster, D. J., Weigand, D. A., & Baines, D. (2006). The effect of removing superstitious behavior and introducing a pre-performance routine on basketball free-throw performance. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology* 18, 167-171.

Gallagher, T. J., & Lewis, J. M. (2001). Rationalists, fatalists, and the modern superstitious: Test taking in introductory sociology. *Sociological Inquiry* 71:1-12.

Irwin, H. J. (1993). Belief in the paranormal: A review of the empirical literature. *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research,* 87(1):1-39.

Lewis, J. M., & Gallagher, T. J. (2001). The salience of Friday the 13th for college students [Electronic Version].*College Student Journal,* 35(2): 216.

Maier, S. P., & Seligman, M. E. P (1976).Learned helplessness: Theory and evidence. *Journal of Experimental of Psychology,* 105, 3-46.

Malinowski, B. (1955). *Magic, science, and religion*. New York: Doubleday.

Marlowe, D. and Crowne, D. P (1964), *The Approval Motive*, New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Neil, G., Anderson, B., & Sheppard, W. (1981). Superstitions among male and female athletes at various levels of involvement. *Journal of Sport Behavior* 4, 137-148.

Ofori, P.K (in press). Gender and age variation in superstition beliefs and behavior. *Ghana Journal of Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance.*

Ofori, P.K. (2013). Psychological consequences of superstition in sports. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, UK.

Ofori, P. K., Biddle S., and Lavallee, D. (2012).The role of superstition among professional footballers in Ghana. *Athletic Insight* 4(2): 115-126.

Ofori, P.K., Tod, D., and Lavallee, D. (2016). An exploratory investigation of superstitiousbehaviours, coping, control strategies, and personal control in Ghanaian and British student-athletes. *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology,* 1-17.

Ofori, P. K., Tod, D., & Lavallee, D. (2017). Predictors of superstitious beliefs. *Journal of Psychology in Africa* 27(1): 1-12.

Plug, C. (1976). The psychology of superstition: A review. *Psychologia Africana,* 16: 93-   115.

Rudski, J. M. (2003). What does a "superstitious person" believe? Impressions of participants. *The Journal of General Psychology* 130:431-445.

Scheibe, K. E., & Sarbin, T. R. (1965). Towards a theoretical conceptualization of superstition. *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* 16:143-158.

Scheidt, R. J. (1973). Belief in supernatural phenomena and locus of control. *Psychological Reports* 32, 1159-1162.

Ter Keurst, A. J. (1939). Comparative differences between superstitious and non-Superstitious children. *Journal of Experimental Education* 7, 261-267.

Tsang, E. W. K., (2004). Toward a scientific inquiry into superstitious business decision-making. *Organization Studies,* 25, 923–946.

Vyse, S. A., (1997). *Believing in magic*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Womack, M. (1992). Why athletes need ritual: a study of magic among professional athletes. In: Hoffman, S. (Ed.), *Sport and Religion*. Human Kinetics, Champaign, pp. 191-202.

Wiseman, R., & Watt, C. (2004). Measuring superstitious belief: Why lucky charms matter. *Personality and Individual Differences,* 37, 1533-1541.

Wuthnow, R. (1976). Astrology and marginality. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 15:157-168.

NEGOTIATING TRANSNATIONAL INTIMACY: A STUDY OF GHANAIAN COUPLES

Geraldine Asiwome Adiku[1]

Abstract

Focusing on 'transnationalism from below', which emphasises ways in which individuals reconstruct their family lives across borders, this study examines how Ghanaian couples in transnational arrangements negotiate their intimate relationship. Adopting purposive and snowball sampling techniques, a total of 30 in depth interviews were conducted with husbands and wives resident in Accra whose spouses were abroad. The study reveals that transnational couples rely on Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) to negotiate their relationships. However, the proliferation of ICTs serves as a double-edged sword in transnational arrangements. This is because though it leads to the compression of geographical space and time between couples, making them feel connected in real time constantly, it also gives rise to conflict situations in such arrangements. The paper indicates that ICTs only partly solve transnational couples' challenge of sustaining their intimate relationship, with emphasis on communication and sexual gratification.

Keywords: transnational intimacy, ICTs, negotiating, communication and sexual gratification

Introduction

Although transnational family arrangement is not a recent phenomenon (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927; Nakano-Glenn, 1983; Foner, 2000), it was in the last decade of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries that studies on transnational families gained intense scholarly attention

---

[1] DPhil Candidate, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, 3 Mansfield Road OX1 3TB, Oxford, United Kingdom. E-mail:geraldine.adiku@wolfson.ox.ac.uk.

(Glick-Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1995; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2001; Schmalzbauer, 2004; Sutton, 2004; Wong, 2006; Waters, 2010; Dankyi et al, 2015). Studies on transnational arrangements increased during this period, perhaps as a response to advances in travel and communication technologies which have broken down many of the barriers of space and time (Glick-Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Smith and Guarnizo, 1998;Vertovec, 2004, Faist, 2010).

Technological advancement has led to increased globalisation. This has been accompanied by the intensification of movements from one part of the world to the other in search of better opportunities. Advancement in technology has radically revolutionised many essential aspects of our social world including family life (Anderson, et al., 1999; Lim, 2008; Christensen, 2009). The internet and other communication tools mediate interaction between family members who are geographically dispersed. During the early 1990s, when the Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) revolution began to experience intense transformation, landlines and phone booths were the norm for keeping and staying in touch with friends, family and loved ones. Literature suggests that individuals in transnational family arrangements contacted their relatives primarily using landlines and phone booths (Horst, 2006). These were however expensive, slow and lacking in privacy leading to complaints from many individuals (Mahler, 2001; Horst, 2006). By the 2000s mobile phones and the internet were becoming the standard and migrants used them to communicate with their loved ones.

Literature on migration and transnationalism suggests that there is a growing need for the introduction of migrants' intimate lives in migration (Mai & King, 2009). Authors who are of this opinion have accordingly called for the linkage of love, sex and emotion in framing migrant transnational behaviour to be placed at the center of analysis within migration studies, rather than at the periphery (Mai & King, 2009). Mai and King regard this as a rebalancing of mainstream migration research paradigm, which tend to focus more on the

occupational and economic lives of migrants and their socio-structural position and identity. They further explain:

> It is as if migrants are not allowed to love, express their sexualities, have emotions, be intimate… we need to recognize that migrations are rarely exclusively motivated by economic or political considerations, and that the full relevance of the decision to migrate and to continue living and working abroad can only be understood by bringing into the analytical equation the affective, the sexual and emotional dimensions (Mai & King, 2009 p. 297).

The question therefore is: how do couples in transnational arrangements negotiate their intimate lives, which include communication and sexual satisfaction in an era of improved technology? Mahler (2001) noted that among El-Salvadorians, when telephone calls were expensive and access to telephones was almost non-existent, letters remained the most widely used form of communication to maintain a level of intimacy in the relationship. However, this made it difficult to establish intimacy between spouses due in part to the length of time letters take to reach recipients. Such situations heightened their transnational imaginary, a situation where more is left to the imagination in a transnational arrangement, with wives in the home country almost always suspecting their husbands abroad of unfaithfulness (Mahler, 2001).

Migrants are intimate sexual beings expressing, wanting to express or denied the means of expressing their sexual identities (Mai and King, 2009). In many instances migrants leave their spouses or partners behind when they migrate with the hope of making a better life for themselves and their families. Once in destination countries, migrants sometimes face debilitating loneliness. This is due in part to institutional obstacles and structures, which make migrants invisible particularly irregular migrants. Fears of imminent deportation make migrants live lonely and isolated lives (Sigona, 2012) and also make it difficult to establish trust and worthy relationships with others in destination countries.

Maintaining contact with friends and family in origin country is therefore crucial for these migrants.

Migrants, particularly African migrants are often treated as economic migrants or refugees without emotional or relational component. Migration research therefore focuses on their economic lives and its implication for origin and destination countries, relegating their emotional and intimate lives to the margins. The heuristic separation of migrants' economic lives from their sexual and emotional lives is arbitrary. Both dimensions coexist and interact with people's understanding of who they are and where they want to be. This research is therefore an attempt to fill this lacuna in migration literature by focusing on Ghanaian transnational couples.

Ghanaian Migrants' Transnational Engagement with their Families

Ghana has a long history of migration and Ghanaian migration has been the subject of much research (Peil, 1995; Anarfi et al, 2003). Accurate figures on total number of Ghanaian migrants in the world today do not exist due to lack of data and also because some migrants have undocumented status overseas. Twum-Baah (2005), using data obtained from European and North American embassies in Ghana, estimated that approximately 460,000 Ghanaians reside in Europe, Canada and the United States in 2003. He also estimated Ghanaian migrants in African countries (predominantly in ECOWAS countries) to be approximately one million. If one allows for migrants in the Middle East and Asia, then these figures would suggest that there are a total of 1.5 million Ghanaians overseas. This has led some scholars to argue that Ghanaian migrants form part of the new diaspora (Van Hear, 1998; Koser, 2003).

Academic scrutiny of Ghanaian migration has focused mainly on the implications of migration for the country's socio-economic development. There are specific emphases on the migration of skilled workers particularly health workers to Europe and North America, a phenomenon

known as 'brain drain' (Buchan & Dovlo, 2004). The micro and macro-economic effects of remittances for the country's economy have also received intense scholarly attention (Quartey, 2006). The World Bank reported that Ghanaians living abroad sent approximately $2 billion remittances to the country in 2015 (Ratha, Eigen-Zucchi, & Plaza 2016). This serves as a crucial source of external funding for the country. Other studies also focus on the mobilisation of the country's Diaspora for development particularly migrant Associations like hometown associations in destination countries (Nieswand, 2009). The implication of return migration has also been extensively explored (Wong, 2014; Agyeman, & Garcia, 2015; Setrana & Tonah, 2016).

Literature on Ghanaian transnational families has principally focused on the connections migrants maintain with their family members in Ghana. The emphasis is on the economic support migrants give to their families in Ghana. This support is seen mainly in terms of remittances that are sent to Ghana. Majority of Ghanaian migrants are economic migrants (Anarfi et al, 2003). They migrate with the aim to work abroad and send money to assist their family members in Ghana. Migrants send remittances in spite of difficult economic conditions they encounter in destination countries (Wong, 2006). Migrants make huge sacrifices in order to send remittances. They also have to negotiate fractious relationship with home in order to send these remittances (Wong, 2006). When these remittances are sent they are used to meet the family's consumptive and investment needs and purposes (Quartey, 2006). There are also complex social dynamics of remittances. Wong (2006) reveals insights into the contradictory nature of how intra family politics, operating at multiple social and spatial levels, circumscribe remittance behaviour.

Ghanaian migrants' transnational engagement with their families also highlights their connections with their children and their care-givers. Interacting with Ghanaian children whose parents are international migrants, Coe (2008) notes that the discourse of care generated by children supports a notion of living with one's parents and siblings, with

some room for negotiation left open for different arrangements. This is because material care may in fact improve with a parent's migration, so long as the parent sends money, siblings remain together, and the caregiver has an emotional bond with the child and uses the money for the child's welfare. The care work provided by caregivers who look after migrants' children in the country of origin can be said to constitute a form of social protection, which people in the global South provide for migrants living abroad (Dankyi et al, 2015). Other scholars have also conceptualised such services as reverse remittances (Mazzucato, 2009; 2011). They argue that such services should be deducted from remittances that migrants send.

Studies regarding marital relationship between Ghanaian migrants and their spouses or partners in origin countries are hard to find. In one of the few studies on Ghanaian spousal migration Charsley et al (2012) reveal that Ghanaian spousal settlement in the United Kingdom is common and fairly balanced in gendered terms (48% women and 52% men in 2008). Other studies have also documented several types of marriage arrangements that Ghanaian men in the Netherlands. They included formalised relationship with a wife in Ghana, additional customary marriage, relationship with a woman who 'cooks his food' and contractual marriages in the Netherlands sometimes involving large sums of money and exploitative relations involving marriage brokers (Van Dijk, 2005 p.454 cited in Van Hear, 2012). We however do not know how these men negotiate these various relationships with these women, especially the sexual and communication aspects. By focusing on the intimate lives of Ghanaian migrants and their spouses in Ghana, I hope to draw attention to a crucial aspect of the life of migrants and their spouses, which seem to have escaped the needed academic attention.

Conceptualising Transnational Intimacy

In this paper transnational intimacy is conceptualised to include communication and sexual relations. These are important ingredients that glue marriages together. Lack of sexual satisfaction for example can be grounds for divorce in Ghanaian society (Nukunya, 2003). The

relationship between couples is perhaps the most often associated with love in contemporary societies. This is also connected with romantic love, sexuality and often reproduction (Evans, 2003). Definitions of the couple's relationship continue to be spatialised in particular ways: for most people, romantic relationships are partially differentiated from mere friendship by involving behaviours such as fondling, caressing, kissing and making love that necessitate physical proximity (Ben-Ze'ev, 2004 p.52). As intimacy is associated with love, we might imagine that geographical presence is necessary for and constituent of love relationships. However, Thien (2005) notes that an analytical perspective must question such assumptions: proximity to those who know us can also be experienced as constraining and we might want to get away. Intimacy-as-distance might therefore offer a more flexible way of doing intimacy and "this reflects the ambivalent and elastic spatiality of emotion" (Thein 2005, p. 201).

Researchers are observing a more diverse and malleable organisation of domestic arrangements among couples. Such flexible ways of doing domestic arrangements are the result of globalisation and internationalisation of employment and educational opportunities which makes it possible for people to migrate in pursuit of their dreams. The assertion is that more couples are choosing not to prioritise living together in the same domestic space, while still being committed to the intimacy of their relationship (Hardill & Green, 2003; Levin, 2004). In the context of transnational migration, the charting of conceptualisations of intimacy across this spatial duality of proximity/distance is emphasised. Furthermore, it is linked with other spatialised dualisms through which transnationalism is imagined and evaluated, including those of dwelling/mobility, here/there and home/away.

