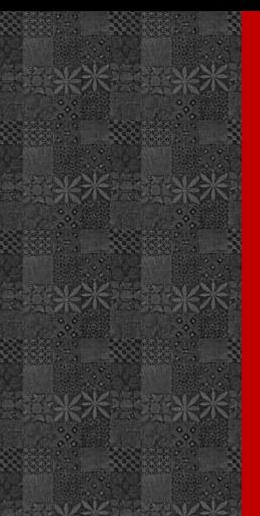Issue 7 -- June 2014

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EDITORIAL

THINKING ABOUT RETURN MIGRATION TO AFRICA: THEORIES, PRAXES, GENERAL TENDENCIES & AFRICAN PARTICULARITIES

MOJÙBÀOLÚ OLÚFÚNKÉ OKOME

"Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current"[1]

The simplest definition of return migration construes it as the move back from a place of sojourn to a place of origin by a migrant who then settles down. But return could be temporary or permanent. It could be volitional or compelled. There could also be secondary and repeat migration. Regardless of the contemporary worldwide concern about the meanings, implications, significance and consequences of return migration, return migration is yet to be subjected to as much scholarly research as other aspects of the migration phenomenon. Eborka in this volume rightfully points out that the gap in scholarly knowledge on this subject is even more profound in the case of Africa, and there is a dearth of statistics, as Essien, Setrana and Tonah indicate. Through her analysis of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Americanah*, Idowu-Faith also alerts us to the theoretical contributions of literary exploration of migration and especially return migration. This volume on return migration to Africa therefore contributes to discourses and research on the subject and in doing so, also contributes significantly to filling the gap in scholarly knowledge.

There are many possible meanings to return. Return may become so romanticized that it can best be captured by the phrase: "Myth of return," due to its existence only in the imagination of the migrant, or in plans that never reach fruition, or even in the migrant merely toying with the

idea of return rather than in any actual expectation of return or concrete manifestation of return home. In addition, longing, angst, and desire to return home are palpable and poignant aspects of the migrant experience. Many migrants long for eventual return home and take comfort in the hope that their return would become a reality. For this reason, most maintain ties with their place of origin. But even the desire for return does not always guarantee either ability or willingness to ultimately return home, and some sojourners end up relocating to new destinations, others engage in temporary migration and yet others in circular migration. It is also important to acknowledge that some migrants may have been so brutalized in their place of origin that they have no desire whatsoever to return. Idowu-Faith also shows that some migrants are forced to return home through onerous and traumatic removal proceedings, while some take what is considered by friends and family as the reckless step of returning home without adequate preparation.

Comprehensive study of the past, present, future of return migration is yet to be done. Many questions concerning return migration remain unanswered. These include but are not limited to the following: How much return migration has taken place in the African continent? What are the demographics of return migrants? Who are the return migrants? Who is more likely to return home? Why do migrants make the decisions they do on whether to settle temporarily or permanently in their host community? Who determines whether to return? Who benefits from return? What do governments do about return migration? Are there best practices in government policy on return migration? What are the consequences of return migration to economic, social and political development of the individual returnee, their family, wider community, and home country? There are differing contexts and types of return, and the

significance, impact and ramifications of return are likely to differ radically. The articles in this issue consider a few of the issues thrown up by these questions.

Essien's "Afie ni Afie" (Home is Home): Revisiting Reverse Trans-Atlantic Journeys to Ghana and the Paradox of Return" considers a few of the manifold waves of reverse migrations to the Gold Coast, which became Ghana upon independence from the British. His inquiry begins with the return by formerly enslaved Africans in the early nineteenth century, and the stories of individuals and communities that they formed. He provides insight into the historical context within which these migrations occurred, the reasons for return, and the particularities of Ghanaian history that made reverse migrations possible. He argues that these factors created "the contradictions of return and the paradox of freedom" for returnees due to the "illusion that their physical presence in Ghana would fulfil their fantasy." The article helps to capture the experiences of some of the individuals, family groups, and the transatlantic communities that were formed by Brazilian-Africans (Tabom), Caribbean Africans and American-Africans. It also shows us that while this is a valuable contribution to the gap in scholarly knowledge, there is still need for significant research. The article weaves together the intersecting strands of "slavery, emancipation, abolition, reverse migrations and Pan-African activities in Ghana." It also calls upon us to broaden the scope of studies of reverse migration "beyond the narrow focus of the New World back to Africa." For example, some returnees from Brazil to the countries we now know as Ghana and Nigeria, as well as other West African sites in the early 1800s went back to Brazil. In addition, there were migrations between Nigeria and Ghana, some of which could be understood in the context of return, there were also migrations to other places in West Africa, and return from these locales as well. Scholars are yet to subject such return migrations to systematic inquiry and rigorous mapping. Essien also demonstrates that there were parallels and

connections in the nature, form and contexts of "reverse migrations and shared cultural kinship" among the returnee communities. This he does by pointing out the resemblances between the experiences of the Brazilian returnees in Lagos, Nigeria (the Aguda) and those in Accra, Ghana (the Tabom), some of whom ranged far and wide in the West African Atlantic. These returnees created distinct identities that are still obvious today.