Ben-Ze'ev (2004) argues that "the internet enables a constant flow of communication that can become profound and intimate. Love becomes intense and the participants feel close to each other" (p. 54). The development of communication technologies that compress space and time has consistently been emphasised as a vital facilitator in the creation

of transnational communities and transnational/diaspora spaces (Glick-Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Portes et al, 1999; Vertovec, 2004). Such technologies, it is argued, enable transnational social connections to become routine, so that people seem both 'here' and 'there' (Urry, 2004). Callon et al. (2004), for instance, argue that text messaging on mobile phones is a way of 'making present' and 'attending to another person' without geographical proximity. Therefore, presence is not reducible to co-presence, but rather, as Licoppe (2004) suggests, we increasingly have the material resources to support 'absent presence'. Questions remain, however, as to how the marriage relationship is negotiated within a transnational space, whether such technologies are perceived as sufficient and appropriate to sustain marriage relationships over international distances.

The geographical context of this transnational residence is significant to the analysis of love relationships. Ghana's capital, Accra, is a place of intense mobility and connectivity (Burell, 2009). New technologies like the mobile phone and the internet present alternative of remaining connected with the rest of the world. Accra is the most connected part of Ghana. Investigating mobile phone appropriation in Ghana, Sey (2011) notes that mobile phone penetration in Accra is high. Ghanaians use mobile phones for various activities from enquiring about the prices of food items to banking. Investigating intimacy through the theoretical lens of transnationalism is therefore useful and appropriate, as even those who have never migrated tend to be imaginatively and materially connected to other parts of the world through routine transnational practices like conversations with migrant relatives and occasional visits from them. By so doing they are constantly in touch.

The use of technology is very crucial in negotiating transnational intimacy. The compression of geographic distance through the use of ICTs has made it possible to transcend old boundaries (Wellman & Hampton, 1999) and feel a sense of closeness towards one another. Nevertheless in 'living apart together' (Levine, 2004) marriage relationship is affected not only by migration of spouses but also by the

struggle to keep in touch through mediated communication (Christensen, 2009). The euphoria with the transformative effects of ICTs makes it seem as if navigating relationships is easy. However, this is not always the case, particularly in instances where internet connectivity might not be as strong and/or as fast. How then are Ghanaian couples able to deal with their intimacy in the absence of their partners, considering that communication and sexual gratifications are very important aspects of marriage? I suggest that ICTs serve both as a facilitator of constant interaction, bridging geographic space, and as a source of tension between couples.

Research Methods and Profile of Respondents

This discussion emerges from a larger research, which investigated the coping strategies of Ghanaian transnational families resident in Accra. A non-probability sampling method was employed to select the needed sample for the research, using purposive and snowball sampling techniques. This was necessary for the purposes of this research, which is to study couples in transnational arrangements, a category that is not randomly distributed in the population. The snowball technique was especially useful because it enabled trust to be built between the researcher and respondents, particularly since the researcher did not just show up unannounced but was introduced to them by their friends and relatives. The referral method worked because the issues of interest to the study were deemed private and would only be shared with close friends and family.

The research drew on interviews conducted with thirty respondents in Accra whose spouses were outside the country; fifteen women and fifteen men. Included in the sample were respondents whose spouses were international migrants and individuals whose partners have migrated to other African countries. Respondents whose spouses have been away for a year or more were interviewed to fit the definition of international migrants.

The instrument of data collection was semi-structured interviews which offer much more thorough information than other instruments of data collection (Boyce & Neale, 2006). All the interviews were conducted at respondents' homes, offices or in a public place after appointments had been made with them at their own convenience. With permission from the respondents interviews were recorded; there were, however, two respondents who refused to be recorded. All but one of the interviews was conducted in English. The only interview conducted in Twi was done because the respondent could not express herself well in English and was more comfortable using the Akan language. The data collection lasted four (4) months (October to January). There were questions regarding their socio-economic background, reasons for the migration of their spouses, modes of keeping in touch and communicating with their spouses abroad, ways of dealing with their sexual desires and their thoughts on transnational arrangements in general.

All interviews, which ranged from forty-five minutes to one and a half hours were recorded, transcribed and analysed manually based on the themes of the research. For this paper, these themes include communication and sex in transnational arrangements. During the time of the research, there was a discussion on Joy FM, an Accra based private radio station on long distance relationships and how individuals in such arrangements, whether in courtship or marriage, managed the distance in their relationship[2]. Some aspects of this discussion have been used in the study to enhance the analysis and to provide a fuller understanding of some of the issues in transnational arrangement.

Generally, the people interviewed were middle class Ghanaians considering that twenty of them were professionals and were economically active. Their occupation included bankers, lecturers, lawyers, accountants, nurses, doctors and managers. Their migrant spouses were also professionals engaged in similar occupations abroad.

---

[2] The discussion was downloaded as a podcast from their website: www.myjoyonline.com/pages/archives/201203/

The majority of the respondents had bachelor's degrees with a few having masters degrees. Three of them were pursuing their PhDs at the time of the interview. Their ages ranged from twenty-five (25) to sixty-four (64). Most of them were Christians. The socio-economic backgrounds of respondents corroborate findings of other research on Ghanaian migration, which indicates that it is mostly professionals who migrate (Peil, 1995; Anarfi et al., 2003; Coe, 2008).

 The data collected also showed that for half of the respondents, their spouses were living in Europe, particularly the United Kingdom. Ten were living in North America and the remaining spouses were in other African countries and the Middle East. Twenty-three of them had been married for more than five years. Seven had been married for less than five years. Twelve of the respondents were living with their spouses abroad before deciding to return to Ghana as part of the family's plan for eventual relocation. Majority of respondents had children, twenty out of the thirty. The children were mostly living with their mothers.

Communication in Transnational Arrangements

The study shows that once a transnational arrangement is in place, communication becomes a key means by which the marital bond is maintained. Thanks to improvements in ICTs it has become relatively easy to communicate. Vertovec (2004) argues that ICTs serve as a social glue which maintains transnational arrangements. Communication is a very critical aspect of every relationship, especially when the individuals involved are in different geographical locations (Horst, 2006). Data gathered revealed numerous reasons for communicating. Some respondents communicate with their spouses to find out about their health and wellbeing as well as to check on their children. Others also communed with their spouses for clarification on issues regarding their extended families. Adzo,[3] 35, explains:

---

[3] All names used are pseudonyms

> My husband sometimes calls to ask me about some of the
> things he has asked his nephew to do. He calls me
> sometimes to find out if he is indeed running the business
> properly and whether I am happy with the work he is
> doing. I am like his eyes and ears on the ground.

Other respondents also mentioned that they communicated with their spouses regarding projects being untaken together.

Conversations between spouses dealt mainly with their mundane personal lives and day-to-day activities. They conversed about what was happening in each other's lives and also about everyday issues including gossip. They asked after other relatives and how they were doing. Badu who was with his wife in the United Kingdom until he returned to Ghana, mentioned that he and his wife chatted about everything. He said:

> We discuss petty gossip in London and Accra, the family
> and how everybody is faring. Also we talk about things
> like, the washing machine has broken down, those in
> charge of the bin have not come for it, the bedroom
> window is broken, and I am having trouble turning on the
> gas cooker.

Respondents also discussed current affairs with their spouses. Sam, who was also with his wife in the United Kingdom until his return to Ghana five years ago, at the time of the interview, mentioned that he and his wife talk about everything. At the time of the interview the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi had just been killed and he revealed that he and his wife had a lengthy discussion about how unfairly Gadhafi had been treated.

Type of Communication Media used by Respondents

Couples in transnational arrangements communicate using a wide range of communication technology platforms. They include telephone or

mobile phone conversations between couples. These are complemented with video messaging platforms like Skype, picture messaging platforms like Facebook and text messaging platforms like Yahoo messenger, Google talk now Hangout, Whatsapp and Viber. Twenty respondents used a combination of communication media while ten preferred telephone and/or mobile phone conversations with their spouses. Data gathered reveals that the choice of a communication device was dependent on two things: convenience and knowledge of use. Respondents who use the mobile phone mentioned that they preferred it because of the expediency of its use and the opportunity it provides for multi-tasking because of its mobile qualities. As one respondent mentioned, she could be on the phone with her husband and do other things like cook or sweep or lay the bed. She elaborates that if she was using the computer to Skype with her husband she would have to remain stationary, thus denying her the opportunity to do other things at the same time. Other respondents prefer conversation with their spouses on the mobile phone either because they or their spouses have no knowledge of the use of the other communication platforms, especially those that require the use of the internet. The mobile phone therefore remained the only medium of communication available for these respondents and their spouses.

With regards to lack of knowledge of the use of communication platforms Panagakos and Horst (2006) note that there are a variety of factors that affect the choice of a communication device. They indicate that some technologies are outside the realm of expertise for most users or too expensive for them to use regularly. Unlike Panagakos and Horst (2006), this paper found that non-usage of the internet based communication platforms was not due to cost because the mobile phone is the more expensive. Additionally, the location of the respondents in Accra, Ghana's capital means that they have relatively good internet access (Burnell, 2009). Also, for these respondents the cost of making calls using the mobile phone was not a problem. In fact, one of them mentioned, "the cost of calls is not a bother to me at all." This was not surprising because most of these respondents were middle class

Ghanaians and could therefore afford the cost of calls. Their non-usage of the internet could be better explained by its being outside the realm of their expertise, which is interesting considering that these are educated individuals. The ten respondents who prefer conversations with their spouses over the telephone were older. They were fifty years and older. Some research has shown that older people tend not to be very enthused about internet use (Bennet & Maton, 2010). The elderly are not always tech savvy or tech literate.

Respondents who used internet based communication technologies did so because they felt the deficiencies of one communication medium can be complemented by the benefits of the other. For example, BB, a thirty-six year old man whose wife was living in the United Kingdom even before they got married, elucidated that while he can talk to his wife over the phone, he uses Skype as well because it allows him to see every member of the family. The use of Skype allows for the strengthening of emotional connections difficult to express in other avenues of communication (Benitez, 2006). This is because it allows individuals to see and engage in face-to-face interaction, and thereby feel close to one another.

Intricacies of Transnational Communication

Keeping in touch was not unidirectional. Spouses in Ghana contacted their partners abroad and vice versa. This is similar to Horst's (2006) findings among Jamaicans who had relatives abroad. However, with regard to the use of the mobile phone, spouses in Ghana interviewed for the study initiated calls most of the time, probably because international call rates are relatively cheaper in Ghana as a result of fierce competition among the various telecommunication companies in the country.

Technological advancement has revolutionised close familial relations in the face of continuing international migration. Just as the steam engine, automobiles and telegraphs changed migration and transnational processes in the 19th century, so has the proliferation and advancements in ICTs, especially from the last decade of the 20th century, increased

contact between migrants and their loved ones in the home country. Internet penetration into the most isolated corners of the world has allowed transnational migrants in industrialised countries unprecedented access to their families and network members back home and vice versa (Panagakos & Horst, 2006). For example, technologies like Skype make it possible to see one's spouse and experience an emotional connection which cannot be experienced by using other means such as letters and telegraphs. Mobile phones also facilitate instant connection between spouses because they can speak to each other anywhere and anytime, unlike in the past.

Another revolution in familial relations brought about by technological advancement is that interaction between transnational couples becomes very frequent, unlike in the past when it took months for letters to arrive, thereby hampering communication (Mahler, 2001). Most of the respondents communicated with their spouses regularly on a daily basis. Even during interviews, respondents received calls from their spouses. One respondent joked that her husband can call her fifty times in a day. Another respondent, Cynthia, 42, whose husband had been away for four years at the time of the interview, mentioned that her husband can call her anytime something pops into his head. During my interaction with her, her husband called a number of times. After one such call, she told me that her husband called her to inquire about when she will be taking a break from work so he can discuss some issues with her.

Again, Fiifi, 30, who met his wife abroad and had been married to her for a little over a year, also indicated that he and his wife are always in contact. He further explained that the only time he and his wife are not communicating is probably when one of them is too busy to chat or when they are both asleep. He added that he sometimes gets so engrossed in conversation with his wife that he barely gets time for his parents, with whom he was staying. He elucidated:

> We are in constant communication, the only time we are
> not talking is when we are probably busy doing

> something or we are in a place where you can't get the
> chance to talk or we are asleep. Apart from that when I
> get home I have to be on Skype to talk to her so I don't
> even get the time to talk to my family.

Information and Communication Technology has enabled couples to feel close to each other even when they are miles apart. One respondent mentioned that the use of Facebook, Skype and other communication technologies 'makes it seem as if the person is still close'. ICTs have therefore assisted couples in transnational arrangements to handle their situation better than they could without such means. These couples are able to relate to each other and sustain their relationships because these technologies have helped in the building of trust in the relationship. Michael, for example, described:

> We keep in touch using these technologies because we
> believe that doing so will prevent uncertainties from
> setting in. So we don't feel like we each do not know
> what the other is up to. Really we don't talk about
> anything specific. It is not like it [the chatting] is for a
> purpose. It is just the how are you doing? What are you
> doing? What have you been up to? Stuff like that.

The frequent calls enable the buildup of trust in the relationship, which also prevents feelings of jealousy and insecurity. The belief is that if couples do not call each other regularly, they will not know what is going on in each other's lives and then uncertainties will develop which will eventually lead to a breakdown of the relationship. A female respondent noted that her husband calls her frequently because if he does not, he thinks 'someone will take her away from him'. This shows that respondents contact each other regularly to reduce Mahler's (2001) transnational imaginary, which she discovered among rural El Salvadorians. Transnational imaginary as has been explained earlier suggests that a long absence of communication encouraged individuals

to fill in the gaps with their imagination, which more often than not centered on suspicion of infidelity.

Sexual Gratification in Transnational Arrangements

Another aspect of transnational intimacy that this study explored was sexual intimacy. Sexual satisfaction is very important in marriage, as the lack of it, or the inability to satisfy a partner can be substantial grounds for divorce in the Ghanaian society (Nukunya, 2003, p. 46). How then do Ghanaian couples in a transnational arrangement deal with their sexual desires in the absence of a partner?

There are various ways respondents deal with their sexual lives in the absence of their spouses. Some of these included: talking over the telephone, engaging in virtual sex, visiting spouses, indulging in extra marital affairs and not thinking about sex. Some of the ways of dealing with transnational sexual intimacy involve the use of ICT while others do not. While none of the women respondents reported cheating on their husbands, some of the male respondents mentioned they did. This could be because of social desirability bias; infidelity on the part of women is frowned upon in the Ghanaian society, and thus even if they were engaging in extra-marital affairs, they would not be telling young female strangers like me.

Six out of the fifteen male respondents reported that they indulged in extra marital affairs. The reasons given were diverse. For example, Kwaku, who was with his wife abroad but had returned to Ghana for four years at the time of the interview, remarked that it is impractical to always visit one's wife abroad for sex. He clarified:

> Sometimes when I feel like having sex, I visit my wife abroad but I cannot fly there every time I feel like it and spend just two weeks and then return to Ghana. So sometimes I make do with old friends, however, I lay my cards on the table and tell them that I am married and

there is no way I will marry them. If they agree then we carry on. If not then I look for someone else.

Another male respondent said to me plainly: 'I get involved because I am a man and I have to satisfy my sexual desires even if my wife is not around' and another also declared that he goes on the path of adventure any time he feels the urge to have sex. Shen (2008), in a study of Taiwanese businessmen in China who engaged in extra-marital affairs, indicated that these men, when in China, become 'situational singles' (p. 58). Shen (2008) noted that it is the natural biological needs and emotional loneliness of these men that make them get involved with Chinese women. This is comparable to some of the reasons respondents gave. One of the male respondents said: "I am a man, I can't stay long without having sex; I have needs." With the exception of one respondent who was Muslim, all the male respondents who admitted cheating on their wives were Christians, had tertiary education and were gainfully employed. These background characteristics indicate that these men have resources at their disposal to support their lifestyle and to lavish on other women.

This however does not mean that women do not have sexual needs. Research has shown that women are better at suppressing their sexual urges because of pervasive social and cultural forces that have historically controlled female sexuality (Diamond, 2008). Another reason could be that because Ghana is a polygynous society, it is acceptable for men to have more than one wife and have affairs outside of marriage. However, it is unacceptable for women to have affairs or cheat on their husbands, and when they do they are thought of as promiscuous women (Abotchie, 1997; Nukunya, 2003).

Another interesting finding that this study revealed was that older male respondents were more likely to cheat on their wives than younger male respondents. An explanation for this could be that for the younger men the marriage is considered new and they probably feel that they are still in the 'honeymoon' stage of their marriage, as Oppong, a 30 year old

male respondent who had been married for a year at the time of the interview pointed out:

> I believe that our marriage is still young so what I keep telling myself is that really it has not been that long. We see each other relatively often considering the fact that she is away and I am here. So I'm still holding on to the fact that we are still a young couple. It will probably be a different situation if we had been married for a long time and she had been gone for a long time as well. So at least the radiance is still around, her presence I still feel so it is not giving me the urge to go out and cheat on her.

Three respondents also mentioned that they 'exercise self-control' and pretend that the urge for sex is not there. According to them, overcoming the temptation to cheat on their spouse shows their commitment to the relationship and the tremendous love they have for their partners.

Apart from this some of the respondents found other ways of negotiating their sexuality with their partners and the advent of numerous communication technologies has made it easy for couples to do so. Seven respondents; three men and four women indulged in what can be termed "virtual sex", during which they engaged in romantic sexual activities with their spouses over the internet, especially when they felt like having sex. It provided them with a sense that their partners were still with them even though they were away. One male respondent mentioned: 'anytime I feel like having sex I go on Skype and see my wife naked and I take it like that'. By proclaiming that he takes it like that connotes a sense of dissatisfaction but also that he has no way around the situation so he has to make do with what he gets.

Six respondents called their spouses and talked to them over the phone when they felt like having sex. Two male and four female respondents mentioned that they talked with their spouses. One respondent mentioned that when he feels the urge for sex he calls his wife and they discuss

some of the times they have had sex when she was around. He remarked: 'it is difficult really, sometimes it's talking to my wife trying to make the most out of it, trying to talk about some of the times we had sex when she was around to get the feeling and move on'.

Two respondents noted that they talk with friends in similar situations and discuss their strategies for dealing with sexual longings in the absence of their spouses. Knowing that they are not the only people in such situations is comforting for these respondents. One female respondent labeled it as 'foolish talk'. Some of the female respondents mentioned that they did not think about sex. Four out of the fifteen women interviewed gave this response. Their justification was that their husbands were not with them, so even if they thought about it there was no way they could satisfy their sexual desire. 'There is no point in torturing myself because my husband is not around so what I do is that I forget about it' as Naa explained.

There was, however, one case where a female respondent, Dede, 36, whose husband had been abroad for five years and had visited her just once, mentioned that it was difficult for her in the initial stages when her husband left. Dede and her husband discussed the issue over the phone and they decided that she should use a vibrator until her husband returned to Ghana. Her husband sent her the vibrator and she admitted using it quite often. However, she was apprehensive because her friends were cautioning her that if she is not careful she will get addicted to the vibrator and when her husband finally returns to Ghana she will not feel like having sex with him. Another female respondent, Lola, indicated that for her when her desire for sex became unbearable, she and her husband made the necessary arrangements and she visited him abroad. She noted that her going abroad to be with her husband was timely, and that if she had not paid him a visit, she does not know what would have happened.

For some of the respondents, it was not the sex per se that they missed but the bond, the connection and the emotional intimacy that couples are

supposed to share in marriage. Tetteh, 63, mentioned that a friend once told him that the older one grows, the more one has sex 'weakly, a word which rhymes with 'weekly'. He considers himself old therefore sex was not so much the priority in their relationship. Though he was in contact with his wife regularly, it was her company that he longed for.

Trust is crucial in marriage, and the belief that one's partner is not being unfaithful puts one's mind at ease. Listening in on the radio discussion on Joy FM about long distance relationships, I noticed that the issue of trust was increasingly highlighted. The guests on the radio discussion who were individuals in long distance relationships mentioned that when one's partner was away, one had no option than to trust him or her and hope that he or she was not cheating. The panelist also mentioned that when one trusts one's partner, one does not question him or her but tries to understand every explanation he or she gives for his or her actions.

Trust and optimism notwithstanding, some husbands and wives engaged in extra marital affairs. Mahler (2001) noted that rural El-Salvadorian women whose husbands have migrated suspect infidelity on the part of their husbands. So did some of the Ghanaian respondents. All the respondents mentioned that they had missed their spouses sorely. The reasons they gave included the fact that they were here in Ghana and their spouses were elsewhere, and half the time they had no idea what their spouses were up to, or whether they were faithful or not; they just had to take their word for it.

Moments of conflict and undesirability in transnational arrangement

Although ICTs aid transnational arrangements, limitations of some of these technologies sometimes lead to conflict situations between transnational couples. Some respondents noted that the use of these technologies, combined with the long absence of a spouse, had led to mistrust between them. They indicated that, especially with the use of mobile phones, which only allow you to hear the person's voice, trust

had become a problem. This made couples go to all lengths to verify whatever their spouses tell them. For example, Sitso, 33, whose husband has been away for five years and has visited her only once, pointed out that she does not trust him because she does not know what he is doing most of the time. It is for this reason that any time she calls him, she asks him where he is and if he says that he is at home, she tells him to turn on the TV or the shower so that she can verify whether he is telling the truth or not.

Another challenge which the use of ICTs in transnational arrangements presents, and which leads to tension, is the absence of non-verbal cues. Social psychologists put emphasis on the importance of non-verbal cues and gestures in communication (Fichten et al., 2001). However, with some of these communication technologies, especially the mobile phones, these cues are absent and it therefore makes communication challenging. Steve, 38, whose wife has been away throughout their eight years of marriage, mentioned that in the absence of gestures and facial expressions, communication are difficult. He further explains:

> You know when I'm talking to you, you feel me and I equally feel you. You look at my gestures and you understand what I'm trying to put across or what I'm talking about. If you are speaking to somebody on the phone and the person tells you 'wo si den[4]', you don't see the gestures but the tone will make you wonder whether there is something wrong. You start reading meanings into it and sometimes it gets out of hand. So you can communicate as much as you want but if the gestures are not there it is still a problem. It is not smooth, the person can call you 10 times a day sometimes you don't even want to answer; you are tired of answering the call because it always leads to misunderstanding.

---

[4] "Wo si den" is an Akan expression which translates into "what did you say?", or "pardon?"

The absence of non-verbal cues in dialogue makes conversation challenging, leading to tension in the relationship between the couples. An explanation for these challenges could be that these respondents are not using these communication technologies to their fullest capacity. For instance, the respondent complaining about nonverbal cues could easily solve the problem by using Skype. The same can be said of the female respondent who asks her husband to turn on the TV or shower.

Time difference was another challenge which emerged with regards to communication in transnational family arrangements. Time variance was very crucial because when respondents call their spouses at particular times and they are unable to answer, probably because they are asleep, or away from the phone or are busy with other activities, this heightens their imaginations. When this happens, it intensifies the transnational imaginary. Apart from this, respondents' spouses can be so busy or engaged somewhere, that it is impossible to answer phone calls at certain times. This leads to misunderstandings because meanings are read into unanswered calls, a situation which puts strain on the relationship.

In the radio discussion on long distance relationships on Joy FM, the issue of not answering phone calls led to the breakup of some long distance relationships. Some respondents therefore mentioned that they decide with their spouses when to call and when not to. The implication is that technology may be present but sometimes circumstances may not allow for a person to engage, when one really needs to, and this sometimes leads to the crumbling of transnational relationships. This shows that though technology has greatly facilitated connection between transnational couples, it has not completely overcome the limitation of space, and especially time.

Also, talking about sex with either an absent spouse or friends can be challenging because what one wants is the sexual act itself, not talking about it. Respondents mentioned that it took the strength of will to remain faithful in such situations. Fiifi makes us understand that

'sometimes the urge is not to talk to your wife over the phone or see her via Skype, but really to go out there and see if you can get somebody'. In the discussion of long distance relationships on Joy FM radio, a woman panelist in a similar arrangement noted that she and her husband tried phone sex and it was such a terrible experience for her. She explained that the act was not nearly over when she told her husband that they should stop, because rather than quench her sexual desires it stoked the flames of her passion.

Due to the constant access to ICTs, sometimes couples can be caught in compromising situations which lead to conflict. A panelist on the Joy FM radio discussion program noted that she had not been out with friends since her husband migrated to the UK about nine years ago. So one day, some friends of hers invited her out and they visited a night club. While at the club, she received a call from her husband. According to her, she was in a dilemma as to what to do because she did not want to create the impression that she was an irresponsible woman who has left her children at home and was in the club having fun. So she quickly dashed to the restroom where she answered the call and told her husband that she was at home.

Conclusion and Reflection

In Ghana, marital status is not an important determinant of migration behaviour, so both married and unmarried individuals migrate almost in equal measure (Reed et al., 2010). After migration, married couples 'live apart together' (Levine, 2004). Advancement in ICTs has facilitated contact between couples in transnational family arrangements, revolutionising how Ghanaian transnational couples operate and do marriage. The global proliferation of ICTs has infiltrated the very intimate lives of couples in transnational arrangements to such an extent that ICTs are not only used for communication but also for the negotiation of their sexual lives. ICTs have linked these couples, making them feel connected in real time. Utilisation of ICTs bridged the geographic gap between couples and some of them did not feel that their partners were abroad because they were able to stay in contact regularly.

With the assistance of ICTs transnational couples in Accra are able to bring a sense of normalcy to their relationship. They converse about mundane activities and engage in intimate sexual activities as married couples in close physical proximity do. By doing marriage transnationally these couples are able to navigate not only their personal lives but their professional lives as well, given that their spouses migrated for work related reasons. ICTs have infiltrated the intimate lives of couples. In the sense that not only are they used for communication but they are increasingly being used to navigate sexual aspect of their lives as well considering that some respondents engaged in phone and virtual sex.

While ICTs have enabled negotiation of intimacy in transnational arrangements they also lead to conflict situations largely because these technologies are not fully equipped to deal with challenges of being in a transnational arrangement. In other words, technology cannot replace physical propinquity. In as much as, ICTs make transnational couples feel connected in real time, geographical space and time has not been overcome. Mahler's (2001) transnational imaginary is heightened because couples do not trust that their partners are being faithful. This makes respondents go to all length to verify whatever their spouses tell them. Also, because they do not want to be thought of as irresponsible and negligent, and in order not to break the semblance of trust in their relationship, spouses look for private spaces in which to engage with ICTs while they are out of the house. This paper, therefore, concludes that ICTs only partly solve a transnational couple's problem of negotiating their intimacy.

Acknowledgement

References

Abotchie, C. (1997). *Social control in traditional Southern Eweland of Ghana: Relevance of modern crime prevention.* Accra: Ghana University Press.

Anarfi, J.K., Kwankye, S., Ababio, O. M & Tiemoko, R. (2003). *Migration from and to Ghana: A background paper*. Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalization and Poverty Working Paper Series, Working Paper C4, University of Sussex.

Anderson, B., McWilliam, A., Lacohee, H., Clucas, E., & Gershuny, J. (1999). Family life in the digital home—domestic telecommunications at the end of the 20th century. *BT Technology Journal*, *17*(1), 85-97.

Agyeman, E. A., & Garcia, M. F. (2015). Connecting Return Intentions and Home Investment: the Case of Ghanaian Migrants in Southern Europe. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 1-15.

Arthur, J.A. (2014). *Class Formations and Inequality Structures in Contemporary African Migration: Evidence from Ghana*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

Bennett, S., & Maton, K. (2010). Beyond the 'digital natives' debate: Towards a more nuanced understanding of students' technology experiences. *Journal of computer assisted learning*, *26*(5), 321-331.

Benitez, J.L. (2006). Transnational dimensions of the digital divide among Salvadoran immigrants in the Washington DC metropolitan area. *Global Networks* 6*(2)* 181–199.