Caribbean Africans began their return migration to Ghana under different historical contexts: post conquest and pacification Gold Coast under British colonial rule. This combined with Christian evangelizing to facilitate the deployment of skilled freed slaves from the Caribbean as well as from Sierra Leone, to return to the Gold Coast in the late 1800s, to serve the cause of proselytizing and converting the people to Christianity. Once Ghana became independent from the British on March 6, 1957, Ghana under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, motivated by Pan Africanism, offered American-Africans the opportunity to return to help with envisioning and actualizing rapid economic development. Many American Africans and also Caribbean Africans responded to the call and made return migrations. How many returned? What communities were formed? What is the comprehensive story? What are the consequences of these migrations? We only have some vignettes, and Essien's article is a significant part of these efforts. However, the full story is yet to be told. For example, there were calls by subsequent iterations of the Ghanaian state for return migration, and responses to those calls from the African Diaspora. These efforts also could be better documented, subjected to increased scholarly scrutiny, inquiry and explication.

Essien also shows some of the similarities and differences between the waves of migration. While all the migrations were inspired by the drive to return home, and all of them also had to engage challenges and opportunities presented by the move, including a less than

rousing welcome, and tensions about levels of belongingness. The earlier migration by the Tabom and others before independence did not have to contend with the various legal expressions of sovereignty by the post-independent state. These include laws on dual citizenship and the Right of Abode; bureaucratic regulations and requirements like completing application forms, or responding to roll calls. Their descendants have multiple identities, and one of those is conferred by being born and raised in Ghana, in addition to having temporal longevity, developed from establishing roots over many years.

Essien shows that although home is home, and many migrants long perpetually for return, hoping to be warmly embraced, welcomed and reintegrated, perhaps even appreciated and encouraged by concrete government policies and community initiatives, disillusionment, tensions and sometimes conflict and alienation may make homecoming bittersweet. Everyday life and the relations with Ghanaians who consider themselves more indigenous due to their ancestors never having left may be acceptable, rewarding, or gratifying. These interactions could also be the opposite. State institutions may not necessary have any framework or well considered institutional responses to returnees. There are radically disparate understandings of the meaning, consequences and implications of home and return. There are also different understandings of appropriate welcome, and to whom it should be extended. Setrana and Tonah's article agrees with Essien's in showing that this is not a situation that is limited to returnees from the Diasporas created as a result of the enslavement of Africans. Returnee Ghanaians who consider themselves more indigenous may also be more rebuffed or ignored than welcomed, particularly if they have not maintained social connections and built social capital during their sojourn. Also, although some returnees share ancestry, they do not necessarily consider themselves as one unified community with common struggles that should inform

cohesive action and responses to the challenges faced. Ghanaians on the ground also do not necessarily embrace all returnees as kinfolk. Home therefore is contested ground, and the beauty of Essien's paper is to demonstrate the relevance and resonance of the Akan aphorism: "Afia ni afia, (*home is home*)" while also showing that home means different things to different people and return migration presents a view into the struggles and contestations involved in making home feel like home. But some returnees were not only embraced, welcomed, helped, and supported, their experiences of home are heartwarming and gratifying. What accounts for these variations? Only through studying the paradoxes and contradictions as well as the positive aspects of return can we come to fuller understanding. Essien has contributed a thoughtful response. Since return migration is bound to continue, and might also increase if Ghana's economy and political conditions become even more congenial, studies of return migration should increase.

Eborka's "Development Impact of Return Migration in Nigeria: Myth or Reality?" considers the interconnections between return migration and development in Nigeria. He argues that most return migrants are repatriated, and the rate of return of professional migrants is low. He also contends that returnees from Europe and North America are more likely to "act as agents of change" than those who return home from other African destinations outside Nigeria. However, he decries the tendency of most returnees to seek immediate personal gain, and gives examples of prominent returnees who have not lived up to the expectation that they would contribute to Nigeria's development, but rather, have taken an "if you can't beat them, join them" approach to accumulate wealth and secure power in the political system. Venality, corruption, impunity, insensitivity to the urgent need to redistribute wealth and address gross inequality in Nigeria are some of the characteristic problems manifested by prominent returnees.

There is also significant tension between returnees and those who never left home. Eborka's analysis is a window into how Nigerians who never left home are appalled by returnees' perceived arrogance and inability or unwillingness to sacrifice immediate gain for the country's long term benefits as well as documented subversion of the rules and workings of the fledgling democratic institutions. It contributes a much needed critique of the tendency to valorize return migration as a panacea for the problems of development. One does not get an insight into the thinking of the returnees, which if researched, could have made this a richer contribution. In addition, given his contention that most returnees are repatriated, Eborka's paper would have contributed to filling another significant gap in our knowledge of the causes and consequences of repatriation if some fieldwork were done that explored the repatriates' circumstances, situation and experiences. We also do not have any statistics about the population size, and other demographic characteristics of returnees. This is not Eborka's fault. Most countries, including those that keep track of out-migration, do not have statistics on return migrants. The problem is particularly significant for Nigeria where all kinds of statistics are scanty to non-existent.

Eborka also shows that the social and economic conditions within Nigeria make return home an unattractive venture for most immigrants. One wonders if the rebasing of Nigeria's economy, and the consequential elevation of the country's economic stature to the largest one in Africa (Ogunlesi 2014, Vanguard, Nigeria 2014) would encourage more Nigerian immigrants to consider return home, particularly if there are more international investment flows into the country. Given the evidence of huge remittance flows by Nigerian immigrants into the country, and the relative size of those flows as the largest in Africa (Okome and Copeland-Carson 2014, 47, 50), one could consider if more of the increases in investment would be from Nigerians abroad, and what the consequences would be to the country's economy.

Given its expression of concern about the magnitude of the brain drain and its overwhelmingly negative consequences on Nigeria's political economy, and the establishment of the Nigerians in Diaspora Organization (NIDO) and the Nigerian National Volunteer Service (NNVS) in 2000, it would have been interesting to have robust research into some of the efforts made by the Nigerian government to court its immigrants abroad to which Eborka draws our attention. What is the impact of such initiatives on Nigeria's political economy? To what extent has NIDO and NNVS achieved the stated objectives? To what extent do they contribute to some of the excesses and disappointing tendencies that Eborka highlights? Despite these anomalies, Eborka emphasizes the importance of the role of the state in fashioning sound policies that encourage the return of those he describes as "innovative migrants" to Nigeria. Doing so for him involves "genuine efforts to provide an enabling environment to make return a worthwhile endeavor". This is a challenge for both the Nigerian state and Nigerian immigrants—to demonstrate through concrete action that Nigeria's development is worth planning for, worth sacrificing for, and worth prioritizing.

Setrana and Tonah's "Return migrants and the challenge of reintegration: the case of returnees to Kumasi, Ghana" gives us an insight into the complexity of the return process for immigrants and their families. While the fieldwork for the research was done in Kumasi, Ghana's second largest city, the research findings are important contributions that begin to fill some of the gap in scholarly knowledge about the motivations of "the nature of migrants' return … the strategies employed by the returnees to establish links with their relatives and friends, as well reintegrate into their neighborhoods, and participate fully in city life". Setrana and Tonah show that return migration is subject to extensive discussion within families, and is the product

of negotiations that consider prospects, challenges, responsibilities, obligations and opportunities available to returnees.

Some of the formidable challenges that confront migrants documented by Setrana and Tonah's research include "finding accommodation and jobs, establishing contacts with former colleagues and friends, meeting the high expectations of extended family members, and adjusting to the poor infrastructural facilities in the city." These are the same challenges that confront many African returnees, and the importance of connectedness to home through deep embeddedness in social networks is clearly demonstrated, as one could hypothesize from this research that returnees' embeddedness in home-based social networks while abroad produces social capital that enable them to address and/or transcend the challenges of homecoming. Such social capital is expressed through manifold forms of support, advice, referrals and other assistance from kinfolk, friends, colleagues, social organizations and other networks. Immigrants who have been unable or unwilling to groom their network connections would probably have a harder time.

Some of the challenges faced with securing employment also belie the facile assumptions about return migration. Just because returnees have skills does not mean there is recognition that those skills are a boon for their home country. Returnees also have to compete in employment markets that are saturated, where the prospects are few and far between, and where they would fare better if they had entrepreneurial skills and are able to establish businesses in the private sector. Thus, the likelihood that return migration would spur immediate "brain gain" from returnees' cumulative efforts should be subjected to more rigorous empirical analysis. Setrana and Tonah have contributed meaningfully to such efforts. Their research like Essien's in Ghana, and Eborka's in Nigeria, also point to dearth of statistics on return migration in Africa.