Ben-Ze-ev, A. (2004) *Love Online: Emotions on the Internet.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boyce C. & Neale P. (2006). *Conducting in-depth interviews: A guide for designing and conducting in-depth interviews for evaluation input*. Washington DC: Pathfinder International

Buchan, J. and Dovlo, D. (2004). *International recruitment of health workers to the UK: A report for DFID*. London: Department for International Development. Available at: http://www.equinetafrica.org/bibl/docs/BUChres310108.pdf [accessed 12 January 2016]

Burrell, J. (2009). Could connectivity replace mobility? An analysis of Internet cafe use patterns in Accra, Ghana. *Mobile phones: The new talking drums of everyday Africa*, 151-169.

Callon, M., Law, J. & Urry, J. (Eds). (2004) Themed issue: absent presence: localities, globalities, and methods, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 22(1), 3–190.

Carroll, B. & Landry K. (2010). Logging on and letting out: Using online social networks to grieve and to mourn*, Bulletin of Science Technology & Society 30*(5) 341-349.

Charsley, K., Storer-Church, B., Benson, M., & Hear, N. (2012). Marriage-Related Migration to the UK. *International Migration Review*, *46*(4), 861-890.

Christensen, T. H. (2009). 'Connected presence' in distributed family life. *New Media & Society*, *11*(3), 433-451.

Coe, C. (2008). The structuring of feeling in Ghanaian transnational families. *City & Society*, *20*(2), 222-250.

Dankyi, E., Mazzucato, V., & Manuh, T. (2015). Reciprocity in global social protection: providing care for migrants' children. *Oxford Development Studies*, 1-16.

Diamond, L. M. (2008). *Sexual fluidity*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Evans, M. (2003) *Love. An Unromantic Discussion* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Faist, T. (2010). Diaspora and transnationalism: What kind of dance partners?. *Diaspora and transnationalism: Concepts, theories and methods*.

Fitchen, C.S., Tagalakis, V., Judd, D., Wright, J., & Amsel R. (2001). Verbal and nonverbal cues in daily conversation and dating. *Journal of Social Psychology 136*(6), 751-769.

Foner, N. (2000). *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's two great waves of immigration*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Towards a definition of transnationalism. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, *645*(1), ix-xiv.

Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1995). From immigrant to transmigrant: theorizing transnational migration. *Anthropological Quarterly, 6*(1), 48-63.

Hardill, I. & Green, A. (2003) Remote working – altering the spatial contours of work and home in the new economy, *New Technology, Work and Employment,* 18(3), 212–222.

Hondagneu-Sotelo & P and Avila, E. (1997). I'm here, but I'm there: The meanings of Latina transnational motherhood. *Gender and Society*, *11*(5), 548–571.

Horst, H. (2006). The blessings and burdens of communication: cell phones in Jamaican transnational social fields. *Global Networks, (6)2,* 2143–159.

Koser, K. (Ed.) (2003). *New African Diasporas*. London: Routledge.

Levin, I. (2004) Living apart together: a new family form, *Current Sociology,* 52(2), 223–240.

Licoppe, C. (2004) 'Connected' presence: the emergence of a new repertoire for managing social relationships in a changing communication technoscape, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 22(1), 135–156.

Lim, S.S. (2008). *Technology domestication in the Asian homestead: Coexperiences of middle class families in Beijing, Shanghai and Seoul*. Retrieved July 8, 2012, from Duke journals
Website: *http://easts.dukejournals.org/content/2/2/189.*

Mahler, S. J. (2001). Transnational relationships: the struggle to communicate across borders.
Identities, (7), 583–619.

Mai, N. and King, R. (2009). Love, sexuality and migration: mapping the issue(s). *Mobilities,* 4(3): 295-307.

Mazzucato, V. (2009). Informal insurance arrangements in Ghanaian migrants' transnational networks: The role of reverse remittances and geographic proximity. *World Development*, *37*(6), 1105-1115.

Mazzucato, V. (2011). Reverse remittances in the migration–development nexus: Two-way flows between Ghana and the Netherlands. *Population Space Place 17*(1), 454–468.

189

Molony, T. (2006). 'I don't trust the phone; It always lies': Trust and information and communication technologies in Tanzanian micro and small enterprises. *The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Information Technologies and International Development* 3(4), 67–83.

Nakano-Glenn, E. (1983). Split household, small producer and dual wage earner: An analysis of Chinese-American family strategies. *Journal of Marriage and the Family (45)* 35-46.

Nieswand, B. (2009). Development and diaspora: Ghana and its migrants. *Sociologus*, *59*(1), 17-31.

Nukunya, G.K. (2003). *Tradition and change in Ghana: an introduction to sociology*. Accra: Ghana University Press.

Panagakos A. N & Horst, H.A. (2006). Return to Cyberia: technology and the social worlds of transnational migrants. *Global Networks* 6(2) 109-124.

Parreñas, R.S. (2001). Mothering from a distance: Emotions, gender, and intergenerational relations in Filipino transnational families. *Feminist Studies 27*(2), 361-390.

Peil, M. (1995). Ghanaians abroad. *African affairs*, *94*(376), 345-367.

Portes, A. Guarnizo, L & Landoldt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *22*(2), 217-237.

Quartey, P. (2006). *The impact of migrant remittances on household welfare in Ghana*. Nairobi: African Economic Research Consortium.

Ratha, D., Eigen-Zucchi, C., & Plaza, S. (2016). *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016*. World Bank Publication.

Reed, H., Andrzejewski, C.S., & White, M.J. (2010). Men's and women's migration in coastal Ghana: An event history analysis. *Demographic Research, 22*(25) 771-812.

Schmalzbauer, L. (2004). Searching for wages and mothering from afar: The case of Honduran transnational families. *Journal of marriage and family, 66* (5), 1317-1331.

Setrana, M. B., & Tonah, S. (2016). Do Transnational Links Matter after Return? Labour Market Participation among Ghanaian Return Migrants. *The Journal of Development Studies*, *52*(4), 549-560.

Sey, A. (2011). 'We use it different, different': Making sense of trends in mobile phone use in Ghana. *New Media & Society*, *13*(3), 375-390.

Shen, H. (2008). The purchase of transnational intimacy: Women's bodies, transnational masculine privileges in Chinese economic zones. *Asian Studies Review 32* (1), 57-75.

Sigona, N. (2012). 'I have too much baggage': the impacts of legal status on the social worlds of irregular migrants. *Social Anthropology*, *20*(1), 50-65.

Smith, M. P., & Guarnizo, L. E. (Eds.). (1998). *Transnationalism from below* (Vol. 6). Transaction Publishers.

Sutton, C. R. (2004). Celebrating ourselves: The Family reunion rituals of African-Caribbean transnational families. *Global Networks 4* (3), 243-257.

Thien, D. (2005) Intimate distances: considering questions of 'us', In: J. Davidson, L. Bondi & M. Smith (Eds), *Emotional Geographies,* pp. 191–204 Aldershot: Ashgate.

Thomas, W. L, & Znaniecki. F. (1927). *The Polish peasant in Europe and America*. New York: Knopf.

Twum-Baah, K.A. (2005). Volume and characteristics of international Ghanaian migration. In Manuh T.(ed) *At Home In The World? International Migration and Development in Contemporary Ghanaand West Africa*. Accra: Sub-Saharan Africa Press.

Urry, J. (2004) Connections, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 22(1), pp. 27–37.

Van Hear, N. (1998). *New Diasporas: The mass exodus, dispersal and regrouping of migrant communities*. London: UCL Press.

Vertovec, S. (2004). Cheap calls: the social glue of migrant transnationalism. *Global Networks, (4)*, 219-224.

Waters, J.L. (2010). Becoming a father, missing a wife: Chinese transnational families and the male experience of lone parenting in Canada. *Population, Space and Place 16*(1), 151-167.

Wellman, B & Hampton, K. (1999). Living networked on and off line. *Contemporary Sociology*, 28(6), 648-654.

Wong, M. (2006). The gendered politics of remittances in Ghanaian transnational families. *Economic Geography 82*(4), 355-381.

Wong, M. (2014). Navigating return: the gendered geographies of skilled return migration to Ghana. *Global Networks*, *14*(4), 438-457.

'DOWN PAYMENTS' FOR FUTURE RETURN: THE CASE OF GHANAIAN MIGRANTS IN THE UK

Leander Kandilige[1]

Abstract

Research into return migration has explored possible links between return and the development of origin countries. In addition, returnee preparedness and resource mobilisation approaches have been examined. However, few studies address how internal socio-economic conditions within origin communities could be associated with the nature of return preparations by migrants. Using a case study methodology, mixed methods and a comparative approach, this paper examines the relationship between origin community conditions and pre-return strategies adopted by Ghanaian migrants in the UK. Two Ghanaian hometown associations (Kwahuman Association and Kasena-Nankana Development League) are used as cases to examine this phenomenon from the perspectives of both the migrants and the origin communities. Narratives by migrants are interrogated in order to unearth factors that inform their decision-making and the approaches they adopt to ensure future successful return. The study concludes that internal socio-economic conditions at the origin shape return preparedness approaches adopted by return migrants.

Keywords: Return migration, poverty, internal socio-economic conditions, hometown associations, development

Introduction

Migration has been praised as a major contributor to the development of societies. It is one of the three main components of population dynamics,

---

[1] Lecturer, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, P. O. Box LG 59, Legon, Accra. E-mail: leanderkandilige@gmail.com/lkandilige@ug.edu.gh

and it has redistributive effects on financial, human and social capital of all actors involved at different spatial levels (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014; Gould, 2009). Within this broad context, return, it is argued by some (Ravenstein, 1885), is part of a natural stage in the movement process. Though Ravenstein's 'counter-stream' migration law is not necessarily limited to return migration, it signals movement in the opposite direction as natural. However, Ravenstein's hypothesis of 'every migration stream' being followed by a 'counter-stream' did not find prominence until the global economic crisis of 1973 (Ammasari and Black, 2001 cited in Anarfi and Jagare, 2005). This period is significant because it marked a time when much negative attention was turned on migrants as an apparent drain on limited resources in Western destination countries during an economic downturn. The apparent reticent approach adopted on return has been attributed to substantial urbanization that is occurring in most parts of the world, 'which has led to a "rural-urban" analytical framework in which geographical movements are viewed as occurring in one direction' (Rhoades, 1979). Gmelch (1980) also argues that the difficulty in quantifying return migration is one of the reasons that have led to the neglect of this aspect of migration. He further notes that while most countries gather information on incoming aliens, the same is not the case with returning citizens (Gmelch, 1980: 136). Haour-Knipe and Davies (2008) postulate that another reason for the neglect of return migration is the lack of accurate data on return migrants, coupled with the lack of interest shown by many countries in this form of migration. Countries of origin are less keen on return migration because they perceive migration as a safety valve that relieves pressure on domestic unemployment and neutralises defects in the domestic labour market (Castles, 2004).

Nevertheless, recently, return migration has been seen as beneficial to origin-country development, and this has prompted a discernible interest from both state and non-state actors in this area of research (Sinatti and Horst, 2015; Faist, 2008; IOM, 2008). Two key questions guide the discussion: a) What strategies do migrants adopt to augment their chances of a successful future return? b) Do internal socio-economic

conditions in origin communities affect migrants' approaches to return preparedness?

Within the West African context, most countries have experienced a net-loss of professional, highly skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled populations due to prolonged conflict situations, harsh environmental conditions and abysmal economic performance, especially over the past three decades (Black, 2004; Kandilige, 2012). However, emerging political stability and strong economic improvements in a few of West African countries, such as Ghana, have triggered a steady wave of returnees to their countries of origin. Even though some work has been done on aspects of return migration to Ghana (Setrana and Tonah, 2014; Taylor, 2009; Mazzucato, 2007; Anarfi and Jagare, 2005; Black and Tiemoko, 2003; Henry and Mohan, 2003), none of these studies has addressed how internal socio-economic conditions within origin communities could be associated with the nature of return preparations by migrants. The existing literature focuses on reasons for and types of return, means by which skills of returnees could drive development in home communities and reintegration challenges faced by returnees. This paper, therefore, seeks to build on the existing body of literature by factoring the internal socio-economic dynamics at the origin into return migration analysis. This is critical since return migration does not take place within isotropic spaces.

After this introduction, the paper conceptualises return migration before giving a background on the study area and then providing a general overview of the patterns of return of Ghanaian migrants. The methodology adopted for data collection is explained before presenting the findings on return preparedness strategies employed by migrants from the two communities under review.

Conceptualising Return Migration

International migration is integral to the current world economy (Wahba, 2015) and it is increasingly relied upon as a livelihood strategy for many people (IOM, 2013). Movements are contingent on people's capability to migrate, which is further dependent on their 'capacity to aspire' as well as their 'capacity to realise' (Czaika and Vothknecht, 2014: 2). Though some literature on economic migration views it as permanent (Dustman and Weiss, 2007), return is a prospect held, sustained and cherished by most migrants throughout their migration histories (OECD, 2008:162). As Gmelch (1980) posits, the initial intention for migration juxtaposed against the reasons for return could be used to construct a composite typology of return, comprising three fundamental categories: a) returnees who intended to migrate temporarily, b) those who intended to migrate permanently but were forced to return and c) those who intended to migrate permanently but chose to return. These characterisations have helped propel academic examination of migration beyond the classic assumptions of a unidirectional movement where migrants were not expected to return (King, 2000; Oxfeld and Long, 2004). Ghanaian return migrants are not a homogenous group but fall under Gmelch's (1980) three main typologies. In this regard, the socio-economic condition in the origin community can influence migrants' preparedness towards return after a pre-planned temporary migration or the feasibility of reintegration into the origin community after either a forced or voluntary return.

Return migration can also be classified on the basis of the evolution of the migration process and acculturation (Cerase, 1974; King, 2000). These include what Cerase (1974: 250) refers to as 'return of retirement', 'return of failure', 'return of conservation' and 'return of innovation'. Return of retirement refers to the migrants who return at the end of their working life. Return of failure refers to migrants who return to the origin country as a result of failure to adapt to the host society partly due to acts of discrimination against them. Return of migrants who harboured the desire to return upon achieving their set goals and who do not set out to change the social context of the origin community falls under the

category of return of conservatism. Also, Cerase (1974: 251), in one of the very few studies on return migration prior to the 1980s, delimits return of innovation as referring to actors who are "prepared to make use of all the means and new skills they have acquired during their migratory experiences" in order to achieve their goals in their origin countries, which they perceive as offering greater opportunities to satisfy their expectations. Cerase's categorisation allows for a nuanced analysis of how return preparedness by Ghanaian migrants could differ depending on the type of return. For instance, returnees' preparation for retirement would be significantly different from instances of 'return of innovation'.

The different theoretical traditions have also conceptualized return migration differently depending on their views on the reasons for migrating in the first instance and the nature of return. Cassarino (2004: 225), for instance, aptly distils the points of departure between the neoclassical and the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) positions. According to him, whereas neoclassical theorists perceive return migration as the result of a failed migration experience which did not adequately maximize the human capital of the migrant and yield the expected benefits, the NELM views return migration as the logical outcome of a "calculated strategy", conceptualised at the level of the migrant's household, and ensuing from the achievement of ambitions or targets.

On their part, proponents of the structural approach broaden the argument beyond the individual migrant's experience to encapsulate the social and institutional context in countries of origin. The transnationalists, however, do not regard return as the end of a migration cycle. Instead, return migration is perceived as "part and parcel of a circular system of social and economic relationships and exchanges facilitating the reintegration of migrants while conveying knowledge, information and membership" (Cassarino, 2004: 262).

Some migrants maintain sustained contact with the origin country and use regular visits and the sending of remittances as ways of leveraging their eventual reintegration at home. Return is, therefore, contingent on

the accumulation of sufficient resources, whether financial or informational, and the perceived favourability of conditions at home. Finally, social network theorists (e.g. Bourdieu, 1985) describe returnees as the bearers of both tangible and intangible resources. Irrespective of the type of migrant involved, social network theory regards returnees as social actors who have agency and who participate in the dynamics of cross-border networks. According to Cassarino (2004), systems of social relations (with a communal or an associative basis) ensue from the social networks returnees are involved in.

The paper is guided by Cassarino's (2004) conceptual framework on return migration (see Figure 1). Cassarino (2004) emphasises the need to examine the migrants' resource mobilisation as well as their return preparedness in assessing their potential to become agents of change or active development partners at home. He widens the definition of resource mobilisation to encompass tangible and intangible resources acquired abroad as well as those they possessed prior to their migration. For return to be beneficial, it requires a level of preparedness that surpasses the mere desire to return. Readiness in terms of willingness to act, accumulation of resources and information, and possession of social capital for a successful return (Cassarino, 2004: 271). Additionally, the prevailing circumstances both at the host and origin would have knock-on effects on migrants' resource mobilisation capacity and their preparedness to return.

Figure:
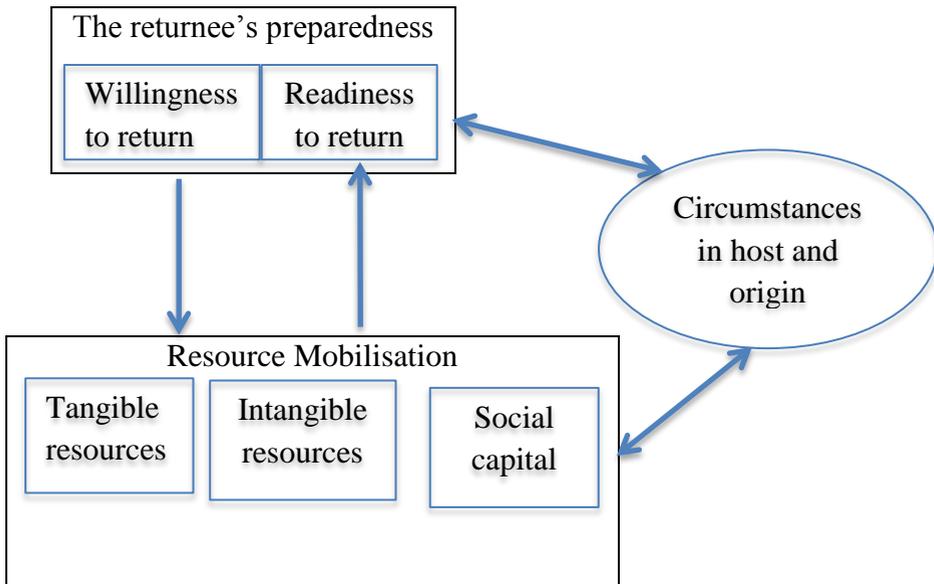
Source: Cassarino (2004)

Background of the Study Area

The paper focuses on perspectives of two groups of Ghanaian immigrants in the UK, namely those who come from the Kwahu Traditional Area in the Eastern Region and those from the Upper East Region of northern Ghana. In the UK, these immigrants have formed the Kwahuman Association and the Kassena-Nankana Development League[2], respectively. In the Ghanaian context, the Eastern Region is well known for its natural resource endowment, forest reserves and favourable weather conditions for agricultural production as well as human habitation. It is largely free from ethnic conflicts. The region also has the lowest infant mortality rates in the country—38 deaths per 1,000 live births (Osei-Assibey, 2013). The Upper East Region, on the other

---

[2] There is also the BONABOTO Union in the UK

hand, is arid, a savannah zone, and has very harsh weather conditions. It is also one of the poorest regions in the country and experiences periodic ethnic conflicts, especially in the Bawku municipal area. According to the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) report (2011), infant mortality rates in this region are among the highest in the country (58 deaths per 1,000 live births). Moreover, Osei-Assibey (2013) notes that maternal mortality rates are at their peak in this region (802 deaths per 100,000). In addition, he notes that children in the region are more likely to be underweight and stunted than those in other regions of Ghana, due to the poverty levels among households. In 2008, for instance, the per capita income in this region, estimated at less than 130 GHS, was the lowest in the country (GSS, 2008). Available data indicate that the poverty incidence in the Eastern Region dropped sharply from 48 per cent in 1991/92 to 15 percent in 2005/06 while that of the Upper East Region increased from 67 per cent in 1991/92 to 70 per cent in 2005/06, after peaking at 88 per cent in 1998/99.

Also, the depth of poverty in the two regions, measured by the poverty gap (i.e., the proportion by which the average consumption level of poor households falls below the poverty line) is significantly different. Whereas the poverty gap in the Eastern Region dropped quite steeply from 33 per cent in 1991/92 to 23 per cent in 2005/06, that in the Upper East Region increased from 43 per cent in 1991/92 to 46 per cent in 2005/06.

Even though compared with other African countries and across the globe, the level of class inequality in Ghana is broadly in the middle range (Gini index of 42.8 in 2011), the real challenge lies in uneven spatial development and the attendant geographic disparities in wealth, especially between people in the relatively "rich" south and "poor" north (World Bank, 2011; Osei-Assibey, 2013). According to the World Bank (2011), sharp drops in the absolute number of poor in the South between 1992 and 2006 (2.5 million fewer poor) were matched by an increase in the North (0.9 million more poor). Reductions in poverty rates have been more pronounced in the South (from 48 to 20 percent) compared with

those of the North (from 69 to 63 percent). As a result, the historical South-North divide in standard of living appears to have widened and income inequality, as measured by the Gini coefficient, increased from 0.37 to 0.42 between 1992 and 2006 (Coulombe and Woodon, 2007). These statistics prompted the World Bank (2011) to conclude that Ghana's success story in poverty reduction is the success story of its South and urban areas.

It is within this context that the two selected study areas find their meaning. Migrants from the Kwahu Traditional Area are from the southeastern part of the country while those from the Upper East Region are from the northern part. The paper focuses on the extent to which these internal socio-economic conditions in the origin communities might affect migrants' preparations for future return.

Return of Ghanaians: A general overview

Return migration to Ghana has been both voluntary (autonomous) and involuntary (forced). The International Organisation for Migration (2005) defines voluntary return as "the assisted or independent return to the country of origin, transit, or another third country based on the free will of the returnee" whereas forced return is the "compulsory return of an individual to the country of origin, transit or third country, on the basis of an administrative or judicial act".

Episodes of Ghanaian return migration have included Ghanaians expelled from Nigeria in the 1980s (Awumbila et al., 2009), forced returnees from Liberia during the fourteen-year civil war (Coffie, 2014), voluntary returnees who wish to cater for their relatives in what Dekker (1995) has described as 'forced homecoming', those deported or repatriated from across the globe (Van Hear, 1998) and other 'involuntary returnees' (Mensah, 2012) such as the case of Ghanaian migrant workers from Libya in 2011.

The Ghana Immigration Service (GIS, 2009 cited in Quartey, 2009) estimates that between 2001 and 2007 about 19,132 Ghanaians were

deported to the country (Quartey, 2009: 64). Also, it is estimated that 10 per cent of Ghanaian emigrants in any given year return to the country (Quartey, 2009). In addition, out of a total of 1,244,604 Ghanaians who left the country between 2000 and 2007, about 1,090,772 are said to have returned (GIS, 2008, cited in Quartey, 2009: 65). These constitute a sizeable proportion of the emigrant population and their return would most likely impact on the origin country.

Furthermore, international institutions and agencies collaborate with developing countries such as Ghana to facilitate the return of skilled professionals. Examples include initiatives by German, Dutch and British institutions. The Returning Experts Programme, run by the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM), for instance, supports non-European experts who, following their training, studies or employment in Germany, would like to use their knowledge and experience to advance the development of their country of origin. The programme has assisted over 10,000 persons with their career planning, return and placement needs in their countries of origin. Returning Ghanaian experts have been supported by CIM providing them with a travel allowance, top-up salaries, equipment subsidies and financial assistance to attend workshops and seminars, among others. Key areas of focus include agriculture, decentralisation and economic cooperation. Since its inception, about 450 Ghanaian experts have received support from the programme. This programme is specifically targeted at only regular migrants.

The United Kingdom (UK), however, instituted an assisted return programme in 2010 to support irregular Ghanaian migrants in the UK who are willing to return voluntarily to their country of origin. A financial package of between £3,000 and £5,000 is paid to irregular migrants to serve as start-up capital to enable them reintegrate into the Ghanaian society.

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM), on their part, launched the Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) programme in 2001, following the successful implementation of its previous Return

of Qualified African Nationals (RQAN) programme. MIDA aims at linking skilled expertise of Africans in the diaspora to the development of their home countries. The MIDA Ghana Health Project, for instance, facilitates the temporary return (maximum of three months) of Ghanaian and other African health professionals residing in the Netherlands, the UK, Germany and other European countries to contribute to the health sector of Ghana (i.e. carrying out clinical and surgical procedures in various hospitals and clinics).

As a country, Ghana has also initiated programmes to encourage the return of both Ghanaians abroad and 'friends of Ghana' for development purposes. These include the Emancipation Day celebrations in the 1990s (aimed at helping African Americans and people of African descent to return to Africa and Ghana), the Homecoming Summit in 2001 (to harness skills and resources of Ghanaians in the diaspora to help with national development), the establishment of the Non-resident Ghanaian Secretariat in 2004, the Joseph Project in 2006 (aimed at encouraging the transfer of financial and human resources to promote socio-economic development through return and reintegration), the Investment Summit in 2007, and the drafting of a Diaspora Engagement Policy (currently awaiting cabinet approval), among others.

Since the late 1990s, the economy of Ghana has been noticeably liberalized, especially in the telecommunication and financial sectors. This has created career and entrepreneurial opportunities for Ghanaian students and young professionals who had previously emigrated (Wong, 2013). With the discovery of oil in Ghana in 2007 and the establishment of related industries, a considerable number of Ghanaian emigrants are returning to the country from European countries (especially the UK) to fill job opportunities that have been created thereupon. These returned migrants constitute an important piece in the Ghanaian emigrant network tapestry.

Methodology

Unlike the single-sited approach often embraced by most migration researchers, this study was conducted in both the origin and destination countries in order to build a holistic perspective on the possible linkages between socio-economic conditions in the origin and migrants' return preparedness strategies. This is, perhaps, one of its main innovations.

The first stage of the research was carried out in the Greater London area (especially the boroughs of Southwark, Lambeth, Newham, Hackney, Haringey, Lewisham, Croydon and Brent). The main reason for the choice of these boroughs is that most Ghanaian migrants live there (COMPAS, 2004). The second phase was conducted in the Upper East and Eastern regions of Ghana. The Upper East Region accounts for very few migrants whereas the Eastern Region is one of the largest sources of Ghanaian migrants outside of the African continent (Kandilige, 2012). The differences in their economic circumstances, migration prevalence rates, and geographical location are important because they provide apt comparative parameters.

Case study methodology was adopted to guide this research. The context and processes involved in the activities of members of the selected hometown associations were analyzed, which enabled a measurement of their peculiarities as well as similarities. This kind of research strategy has firm roots even in classic studies in other social science disciplines (Burgess, 1983; Cavendish, 1982; Sassen, 2006).

The study adopted mixed methods which, among others, allow for the triangulation of results and complementarity of techniques (Bryman, 2012). Tracing leads from migrants who belong to the two UK-based hometown associations helped actualize the selection of respondents from the two regions in Ghana.

The fieldwork in the Greater London area included in-depth interviews with twenty key informants from the Ghanaian migrant community (ten each from the Upper East and Eastern regions), participant observation activities, informal conversations and the administration of one hundred

and twenty questionnaires. These interviews focused on practical attempts migrants are making towards their eventual return. Key informants were purposively selected, using snowball techniques. The aim of these data collection strategies was to gauge, among others, activities carried out by migrants to facilitate their future return.

The Ghana fieldwork included twenty in-depth interviews with local chiefs, District Chief Executives (local government officials), community development leaders and executive members of local hometown associations (located in urban centres). All interviews were conducted personally by the author and at respondents' homes, places of work, restaurants or pubs. In order to gauge the perception of the beneficiary communities on migrants' interventions, 364 questionnaires were administered among heads of migrant households (246 in the Kwahu Traditional Area and 118 in the Upper East Region), in accordance with the population distribution of the two regions. Of these, 66 per cent were male and 34 per cent were female. The data for this paper are from a bigger project[3] carried out over fifteen-months. The paper is based on the narratives of participants from the two hometown associations and beneficiaries in Ghana as well as some survey results.