Okafor's "Diary of an American Woman" First of a Three-Part Story Called *This Africa in My Dream"* provides another take on migration and return. Although the migration and return here is from natal to spousal abode in the case of Love, and her return home is for post-spousal tension, post-spousal conflict and post-spousal domestic violence where Love gives as good or better as she gets to her husband Fakar, situating both migration and return within the context of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) is not only appropriate to this case, it is relevant to the lived experiences of many Nigerians and Africans who were forced by drastic and harsh economic changes to relocate from their places of origin. As with most African migration, the movement was within countries, from areas with fewer economic opportunities to those with more jobs, higher wages, and perceived better conditions. Fakar moved for these reasons, although he did not fully understand the genesis of the structural forces that shaped his life and pulled the rug from under his feet. The only job he has is menial and the wages are low. In order to keep even this menial job, he has to take on more work, while being paid the same wages, press his family into service, to impress his supervisor and secure this toehold in the "sapped" economy where opportunities for gainful employment were few and far between. Love falls in love while in school and follows her heart, getting married to Fakar rather than pursue an education, against the advice of her parents. She is now somewhat regretful, but already has two children, and has to find a way to cope with the lack of resources and unrequited desires, hopes, and aspirations. Fakar Junior, the older one of Love and Fakar's children, a young man, is responsible for bringing the diary into their lives, and he seems to have done this as a result of theft. Fakar is distressed. The story does not give us an insight of how this young man became delinquent but hints at peer pressure and generational conflict between Fakar and his son. But this conflict does not seem to be manifested in the relationship between Love and her son, and

this is a constant cause of conflict in the family, since Love seems to take her son's side. We also don't get to see the long term consequences of this family breakdown. But the story hints at reconciliation between Love and Fakar at the end. Could this be a basis through which the family harmony is restored and the prodigal child reclaimed from ruination? What is Love's response to her son's stealing and delinquency? We don't know. Perhaps this and other threads would be pursued and pulled together in subsequent installments of this story. One way of reading this generational conflict and delinquency of the youth is to see Nigeria's SAP as rending the social fabric, reducing as well as eliminating some viable opportunities for upward mobility, pauperizing many Nigerians, and reducing their life chances; making education impossible for many offspring of poor people, making life difficult and well-nigh impossible for the majority. Young people are particularly affected, and Fakar as well as Love show some elements of these challenges.

In very broad strokes, the introduction to the story tells us how Nigeria's huge and unsustainable external debt created severe economic crisis, which in turn caused great political and social tumult. The road to SAP was traversed during the economic crisis that intensified during Nigeria's second republic—an attempt to democratize that began on October 1 1979, only to end abruptly during the second term of the Shagari administration, on December 31, 1983. It continued and was further amplified during the military coup-produced Buhari regime, which lasted from December 31, 1983 to August 25, 1985, when a Babangida-led junta overthrew Buhari in a palace coup. It culminated in the Babangida military regime's adoption of SAP 1986. Using sleight of hand tactics, Babangida tried to convince Nigerians that SAP was home grown, although the agenda was imposed by a coalition of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), which presented it as the only worthwhile answer to Nigeria's economic

crises. Neither Love nor Fakar had any knowledge of any of these machinations, but they felt

the consequent problems intensely in their daily lives. Of course, SAP did not provide any of the

relief promised. Although Okafor does not go into much detail, we see this in the day-to-day

uncertainties and privations suffered by Love and Fakar's family. These privations affected their

lives and escalated tensions.

There is a third protagonist to the story—Ola—whose diary was in the suitcase stolen by

Fakar Junior and his gang. Ola's migration to America was a hopeful move, supposed to give

her access to better education, better economic conditions, better standard of living and increased

capacity for upward mobility. These hopes, dreams, and aspirations were crushed. Ola like

many middle class Nigerians, was fleeing from punishing neoliberal austerity programs that

impoverished and inflicted misery upon their lives, making some of them migrate from one

locale to another within Nigeria, as well as to other African countries, and for very few like her

(Ola) who were able to mobilize the considerable resources required, outside the African

continent. "Diary of an American Woman" weaves together an account of the lives of Ola,

Love, and Fakar. It gives a view into three relocations. One was internal movement within

Nigeria, another was an external migration to America, and the third, a patrilocal movement

from a natal family to a new nuclear family abode.

Ola's voice is strong, and it even contributes to the reconciliation between Love and

Fakar. We hear Ola through the medium of her journal account of her American sojourn. She

becomes an immigrant who went through harrowing circumstances that expose her to racist

discrimination and the harsh realities of the immigrant experience that are hard to reconcile with

the dreams of what she would become in America. Ola's return home is also not unproblematic.

She has lost her luggage to the youth gang to which Fakar Junior belongs. This cannot possibly

be the welcome she expects back to Nigeria. Okafor's story is focused on Fakar finding the journal in the "American Tourister" suitcase stolen from Ola. "American Tourister" while a suitcase brand, evokes the specter of America, and movement—perhaps tourism, and possibly migration. Fakar gets an insight through Ola's journal, into the gargantuan complications, pain, multilevel dislocations and indignities involved in Ola's American immigrant life. Consequently, in spite of the considerable challenges he faces, his life in Nigeria as a hotel janitor begins to look not so unattractive.

Movement across territorial boundaries take multiple forms, some boundaries are invisible domestic ones in the homeland of sojourners who they engage in internal migration from one part of a country to another. Other boundaries seem to be more concrete, an idea evoked by external movement across national boundaries where visas are required, even in the absence of physical markers of these boundaries, other than immigration posts that check visas and other travel documents. These migrations might be inter-related and intersected in ways that deeply impact individuals, families, communities, countries and the world at large. Okafor attempts to show some intersections in the lives of individual migrants, some brought together to become a family (Love and Fakar), and others by acts of violence that forcibly seize or surreptitiously snatch property from an owner (Ola and Fakar Junior and his gang). We only see Ola through the story of her emigrations as told in her journal. "Điary of an American Woman" subtly brings up one of the characteristic features of the global economy: people may be impeded from freely moving across state boundaries but there are few such impediments for money and financial flows. These movements are also virtually invisible, particularly to people of modest means like Love and Fakar. Even Ola is not presented as conscious of these flows and their effects on her life. But these influences are there. They are powerful. The Nigerian state

had to respond to them. It was the fallout from not having the resources to pay its unsustainable debt that put the entire country's economy into a tailspin. The aftereffects of this catastrophe damaged lives, reduced and even eliminated opportunities, ripped the social fabric into shreds and set all kinds of migration in motion.   Where there is migration, there is likely to be return. Ola returned home, but the effects of SAP are still very much alive. They continue to haunt Nigerians. Fakar Junior and his gang are a malevolent manifestation of the social breakdown. However, we do not hear their voices, and can only imagine what goes through their minds as they wreak havoc and cause grief for those whose property they steal.

Love made the move from her parents' to her husband's home after marrying Fakar. She moves from idyllic Uzuakoli in the countryside to Umuahia. Although this move is from one Ibo-speaking locale to another, and the distance is relatively short, there is still much adjustment required of her. Under the best of circumstances, this is a bittersweet transition, full of the admixture of expectations of bliss and trepidation about the unknown elements of the new home and family. Accommodations and adjustments must be made. Negotiation and diplomacy are required. At the very least there will be longing for the familiar home and its routines. Homesickness and even melancholy could result from unrequited longing for home.   In this sense, Love's nostalgia resonates and connects with those experienced by migrants who venture farther from home, especially those who cross international boundaries where there is neither kith nor kin to help mediate the challenges and hardships of the immigrant life. Although she is close to her natal home, Love's situation is particularly poignant because she has no job, no money, and no prospects that is evident in the story as told by Okafor. However, Ibo women have a reputation for being hard-working, enterprising and ambitious. We see a flash of this in the older woman who advises Love to take charge of her life, go back to school, learn a trade,

and be more assertive in resisting spousal abuse. Ola does not have the good fortune of encountering such a mentor. She had to self-mentor and self-motivate, connecting with her family's hopes and aspirations for her, and the huge sacrifice made to give her the opportunity to travel to America. She has the additional grief arising from her father's demise as a consequence of the hardships caused by SSAP. She is determined not to disappoint him. She especially wants to succeed to honor his memory. This is a tall order. But she sees her American education as her only opportunity for upward mobility. Upon her return home, Love's son and his gang traumatize her by stealing her "American Tourister" suitcase. This is by no means a red-carpet welcome.