---

[3] This project was conducted among members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the UK and heads of migrant households in Ghana, community leaders and Ghanaian political elites, the Bank of Ghana, the Ghana Statistical Service and the Department of National Archives. The UK component of the bigger study comprised interviews with 20 key informants, a survey of 120 Ghanaian migrants, participant-observation activities and library research. The Ghana component involved a survey of 346 heads of migrant households, interviews with 20 key informants (community leaders and political elites), and data from the Bank of Ghana, the Ghana Statistical Service and the Department of National Archives.

Return Preparedness: Approaches adopted

Supporting development projects at home through collective remittances

Cassarino's (2004) framework highlights the potential returnee's ability to mobilise resources (tangible, intangible and social capital) as critical to successful return. I argue that while circumstances at the destination impact directly on migrants' resource mobilisation potential, circumstances at the origin determine the value of those resources in supporting future return. Migrants from both regions support development projects in their home communities partly as a 'down payment' for their future return. While individual migrants sometimes support development projects in their home communities (Mohan, 2006; Smith, 2003), migrant collectives such as hometown associations are better placed to fund large capital-intensive projects (Mercer et al., 2009; Lampert, 2012). In the Ghanaian case studies under review, collective remittance mobilisation capacities differ according to the size, longevity and cultural proclivities of the hometown association (see Kandilige, 2017a). In-depth interviews indicate that the older and bigger hometown association (Kwahuman Association) is better able to raise significant amounts compared with the smaller and newer one (KNDL). The selectivity bias in favour of Kwahuman association and the attendant higher migration prevalence have boosted the size of its social networks in the UK. Through these networks, the association mobilises funds from membership fees, levies, 'Kofi and Ama' collections[4], fundraising dinner-dance parties, collaborations with individual philanthropists in the UK, the setting up of a private insurance scheme and the establishment

---

[4] This is a fundraising strategy which pitches participants in fierce competition to raise the most funds for a good cause. Participants compete based on the day of the week they were born. The winning day is announced to a big funfair and public acknowledgement. This is a common strategy initially employed mainly by Ghanaians of the *Akan* ethnic group. However, other ethnic groups and even religious and professional organisations in Ghana have adopted it.

of a Europe-wide Kwahuman association (Kandilige, 2017a). These sources have generated substantial amounts of cash that have been sent as collective remittances towards community projects in Ghana.

Migrants from Kwahuman traditional area reported using such projects as a means of leveraging their future return. Respect is accorded members of the association upon their return. The leadership of the Kwahuman Association has negotiated concessionary rates for members of migrant households to access migrant-funded community facilities and has created opportunities for returning migrants to serve as community development planning committee members, board members, church patrons and governors of parent teacher associations (PTAs), among others. Physical structures funded by the Kwahuman Association include school buildings, hostels on their local university's campus, clinics, a community centre, a water reservoir and poles for streetlights. These are perceived as vehicles of memorialisation as they are mostly adorned with plaques containing inscriptions of the names of benefactors. Members of the association, therefore, derive social capital ensuing from their membership of that social network to minimise the potential constraints to their future return and to enhance the likelihood of their acceptance and reintegration into their origin community upon return. Consequently, the pre-existing structures of development in the Kwahuman Traditional Area shape the type of return preparedness that is adopted by their returning migrants.

Migration literature (de Haas, 2005; Skeldon, 1997) demonstrates that it is typically not the poorest in society who participate in international migration. In line with this, the precarious socio-economic condition in the Upper East Region has constrained the number of migrants from that region to the UK. Limited migration prevalence has negatively impacted the size of their social networks (the predominant being KNDL) and their ability to raise collective remittances towards community development, as a form of preparedness for future return. Membership dues/fees and dinner-dance parties are their main sources of collective remittances. As a result, relatively cheaper projects such as the purchase

of wooden benches for a community hospital and a one-off donation of treated mosquito nets and used computers to some clinics and local schools respectively have been undertaken as means of alleviating poverty in their origin community. While these are valuable contributions to an impoverished community, they lack the long-lasting memorialisation that is embedded in the construction of physical buildings such as schools, student hostels and clinics. Moreover, KNDL lacks the economies of scale that is enjoyed by the Kwahuman Association. All these factors tend to constrain the comparative collective return preparedness of migrants from the Upper East Region compared with those from the Eastern Region.

Sending of individual remittances

Individual remittances are sent by migrants for a variety of reasons including altruism, insurance against poverty and investment purposes (Solimano, 2004). This study finds that approximately 55 per cent of all individual remittances sent by migrants from the two regions to migrant households are applied towards the cost of education and daily upkeep.

Disparities in the socio-economic conditions in the two origin regions are, however, associated with differences in the proportion of total remittances that is directed at the two 'consumption' areas prior to return. The incidence of poverty in the two regions [15% in Eastern Region and 70% in Upper East Region in 2005/6 (GSS, 2006)] has influenced both the focus and frequency of individual remittances. Migrants from the Kwahuman Traditional Area invest more in the education of their household members in Ghana (44 per cent of remittances) than their Upper East colleagues (33 per cent). This reflects the relative school enrolment and retention rates between the two regions (see GSS, 2006). On the other hand, migrants from the Upper East Region send more remittances towards daily upkeep and family emergencies (30 per cent) compared with their Kwahuman counterparts (21 per cent). This highlights greater expenditure on 'immediate consumptive' goods by migrants from the poorer region while migrants from the richer region spend more on 'comparatively more productive'

investment (education). This suggests varied emphasis on cash and social remittances transferred to left-behind siblings, children, parents and relatives partly as a way of satisfying a social responsibility but also as a 'down payment' for future return. A key informant from the Upper East Region, for instance, explains the act of remitting both in the context of social obligation and the retention of one's belongingness to one's social networks at home:

> So if am here and God has helped me to have a good job that I am paid, it's my responsibility also to look after my mum and my sisters and family at home. It is important because I don't want to lose my identity. I don't want to forget who I am. I don't want to forget my culture and my background. And I want to be in touch with my people as well. I think it gives me the strength to continue in whatever I am trying to do in this country [the UK]. You never know when one might need to return.

Migrants further recounted their emotional connection to the homeland and their resolve to return to it, if even on an uncertain future date. As a result, sending remittances is not perceived solely as an act of altruism but also as an indirect form of insurance against potential future hardships or a delayed social protection policy. Another key informant from the Upper East Region highlights this perspective on remittances. He envisages benefits accruing from such gestures to members of his close social networks in future:

> I think it's about the tradition where there is kind of like a cultural thing. It's almost like a retirement or social security system whereby what goes around comes around. So I might help somebody and then in the future my daughter or my son will need something and they might also help. So it's almost like a revolving circle.

The study unearthed similar arguments used by migrants from the Eastern Region (Kwahu Traditional Area) to explain their individual remittance sending culture. However, substantial differences exist between the two migrant groups in terms of the frequency with which remittances are sent. While migrants from both regions mostly send remittances on 'as-and-when' basis, disparities exist in terms of the percentage of migrants that sends remittances on a monthly basis. Whereas 21 per cent of heads of migrant households in the Eastern Region in Ghana reported receiving remittances monthly from their migrant relatives in the UK, only 2 per cent of heads of migrant households in the Upper East Region do so. With a *p-value* of 0.000 and a *chi square value* of 22.727 (*df=3*) (see Table 1), it is clear there is a significant relationship between "region" and "frequency of sending remittances". Therefore, the null hypothesis that the extent or frequency of remittances received does not depend on the region is rejected. Thus the frequency of remittances received varies per the region; put another way, how often one receives remittances depends on the region of origin.

Table 1: "Region" by "How often do you receive remittances?"

		How often do you receive remittances?				
		Monthly	Quarterly	Yearly	As and when needed	Total
Eastern	Count	30	17	17	80	144
	%	20.8%	11.8%	11.8%	55.6%	100.0%
Upper East	Count	2	18	24	58	102
	%	2.0%	17.6%	23.5%	56.9%	100.0%

$X^2 = 22.727$; $df = 3$; $p = .000$

The internal socio-economic conditions within the two origin communities inform return preparedness approaches that are adopted by Ghanaian migrants. Migrants from the poorer region prioritise

expenditure on daily sustenance over education but are less able to remit on a monthly basis compared with those from the richer region. The ability to remit frequently could be linked to the size of a migrant community's social network and migrants' ability to derive social capital for the purpose of finding employment or settling speedily into the host society.

Construction of Houses and Setting up of Businesses

Migrants invest in the construction of houses for personal dwelling but also as investments. This is a priority for most Ghanaian migrants (Lothar and Mazzucato, 2009; Van der Geest, 1998). House building is, however, an expensive exercise, which is usually undertaken over a long period of time in incremental steps. The physical absence of migrants implies a reliance on members of their social networks in the origin country to oversee the execution of such projects. These could be people from their immediate familial circles or others who are loosely connected to them as a result of previous interactions or transactions (Kandilige, 2017b). As Smith and Mazzucato (2009: 699) argue, migrants' trust in the 'outsider' emanates from "long-standing relationships created through shared past experiences and also reciprocal economic and social investments in one another." This study finds that 81 per cent of migrants surveyed confirmed either investing in private housing or real estate development as a business in the origin country, as a way of consolidating their future return. Also, more than a third of migrants have either set up or are in the process of setting up a business or a market store in Ghana (see Kandilige, 2017a). The socio-economic situations in the two regions are such that migrants locate their businesses in urban centres rather than their rural places of birth (Figure 2). The location of migrants' businesses in urban centres was partly to serve the needs of their ethnic communities while also seeking a profit. The profit motive is evident in the fact that while less than 6% of migrants from the south of Ghana reported locating businesses in the deprived North, 39% of migrants from the North own businesses located in the South.

Figure 2: Location of migrants' businesses

		Eastern Region	Upper East Region	Total
Business location	At an urban centre in the north	5.6%	61.1%	16.9%
	At an urban centre in the south	93.0%	33.3%	80.9%
	At a rural location in the north	.0%	5.6%	1.1%
	At a rural location in the south	1.4%	.0%	1.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

N=364

Source: Author's fieldwork

Reassertion of Symbols of Identity

Symbolism plays a critical role in the expression of Ghanaian culture and identity. The socio-cultural situations in both regions of Ghana require adherence to some fundamental traditional practices. As a result, migrants use acts of symbolism to depict their identity as well as prepare their foreign-born children for a future return to the 'homeland'. This is in spite of the fact that some second-generation migrants do not necessarily have the same emotional attachment to what they perceive as essentially their parents' homeland. Symbolic acts such as christening children with Ghanaian names and in accordance with expected Ghanaian rituals and teaching children how to speak a local language or

how to eat the 'native' cuisine are all described by migrants as precautions against their children losing their *true* identity. A key informant from the Upper East Region, for instance, is adamant about the need to eschew Western names:

> I insist on giving my children Ghanaian names so they remind us of home every time. Personally, I find it important that people are given names that represent them… And so I think we need to go back and reclaim our tradition, and we can do that through our children by educating them, saying look, be proud of whom you are. If you are called 'Kojo' or you're called 'Akongo' or 'Akowe' it's important because there's a reason why you are called that name and it gives you an identity. I'm trying very hard to kind of pull back a bit of my identity in so many ways.

Another example of a symbolic act perceived to facilitate future return is an *Akan* traditional performance which is widely practised in the UK and other migrant destinations (Akyeampong, 2000; Manuh, 2000). The naming of a child, in accordance with some customs and norms in Ghana, follows strict traditional rules and it is full of symbolism. For instance, the golden rule is that the ceremony must take place before midday. Three key symbolic items are involved in the performance – clean drinking water, salt and alcohol (schnapps). The child is first given water, then gin. The two are similar in colour but there is a difference in taste. The child is admonished to be circumspect and let his yes be yes and his no, no. Also, salt is used to touch the child's lips to signify that wherever he goes in future, whether s/he would be accepted or rejected by society would depend on what he says. Children must know how to control their tongues because the tongue would either win them acceptance or get them into trouble. Adherence to such symbolic acts is considered by Kwahuman migrants as critical to the acceptance of their foreign-born children by the origin society upon return. The rootedness of Ghanaian migrants, in general, is also sustained through Ghanaian

religious organisations such as churches and the celebration of Ghanaian public holidays.

These efforts are seen as important partly for the self-esteem of migrants themselves in a foreign country where they sometimes face discrimination and racism but also because they yearn to return after they have realised their reasons for migrating (Gmelch, 1980; Cassarino, 2004). The strength of resolve is evident in the comments by a key informant from the Kwahu Traditional Area. He defends his decision to keep in close touch with his social networks in the country of origin:

> I think it is important because it keeps me connected. I mean, I wouldn't say it is a dream of mine but rather I think it is a reality of mine that I will definitely go home one day. If not before I retire, but definitely when I retire I will go back to Ghana.

Virtual presence in home countries: transnational connections

The transnational turn has eroded previous emphasis on physical return as the main conduit for participating in development in origin communities. Modern technology and cheaper communication channels have bridged the physical distance across space (Basch et al., 1994). As a result, Ghanaian migrants are increasingly using media such as mobile telephones, social media (Skype, Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp, Viber etc.), and email to maintain a virtual presence in the home country prior to their eventual return. A key informant from the Upper East Region recounts her experience:

> When I came to the UK [in the 1990s] first it was very different. There was no mobile phone or anything like that. Communication at that time was by letters. So you had to write a letter and it usually took about four weeks or a month to get to Ghana and by the time you get a reply back it will be another month. So communication at the

> time was very poor I would say. But nowadays it is very
> easy. It started with the telephone centres and then to
> mobile phones.

Communication technologies are perceived as critical in keeping abreast
with policy changes, business trends and opportunities, challenges and
security concerns and the mundane welfare issues facing their immediate
social networks in the origin country. Such information is vital in
migrants' return preparedness calculations (Anarfi and Jagare, 2005;
Cassarino, 2004). Another key informant from the Upper East Region
who has spent fourteen years in the UK reaffirms the central role of
communication in return preparedness:

> It is very, very important in the sense that I want to be
> kept up to date with what is happening at home because, I
> mean, home is forever home anyway. And I think it's the
> dream of some of us to go back and settle there one day
> (sic). So whatever preparations we are making back home
> we want to really keep that connection.