Fakar too is not immune from the challenges of migration. The economic devastation that SAP was unable to correct caused him to leave Benin City as an "economic refugee," who sought waged employment in Umuahia in Abia State. There he encountered a different language and culture. He is Bini-speaking. Umuahia is in Iboland, and the people speak Ibo. The two languages are mutually unintelligible. Although Love, his wife, is Ibo, if he does not speak her language, and she doesn't speak his, they must communicate in English or its pidgin variant. If the marriage is to succeed, Fakar too must adjust to his wife in manifold ways and must be able to negotiate, accommodate, conciliate and harmonize with a woman whose culture he disparages. He has the additional struggle of overachieving at a menial job just to keep complete poverty at bay. Love and Fakar's new marital home is a one room "cabin" or shack. No doubt he, like Love desires better conditions of existence. But this is elusive. He has to make do, hang on, work harder, and the relationship between him and his wife has deteriorated to say the least. With his son, there is palpable disappointment and frustration. However, there is hope in the relationship with his daughter. Is it because she is younger? Okafor leaves us guessing.

All the characters are touched by the pressures of SAP. They are all touched by its harsh effects, including pervasive unemployment, underemployment, inadequate financial capacity to pay school fees, and in the case of Ola, even death. Both Fakar and Ola have fathers who became unemployed. Fakar could not complete his education as a consequence. Ola's father died from a heart attack. Fakar Junior's delinquency represents the situation of many young people who became delinquent, a situation caused in some instances by the inability of parents to pay school fees. All these characters are caught up in a web spun by broader structural forces and the story of their migrations and return is ongoing. What lies in the future? Uncertainties, but with a touch of hope evoked through Fakar and Love's reconciliation after getting an insight from Ola's diary that the life of an American immigrant is not exactly a bed of roses.

The implications of Okafor's story: migrations are multiple, complex, contradictory and challenging. Without resolving the problems caused by the overarching structural framework, most migrants' struggles to survive will be grim. Return home may be marred by banditry and grief instead of warm embrace, triumph over adversity and re-integration that makes upward mobility and contribution to socio-economic development possible. In this way, Okafor's story connects with the analysis by Essien, Setrana and Tonah and Eborka.

Idowu-Faith engages in what she describes as "a stylistic investigation" of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Americanah* (2013). *Americanah* simultaneously engages an admixture of love, romance, aesthetics, and quotidian politics of identity and its markers, including hair and skin color. Adichie uses migration as an avenue to playfully but skillfully deconstruct these issues through juxtaposing binary migratory terms such as "Americanah" and "American". For Faith, Ifemelu, Adichie's protagonist self-identifies as Americanah while distancing herself from the American moniker. This is indicative of Adichie's critically engagement of "international

migration theories ….to chart a new migration story, where return migration is the quintessential closure."

Idowu-Faith contends that Adichie uses migration to examine, deconstruct, as well as theorize the intertwined implications of migration and dislocation. In doing so, she bridged many theoretical boundaries, contributing innovations in "fictionalized theory" and "theorized fiction" to scholarly inquiry on migration. Adichie also at one and the same time, stays within the boundaries of migration theory, and goes beyond its borders. She considers causes and consequences of both migration and return migration. Desire to escape from educational, professional and other dead ends propels much migration from contemporary Nigeria. But while constrained by larger social, political and economic structures to make Hobson's choices, Idowu-Faith also emphasizes Adichie's contributions to our understanding of the multiple variants of volition that are either available or created by individuals who clearly have little to no choice. We also see the effects of migration and return migration on love and other emotions, the implications for personality, culture, and identity. Migration is also shown to be a process fraught with antinomies; humiliating some while elevating others, battering some while rewarding others; crushing some, forcing others to remain static and enabling yet others to reinvent themselves.

Americanah is a love story. Its (upper) middle class protagonists flee the "lethargy of choicelessness; Ifemelu migrates to the United States and Obinze, to the United Kingdom." Their migration is not the usual story of poverty-induced movement but primarily a pursuit of adventure and novelty while seeking alternative avenues to upward mobility. Idowu-Faith shows that the desire to escape from choicelessness is writ large in *Americanah*. But choicelessness is often perceived as applicable to situations of war, political conflict, natural disasters and blatant

oppression, not as related to pent-up desire for economic opportunities and professional advancement. Many middle class and affluent Nigerians like Ifemelu and Obinze are raised to see themselves as citizens of the world. They expect some basic conditions as the norm in their country of origin. The absence of these conditions makes home unlivable and sojourn attractive. They want the certainty that they are convinced exists only in Europe or North America, and for those who cannot afford this, Saudi Arabia, the Emirates, or even Ghana and South Africa are acceptable alternatives. What they cannot abide is the uncertainty and choicelessness of home.

Two return migrations are juxtaposed in graphic relief in Americanah. Idowu-Faith does well to note the debasement and other indignities of the migrant experience, but could have done better to remind us of the deeper traumatic implications of migration; the various indignities and exploitation that Obinze, Ifemelu and others must endure to access their ephemeral desire for certainty; the non-existence of certainty. Is Ifemelu's return to Nigeria from the United States to be read as the return of an unqualified successful migration? What is responsible for her strong desire to return home? Why did Ifemelu choose to be identified as an Americanah and not as an American? Idowu-Faith gives us one reading but does not examine the multilayered elements of the issue in all its complexity.

What are the implications of return migration? *Americanah* presents some readings from the perspectives of its protagonists, but these are limited perspectives. Of course, we are shown the various congregations of the returnees, but these are the more affluent, those who have arrived, or who have the affectations and pretentions that symbolize their cosmopolitan status. We never see the broken and disillusioned returnees. We don't get a deeper exploration of the interstices of migration and return. Nonetheless, Adichie's book and Idowu-Faith's analysis

constitute interesting and valuable contributions to our understanding of some of the germane issues.

The exception to the focus on return migration in this volume is Zakiya's "The Politics of Gender, Water and Migration in Ghana: Implications for the WASH Sector." However, Zakiya, like Setrana and Tonah and Essien, focuses on Ghana. She considers the nexus of gender, water and migration and the implications for Ghanaians in the countryside. Responses vary. Some women are compelled by poverty, limited opportunities for gainful employment, and poor economic returns to time and energy invested to explore the option of migrating from their rural locations to small towns and larger urban centers. Zakiya also consults, critiques, and extends upon analyses of research on the nature, form and scope of migration within Ghana. She considers poor access to water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) as responsible for negative socio-economic and health impacts on rural women. She also shows that the combined influences of the politics of access to water and effects of globalization as well as environmental disasters militate against rural population, increasing the workload of women and girls. As well, she points our attention to the relationship between climate change and migration, and their interaction to cause the loss of indigenous knowledge (IK) in rural communities. Being a Country Representative of WaterAid Ghana (WAG), Zakiya is able to give an authoritative analysis of the international NGO's approaches to WASH, and how this relates to its overarching interest in poverty alleviation, particularly for rural women. WAG's considers WASH "a basic essential service and right". Its strategies for providing WASH include advocacy, as well as working with rural communities to plan for the supply of sustainable WASH services.

Zakiya contends that "culturally appropriate and endogenous development" should be combined with the rights based approach to WASH, and adequate funding from both the

community and government.   She also invites women, their communities, local and central
governments of Ghana to work together to improve the lives of rural populations.   Among other
things, the incidence of WASH-related poverty must be curtailed, WASH services must be made
available to all communities; and serious, long term strategies devised for holistic rural
development.   Zakiya suggests that the aforementioned strategies would contribute to
encouraging rural populations to stay in their communities, as such, she favors the reduction of
rural-urban migration, particularly when such migrations take them to already overcrowded
urban locales where they can only afford to live in slums.   Escape from rural poverty then may
be a route into urban poverty in situations where WASH services are at best, inadequate, and
poor health, limited well-being and drudgery characterize the circumstances of daily life.   Even if
incentives that discourage rural-urban migration exist, scholars of migration argue that it is
impossible to prevent human migration, but perhaps the strategies Zakiya suggests might reduce
the volume of migration.   They also have the additional bonus of increasing well-being.

Africa needs social, economic, and political development.   Despite the claims made about
post-migration brain circulation and brain gain, there as still concerns about brain drain.   Return
migration has to be understood in this context.   Among other things, return migration seems to
offer the prospect that lost human capital would be recovered, and returnees would bring
increased, and even new skills that would contribute to nation-building.   The authors in this
volume caution us from making facile connections between return and the gains they would
bring.   Although return could lead to family re-unification and community building, it could also
intensify antagonism and conflict.   There are also expectations that migrants and returnees would
invest in their home country, an expectation that has generated heightened interest in migrant
remittances, and returnees' economic participation.   However, Eborka questions the extent to

which some prominent returnees have national interest at heart. Adichie also shows in
Americanah that Nigerians who never left home are equally guilty, although Idowu-Faith does
not focus on this aspect of the novel. Setrana and Tonah as well as Adichie show that returnees
who need jobs may not be able to secure them easily; Essien, Idowu-Faith and Okafor show that
returnees don't necessarily have welcome mats spread out for them, and return may be
bittersweet.