Others find a correlation between their awareness of the goings-on in the
home country and their own wellbeing in the destination country. A key
informant from the Kwahu Traditional Area expresses this view quite
well:

> For me I believe wherever I am, my root is Ghana. You
> find joy when you find out that your people are well. You
> are able to do your job well here [the UK] when the mind
> is set. So by getting in touch with people at home I am
> able to understand their difficulties and what I can also do
> to help.

A cross section of migrants also associates their contact with home with
their ability to hold a 'deterritorialised' view of their nationality as well
as fulfil their obligations. This is true for both cohorts of migrants (from
the Upper East and Eastern regions).

> Well, it gives me feedback on what is happening back home, knowing how the family is doing. Knowing how the family is getting on back home, how the political situation is going back home is important. It makes me feel like I am still in Ghana (Key informant from the Upper East Region).

> I think it keeps you awake, it keeps you alive and it makes you know who you are and where you come from, and also you know your responsibilities and expectations back home, especially when you are in the UK. This is because you are a breadwinner and back home everybody expects someone in Europe to be able to contribute. So you need to update them and they need to know whatever is going on with yourself and vice versa. So I think it's very important (Key informant from the Eastern Region).

Transnational lifestyles of these migrants represent the circularity involved in their economic and social relationships and their preparations towards an eventual return, once they accumulate sufficient resources and judge conditions in their home country as favourable (Cassarino, 2004). Ultimately, the preparedness of the origin country in terms of how receptive and conducive it is would determine the impact of return migration on the home economy.

Human capital development as a return strategy

Ghana has experienced marked improvements in educational and skills development since 1992. This has resulted in the production of a large number of tertiary-level educated workforce. Though this phenomenon is predominant in the south than in the north of the country, this contemporary reality provides an impetus for Ghanaian migrants to enhance their human capital in anticipation of a future return. As Ammassari (2004) posits, human capital transfers from elite returnees have the propensity to positively affect the workplace upon return.

However, three key conditions would determine the magnitude of the impact - accumulation of some knowledge and experience abroad, usefulness of things learnt abroad in the home context and desire and ability to apply human capital gained abroad (Anarfi and Jagare, 2005).

Migrants use their skills and qualifications they obtained prior to migrating to seek employment opportunities at the destination, but some also pursue higher qualifications and skills in preparation for future return. The study observes that given the high tuition fees in the UK, especially for foreign students (see Spencer, 2011: 107-108), the attainment of graduate and postgraduate degrees by migrants (from both regions) suggests a deliberate decision to improve their human capital. This amounts to an investment with the expectation of positive returns both at the destination country and the country of origin upon return. In-depth interviews with key informants revealed that at least eight out of ten from each region had obtained a higher qualification since they arrived in the UK.

In addition, nine out of ten key informants from each region had jobs in sectors different from those they worked in prior to migrating. The rest of the key informants remained in the same sectors that they worked in prior to migration but occupied more senior positions than they did in Ghana. These results suggest an enhancement in the migrants' human capital, which would probably increase either their chances of gaining employment upon return or their ability to be self-employed (Black and Castaldo, 2008; Black et al., 2003). This finding is consistent with the results of Wong's (2013) research among highly skilled Ghanaian returnees who voluntarily returned in their prime productive years to take advantage of the growing economic opportunities in the country. It is, however, worth noting that not all return migrants are necessarily successful upon return.

Conclusion
This study is instructive in broadening the analysis of return migration to incorporate deliberate acts undertaken by migrants in anticipation of

future return, not necessarily within the context of what Page and Mercer (2012) categorise as 'diaspora as decision-makers' or 'diaspora as option-setters'. These two popular characterisations usually seek to answer questions about 'how and why' people *choose* to remit, but then take for granted that these activities are solely geared towards origin country development because remitting is inherent to a diaspora lifestyle. Increasing attempts at constructing members of the diaspora as a "source of money, connections and 'exposure' that can usefully be employed in the development of the 'homeland'" (Lampert, 2009), tend to overlook migrants' agency in exploiting these expectations to their own benefit, in the process of negotiating their future return.

Also, consistent with Cassarino's (2004: 271) framework, this study concludes that the return of Ghanaian migrants is not an event but a process that requires time. Migrants' *preparedness* pertains not only to their free choice to return home, but also to their readiness to return. *Readiness* to return, according to Cassarino (2008:101), reflects the extent to which migrants have been able to mobilise the adequate tangible (i.e. financial capital) and intangible (i.e. contacts, relationships, skills, acquaintances) resources needed to secure their return, whether it is temporary or permanent. Internal socio-economic conditions within the two selected communities in Ghana (the Upper East and Eastern regions) shape return preparedness approaches adopted by their migrants.

The findings also feed into debates about transnational *capabilities* (Al-Ali, Koser and Black, 2001: 581) which interrogate the extent to which migrants identify with the processes in their home countries depending on their skills, resources available to them, the length of time spent and the opportunity structures in the host country. As de Haas (2005) notes, clear-cut dichotomies of 'origin' and 'destination' are increasingly difficult to sustain in a world in which the lives of migrants are increasingly characterised by circulation and simultaneous commitment to two or more societies.

While migration literature (Ratha, 2013) identifies remittances as the most tangible and least controversial link between migration and development, there is a critical need for countries of origin to create viable opportunity structures locally in order to harness the potential of return migrants towards driving socio-economic development. There is also the need for further research into how migrants' agency within the return preparedness framework is constrained by state and non-state structures.

References

Akyeampong, E. (2000) Africans in the diaspora: the diaspora in Africa, *African Affairs*, 99 (395), 183–215.

Ammassari, S. (2004) From Nation-building to entrepreneurship: The impact of elite return migrants in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana, *Population, Space and Place*, 10 (2), 133-154.

Anarfi, J. K. and Kwankye, S. (2003) *Migration from and to Ghana: A Background Paper*. University of Sussex: DRC on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty.

Anarfi, J. K. and Jagare, S. (2005) Towards the sustainable return of West African transnational migrants: what are the options? Arusha Conference, "New Frontiers of Social Policy".

Al-Ali, N., Black, R., & K. Koser (2001) The limits to 'transnationalism': Bosnian and Eritrean refugees in Europe as emerging transnational communities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 24, 578- 600.

Awumbila, M., Manuh, T., Quartey, P., Tagoe, C., and Bosiakoh, T. A. (2009) Migration Country Paper (Ghana). Technical Paper prepared as part of the African Perspectives on Human Mobility Programme. Oxford: International Migration Institute, Oxford University.

Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N. and Szanton-Blanc, C. (1994) *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized Nation-States*. Langhorne, PA: Gordon & Breach.

Black, R. (2004) *Migration and pro-poor policy in West Africa*. Brighton: Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex.

Black, R., King, R. and Litchfield, J. (2003) "Transnational Migration, Return and Development in West Africa", Transrede Research Project, Brighton: Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex.

Black, R., King, R. & R. Tiemoko (2003) *Migration, Return and Small Enterprise Development in Ghana: A Route out of Poverty?* Sussex Migration Working Paper no. 9, Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex.

Black, R. and Castaldo, A. (2008) Return migration and entrepreneurship in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire: The role of capital transfers. Royal Dutch Geographical Society, KNAG, 100 (1), 44-48.

Bourdieu, P. (1985) The forms of capital. In: Richardson JG (ed.) *The Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood, pp.241–258.

Burgess, R. G. (1983) Inside comprehensive education: A study of Bishop McGregor school. London: Methuen.

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cassarino, J. P. (2008) Conditions of modern return migrants: Editorial Introduction. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS),* 10 (2), 95-105.

Cassarino, J. P. (2004) Theorising return migration: The conceptual approach to return migrants revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 6 (2), 253-279.

Castles, S., de Haas, H., and Miller, M. J. (2014) The age of migration: international population movements on the modern world. Houndmills Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Castles, S. (2004) Why migration policies fail. *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 27 (2), 205-227.

Cavendish, R. (1982) *Women on the line*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Cerase, F. P. (1974) Migration and social change: expectations and reality: a case study of return migration from United States to southern Italy. *International Migration Review*, 8, 245-62.

COMPAS Report Team (2004) The contribution of UK-based diasporas to development and poverty reduction. Oxford, ERSC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS).

Coffie, A. (2014) Filling in the gap: refugee returnees deploy higher education skills to peacebuilding. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 1-28.

Coulombe, H. and Wodon, Q. (2007) Poverty, Livelihoods, and Access to Basic Services in Ghana" The World Bank Paper.

Czaika, M. and Volthknecht, M. (2014), Migration and aspirations – are migrants trapped on a hedonic treadmill? IZA *Journal of Migration*, 3(1), 1-21.

De Haas, H. (2005) International Migration, Remittances and Development: Myths and Facts. *Third World Quarterly*, 26 (8), 1269-1284.

Dekker, R. (1995) Forced homecoming: Ghanaians' resettlement in their rural hometown. A case study. *International Migration*, 33 (1), 115-131.

Faist, T. (2008) Migrants as transnational development agents: an inquiry into the newest round of the migration-development nexus. *Population, Space and Place,* 14, 21-42.

Gould, W. T. S. (2009) *Population and development*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Gmelch, G. (1980) Return migration. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 9, 135-159.

Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), (1992) Ghana Living Standards Survey Report of the Third Round (GLSS 3).

Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), (2006) Ghana Living Standards Survey Report of the Fourth Round (GLSS 4).

Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), (2008) Ghana Living Standards Survey Report of the Fifth Round (GLSS 5).

Haour-Knipe, M. and Davies, A. (2008) *Return Migration of Nurses*. Geneva/Philadelphia: International Centre on Nurse Migration.

Henry L. and Mohan G. (2003) Making Homes: The Ghanaian Diaspora, Institutions and Development, *Journal of International Development*, 15 (5), 611-622.

International Organisation for Migration (IOM), (2013) Migrant wellbeing and development. *World Migration Report.*

Kandilige, L. (2017a) The role of trust in diaspora-homeland development relations, *African Human Mobility Review,* 3 (1), 671-701.

Kandilige, L. (2017b) Collective Remittance Mobilisation Strategies of Ghanaian Hometown Associations in the UK. *Ghana Journal of Geography,* (Forthcoming).

Kandilige, L. (2012) 'Transnationalism and the Ghanaian diaspora in the UK: Regional inequalities and the developmental effects of remittances at the sub-national level'. *DPhil. Thesis, 2012, University of Oxford.*

King, R. (2000) "Generalisations from the History of Return Migration", in B. Ghosh (Ed.), *Return Migration, Journey of Hope or Despair*? Geneva: IOM/UN.

Lampert, B. (2009) Diaspora and development? Nigerian organizations in London and the transnational politics of belonging. *Global Networks*, 9 (2), 162-84.

Lampert, B. (2012) Diaspora and development? London-based Nigerian organisations and the transnational politics of socio-economic status and gender. *Development Policy Review*, 30(2), 149–167.

Lothar, S. and Mazzucato, V. (2009) Constructing homes, building relationships: migrant investments in houses. *Tijdschrif voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 100(5), 662-673.

Manuh, T. (2000) Migrants and Citizens: economic crisis in Ghana and the search for opportunity in Toronto, Canada. PhD. Thesis, University of Indiana.

Martin, P. L. and Taylor J. E. (1996) "The anatomy of a migration hump", *In:* J.E. Taylor (ed.), *Development Strategy, Employment, and Migration: Insights from Models*. Paris: OECD Development Centre, pp. 43 – 62.

Mazzucato, V. (2011) 'Reverse remittances in the migration–development nexus: two-way flows between Ghana and the Netherlands', *Population, Space and Place*, 17 (5), 454–68.

Mazzucato, V. (2007) The role of transnational networks and legal status in securing a living: Ghanaian migrants in The Netherlands. COMPAS Working Paper 43, University of Oxford.

Mensah, E. A. (2012) The saga of the returnee: exploring the implications of involuntary return migration for development. A case study of the reintegration process for Ghanaian migrant workers from Libya. PhD Thesis, University of Agder.

Mercer, C., Page, B., and Evans, M. (2009) Unsettling connections: Transnational networks, development and African home associations. *Global Networks*, 9 (2), 141-161.

Mohan, G. (2006) Embedded cosmopolitanism and the politics of obligation: the Ghanaian diaspora and development. *Environment and Planning A*. 38, 867-883.

Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS), (2011) Multiple Indicator cluster survey with an enhanced malaria module and biomarker: Monitoring the situation of children and women in Ghana.

OECD (2008) Return migration: A new perspective. International Migration Outlook. SOPEMI, 2008 Edition.

Olesen, H. (2002) Migration, return and development: an institutional perspective, *International Migration*, 40 (5), 125-150.

Osei- Assibey, E. (2013) Inequalities in Ghana: nature, causes, challenges and prospects. The heart of the Post-2015 development agenda and the future we want for all. Final draft report for the Post-2015 Development Agenda: Ghana Inequalities Group Team.

Oxfeld, E. and Long, L. (2004) "Introduction: Ethnography of return, in Coming Home?" in L. Long and E. Oxfeld, (eds.) *Refugees, migrants and those who stayed behind*, Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Press, pp. 1-15.

Page, B. and Mercer, C. (2012) Why do people do stuff? Reconceptualising remittance behaviour in diaspora-development research and policy, *Progress in Development Studie*s, 12 (1):1-18.

Peil, M. (1995) Ghanaians Abroad, *African Affairs*, 94 (376), 345-67.

Quartey, P. (2009) *Migration in Ghana: A country profile 2009*. Geneva: IOM.

Ratha, D. (2013) The impact of remittances on economic growth and poverty reduction. Migration Policy Institute Policy Brief, No. 8. September 2013.

Raveinstein, E. G. (1885) "The laws of Migration", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 48, 167-235.

Rhoades, R. (1979) Toward an anthropology of return migration. Pap. *Anthropology*, 20, 1-111.

Sassen, S. (2006) *Territory, authority rights: from medieval to global assemblages.* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Setrana, M. B. and Tonah, S. (2014) Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana, *A Journal of African Migration* 7: 113-142.

Sinatti, G., & Horst, C. (2015) Migrants as agents of development: Diaspora engagement discourse and practice in Europe. Ethnicities, 15(1), 134-152.

Skeldon, R. (1997) *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective*. Harlow, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman.

Spencer, S. (2011) *The migration debate*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Smith, R. C. (2003) Migrant Membership as an Instituted Process: Transnationalization, the State and the Extra-territorial Conduct of Mexican Politics. *International Migration Review,* 37 (2), 297-343.

Solimano, A. (2004) *Remittances by Emigrants: Issues and Evidence.* United Nations Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean.

Taylor L. (2009) Return Migrants in Ghana, Institute for Public Policy Research, London, UK.

Wahba, J. (2015) Selection, selection, selection: the impact of return migration. *Journal of Population Economics*, 28 (3), 535-563.

World Bank (2011) "Tackling Poverty in Northern Ghana", Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Wong, M. (2013) Navigating return: the gendered geographies of skilled return migration to Ghana. *Global Networks,* 14 (4), 438-457.

Van der Geest, S. (1998) "Yebisa Wo Fie": growing old and building houses in the Akan culture of Ghana. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 13: 333-359.

Van Hear, N. (1998) *New Diasporas: the mass exodus, dispersal and regrouping of migrant communities.* London: UCL Press.

Vasta, E. and Kandilige, L. (2009) 'London the Leveller': Ghanaian work strategies and community solidarity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36 (4), 581-598.

BOOK REVIEWS

Marie-Antoinette Sossou and Tirelo Modie-Moroka (eds.) *Mental Health Conditions and Services in Selected African Countries: Implications for Social Work and Human Services Professions*. ISBN– 978-1-63485-292-0 (E-Book). New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2016, xvi+257pp.

The stigma of mental health is legion in sub-Saharan Africa in spite of several initiatives and interventions to reduce it. Mental patients are largely seen as pariahs who are subjected to all forms of acts regarded as dehumanizing. Family support which is a key social support for mental patients has waned as a result of negative socio-cultural practices and modernization. Furthermore, the issue of mental health does not feature prominently on the agenda of ministries of health on the continent leading to a shoe-string budget being allocated to mental health vis-à-vis programs and priorities of the ministries. There is total fatalism and inadequate interest in how to deal with the mental health conditions and services. This has also resulted in little research and publications on mental health. Even where there are some research and publications, they are scattered and sporadic.

It is against this backdrop that the book under review on *Mental Health Conditions and Services in Selected African Countries: Implications for Social Work and Human Services Professions* should be viewed. Accordingly, the book should be considered a positive and welcome effort to move the issue of mental health from the back burner to the front burner. According to the editors, the main objective of the book is to "capture the different mental health services into one centralized book for dissemination among social work and other human services professionals to enhance their understanding, information and education about the conditions of mental health diseases and the lack of effective social welfare programs and treatment services for this vulnerable population across the continent" (p. xiv). In other words, the book is to

provide a one-stop shop on mental health services that will enable social work and other human services professionals to engage in scholarly debates and thereby appreciate both retrospectively and prospectively issues, challenges and remedies on the subject matter of mental health.

The book contains an introduction and eleven chapters covering eight sub-Saharan African countries, namely, Botswana, Kenya, Rwanda, Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda and Zambia. The introduction is devoted to a discussion of the state-of-the art on mental health in Africa and the role of social work in mental health as well as the pulling together of the eleven chapters into a single perspective. Of the eleven chapters, two chapters each are devoted to Botswana, Kenya and Rwanda unlike Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda and Zambia, which have a chapter each. One would have expected that the editors indicate why they had devoted two chapters each to Botswana, Kenya and Rwanda and why they had chosen the eight Sub-Saharan African countries, which are all Anglophone with the exception of Rwanda which has two official languages, namely, French and English. It is clear that the choice of countries was probably determined by availability of material in English, which is common to the eight countries. My reading of the two chapters each on Botswana, Kenya and Rwanda does not show any intra-country duplication or overlap. The strength of the chapters is that they have tended to show different nuances, angles or particular case studies on mental health in the three countries. For instance, of the two chapters on Botswana, one of them is devoted to the historical evolution of mental health services while the second one is on mental health care, HIV and AIDS. Similarly, of the two chapters on Kenya, one of them is on mental disorders while the second one is on the delivery of mental health services. Equally, the two Rwandan chapters follow a similar pattern: one of the chapters is on mental health care in hospitals while the other one is on the 1994 genocide and its effects on children and psycho-social intervention.

There are some positive things about the book which need to be flagged. First is the comparative element. The eleven chapters covering eight

countries and dealing with key issues on causal factors, resource constraints, suggestions and recommendations for improving the conditions of mental health patients is in itself a commendable comparative academic exercise as it is easy for one to fully understand the trends in mental health in the eight countries without any difficulty.

Second is the fact that most of the authors are social work researchers, practitioners and educators as well as psychologists who have first-hand knowledge and understanding of the issues and challenges confronting mental health in their countries. The mix of scholars has brought to bear on the book the proper balance between theoretical and practical issues of mental health and, more importantly, the affinity between Psychology and Social Work as disciplines. Moreover, of the eleven chapters, four of them (1, 4, 10 and 11) were sole-authored while the remaining seven were-co-authored with Chapter 5 having as many as seven co-authors. This multiple authorship (from several disciplines, namely, psychology, social work, communication, law, public health, etc.) and occupations have made the book more readable and practical and therefore relevant for academics, practitioners and students in the field.

Third, I found the conclusions and recommendations in the eleven chapters more relevant to policy than some of the publications with which I am conversant. Recommendations such as the roles and direction of social work education, research and practice, the call for advocacy as well as upholding the human rights of the mentally disabled persons are consistent with the literature.

If there is any weakness in this book, it is that it has not got a conclusion to take the debate forward and also set an agenda for future research. The implications of the findings for the comparative, theoretical and empirical literature could have been explored if there were to be a conclusion. This is sometimes difficult, particularly, in an edited volume with uneven quality of chapters.

Notwithstanding this weakness, *Mental Health Conditions and Services in Selected African Countries: Implications for Social Work and Human Services Professions*, has, no doubt, contributed to knowledge through its comparative and down-to-earth findings and conclusions. It should therefore be a must read for academics, practitioners and students of Social Work, Psychology and Public Health.

Joseph R.A. Ayee (PhD; FGA; FGIM)
Professor, Department of Political Science
University of Ghana
Email: jraayee@gmail.com

Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How there is Another Way for Africa*. ISBN: 978-0374532123, London: Penguin Books, 2009, xviii + 183 pp.

Since the end of colonial rule, Africa has received far more Western aid than any other continent. It is estimated that more than $500 billion of Western aid has been put into Africa. Yet, Africa is still the world's poorest region. Half of Africa's over 900 million people live on less than US$1 a day. The continent is marred by gross corruption, lack of exemplary leadership, despotism, 'big men' and ruling elites who squandered much of the ill-gotten wealth on luxury living and a host of other challenges.

These challenges have provoked scholars to interrogate and proffer solutions to the Africa's development quagmire. One such author is Damisa Moyo. The central argument put forth in *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and how there is another way for Africa*, is that foreign aid is the most important cause of poverty in Africa. Moyo argues that Africa has received since the 1960s; aid totaling $1 trillion, which translates to a colossal $1000 per person on the planet (pp. 35, 47). Ironically, between 1970 and 1998 when aid flows to Africa reached a crescendo, poverty increased from 11 per cent to 66 per cent (p.47). In spite of this, aid remains the main driver of many of the continent's economies accounting for as high as 90 per cent of net flows between 1987 and 1996 alone (p.25).

This raises a fundamental question as to what really is the cause of poverty in Africa? According to Moyo the answer is not far-fetched. The main cause of poverty is that aid generates corruption and underdevelopment (p. 48-49), creates not only a debt burden but enables donor countries and institutions to create and sustain client regimes (pp.26-27). Other challenges with aid to Africa are that it creates conflicts due to competition for access and control of resources; aid stimulates dependency syndrome and compromises the independence of

African states as western donors attempt to over management. Moyo argues that aid dependency is a barrier to economic emancipation and democracy. As Moyo posits:

> In most functioning and healthy economies, the middle class pays taxes in return for government accountability. Foreign aid short-circuits this link. Because the government's financial dependence on its citizens has been reduced. It owes its people nothing (p.58).

Moyo further argues that "Too many African countries have already hit rock-bottom-ungoverned, poverty-stricken, and lagging further behind the rest of the world each day; there is nowhere further to go down" (p.58).

As much as the argument put across by Moyo makes for pleasant reading, it must be noted that aid alone cannot be the principal reason why Africa is poor. The argument in the book that Africa's challenges are embedded in motley of factors; historical, cultural, political, economic, geographical, ethnic and institutional factors, (pp.29-35), are far more convincing than the aid-centred one.

What can Africa do in order to get out of these doldrums? Here, Moyo states that the time was ripe for Africa to fend for itself. Using the Nordic (Denmark, Sweden and Norway) example, Moyo postulates that the solution lies partly in Africa using market economic principles to achieve a socialist agenda. However, do the circumstances that favoured the Nordic countries to successfully use aid socially exist in Africa? How do you marry this socialist agenda with the present state of African culture? Moyo makes reference to the way the Chinese have focused on foreign direct investment and on infrastructure. She sees it as an improved form of aid than what Western governments offer.

The manner of presentation raises a number of issues. Africa does not share the same historical antecedents with the Nordic countries. What

seems to be needed is a home-grown approach to the problem which has a way of weaving together and exploring the interrelatedness of the historical, political, economic and socio-cultural fabric of Africa before the advent of colonialism. Moyo adds that African countries should abandon aid, become more transparent and not corrupt issuing short term-10 year bond in which the issuing government promises to pay back with interest as did Ghana and Gabon which raised $750 million and $1 billion respectively in 2007. Others are the adoption of micro finance model proposed by Mohammed Yunus, the Bangladeshi economist (pp.126-132), Africans abroad making remittances home; domestic savings; good governance which lowers the cost of doing business and getting rid of aid dependency. These proposed solutions clearly demonstrate how development problem ought to be approached.

Damisa Moyo's book has charted a path in tackling the African predicament. The book made a major contribution to the field of development economics. This book is a must-read for academics, students, researchers and policy makers in the developing world.

James Onochie Akpu
Department of International Relations,
Faculty of Arts,
The Ultimate University of Science and Management Technology, Adjarra, Porto Novo, Republic of Benin.
E-mail: akpujames@gmail.com

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS AND CALL FOR PAPERS

The Ghana Social Science Journal (GSSJ) publishes a peer reviewed research for domestic, regional and in international audiences covering scholarly work in terms of: analysis, theory, measurements and empirical enquiry in all aspects of social science scholarship. Contributions are encouraged from all fields which have relevant and insightful comments involving social, economic, political, cultural, health, environmental and spatial dimensions of society and their implications for Social Science scholarship as broadly conceived. The Editor invites prospective authors to submit manuscripts (articles and book reviews) for possible publication in this international journal. The Journal is published twice a year in June and December.

1. Manuscript Requirements

i. Papers should be submitted in English in double spacing, preferably in Microsoft Word, sent as an electronic mail attachment to the following address: (socsjournal@ug.edu.gh)

ii. Articles and book reviews sent to this journal should not have been accepted for publication elsewhere. Contributors who receive notification that their articles are accepted for publication in the journal would be expected to withdraw any similar versions of the articles from wherever they may have been sent. Articles which are not accepted for publication shall not be returned. Authors are advised to keep copies of their manuscripts.

iii. Articles should normally not exceed 8,000 words in length, and must be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 150 words. A book review should not exceed 1,000 words. A brief autobiographical note on the author should be supplied including full name, institutional affiliation, e-mail address and full international contact details. These should be provided on the cover page of the manuscript.

iv. Illustrative material (maps, diagrams, photographs and others) should be numbered serially (using Arabic numerals).

 v. Endnotes, which should be self-explanatory and kept as minimal as possible, should be numbered serially and typed on separate sheets from the text; they should not be used to introduce bibliographical references. Instead, references to books and articles must be in Harvard style; that is, shown in the main body of the text as the author's last name followed by year of publication and page number(s). For example, "Field (1958: 1043) …" indicates that the reference is made to page 1043 of Field's book or article, which appeared in 1958. Similarly, several authors, such as "Ward (1956)", "Goody (1957)", and "Field (1963)…" imply works by the authors which appear in the years indicated in brackets. If more than one work of an author that appeared in one year are cited in the manuscript, letters should be used to distinguish the works from one another, such as "Merton (1963a)," and Merton (1963b). This procedure should be used in the endnotes also.

vi. At the end of the manuscript a reference list in alphabetical order must be given as follows:
  ➢ For books, last name of author, followed by initials, followed by the date of publication, full title of book; place of publication; publishers; for example:
  Ward, W.E. (1958), *A History of Ghana, Second Edition*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
  ➢ For journal articles, last name of author followed by initials, year of publication, full title of article, full title of journal in which it appears, volume, number, month where available and pages, for example:
  Poku, J.Y. (1992), Bilingual Representational System and Inter-lingual Transfer of Learning, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 13(4):470-480.

➢ For an essay in a book: last name of author, followed by initials; year of publication, full title of essay, pages; followed by the preposition **in**; this should then be followed by the name (s) of editor(s), full title of book; place of publication; and publishers, for example:

Titriku, P.K. (1999), "Agriculture in the Volta Basin: Problems and Projects", in Gordon, C. and Amatekpor, J. K. (eds.), *The Sustainable Integrated Development of the Volta Basin in Ghana,* Accra: Volta Basin Research Project, pp. 107-117.

If several works by one author are cited, entries in the references should be in chronological order. Works by the same author that appear in the same year should be distinguished by the use of letters (a, b, c…).

2. Copyright

Manuscripts for publication should be accompanied by a declaration that the work does not infringe on an existing copyright and that indemnifies the publisher of *Ghana Social Science Journal* against any breach of warranty. For ease of dissemination and to ensure proper policing of their use, all published papers and contributions shall become the legal copyright of the publisher – the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ghana, unless otherwise agreed. Upon publication the author will receive one complimentary copy of the issue in which the work appears.

3. How to Submit

Manuscripts and CDs and any other correspondence about the journal should be sent to:

The Editorial Office,
Ghana Social Science Journal
School of Social Sciences
University of Ghana
P.O. Box LG72
Legon, Accra, Ghana
Electronic mail address: socsjournal@ug.edu.gh