These papers suggest that discourses about brain gain and brain re-circulation need closer
analysis. Remittances and their impact should be subjected to increased empirical analysis. It is
also not clear that the interests of developing countries concerning migration are uni-
dimensional. Some countries use international migration as a means of releasing pent up
frustrations with lack of upward mobility at home. Some use it as means of ensuring consistent
flow of remittances. The state in such countries would not necessarily be interested in providing
institutional frameworks that ease returnees' transition

Today, the traditional dichotomy between source and destination countries is less
relevant. Many countries are both source and destination countries for migrants. A destination
country's economic needs may contribute to its investedness in return migration of
undocumented migrants from its territories to their countries of origin. At the same time as a
source country, it may encourage migration as a means of increasing the volume of remittances
and facilitating the migration of populations that have pent-up demands.

What then are the prospects for the future? It's unlikely that human migration will
diminish. Return migration can be forced, as Essien and Idowu-Faith point out. It also could be
voluntary, and Idowu-Faith draws our attention to this aspect of the phenomenon as presented in

Americanah. Voluntary returns are more likely to increase if the economic, social and political conditions at home improve, as we also see through the analysis done by Idowu-Faith.

Although the papers in this issue contribute immensely to the discourse on return migration, the areas for future research include the systematic and exhaustive mapping of the demographics of return migration, and more multidisciplinary research on the nature, causes, and consequences of return migration in Africa.

FICTIONALIZING THEORY, THEORIZING FICTION:
THE STYLISTICS OF RETURN MIGRATION
IN CHIMAMANDA ADICHIE'S *AMERICANAH*

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a stylistic investigation of *Americanah* (2013) Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's latest novel. Whereas *Americanah* is the melting pot where love and romance collide and comingle with hair politics and the shifting meanings of skin color, Adichie employs migration as the window through which these issues are projected. Beyond Adichie's juxtaposition of binary migratory terms of "Americanah" and "American" and her protagonist's choice of the former, the novelist's preoccupation is to critically engage international migration theories, and to chart a new migration story, where return migration is the quintessential closure.

INTRODUCTION

Americanah, the latest novel from the award-winning writer, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, is a melting point for different subject matters like race, skin color and identity, love and romance and hair politics. Rather than take each of these issues as singular and distinct entities, Adichie conceives of them as the combinatorial complexity that define the ordinary day-to-day experience in migratory life. Adichie thus employs migration as the window through which these different issues that intertwine at the heart of the text are presented to the reader.

Invariably, therefore, *Americanah* can be described as a valid literary statement on migration and dislocation.

The theoretical boundaries and innovations bridged by *Americanah* suggest the text belongs in the class of literary works identifiable as "fictionalized theory" and "theorized fiction" (Usman 2012:249). While many of the migratory experiences in the novel work within migration theory, Adichie simultaneously interrogate and transcend the borders of international migration theories by introducing a new factor that both influences migration and projects a new perspective on return migration. According to Dustmann and Weiss (2007:237), lack of economic opportunity and escape from natural disaster/persecution are two main reasons individuals migrate throughout history. While identifying the need to flee "choicelessness" as the main reason for much of the migration in the twenty-first century Nigerian setting of the novel, Adichie uses literary dimensions to shake up the foundations of theory. Consequently, the direction of this type of migration, how it affects the bonds of love, how it changes personalities and cultural views, and how it reinterprets identity become the novelist's major theoretical engagements. In addition, Adichie is concerned with how migration debases and elevates, how it barters and fulfills and, most significantly, how it reinvents.

Americanah centers on two young lovers, Ifemelu and Obinze, who migrate to the United States and the United Kingdom, respectively not because of the familiar stories of fleeing from natural disaster, war or poverty, but because they are running away from what Adichie terms the "lethargy of choicelessness" in the novel (p. 276). Both Ifemelu and Obinze belong to the Nigerian (upper) middle class where the need to migrate is not induced by poverty but by the quest to experience choice and something new somewhere else. This battle against choicelessness is clearly projected to the reader through Obinze's mind while attending a dinner

in a friend's house, during his short stay in Britain. When Alexa, one of the guests, commends

Blunkett's intention to make Britain continue to be a refuge to survivors of frightful wars,

Obinze agrees with her, yet feels alienated because his own migration story is different from

those common ones motivated by wars and woes:

> Alexa, and the other guests, and perhaps even Georgina, all understood the fleeing
>
> from war, from the kind of poverty that crushed human souls, but they would not
>
> understand the need to escape from the oppressive lethargy of choicelessness.
>
> They would not understand why people like him, who were raised well-fed and
>
> watered but mired in dissatisfaction, conditioned from birth to look towards
>
> somewhere else, eternally convinced that real lives happened in that somewhere
>
> else…none of them starving, or raped, or from burned villages, but merely hungry
>
> for choice and certainty (p.276).

From this perspective, the need to flee choicelessness defines *Americanah* as a new kind of

migration story and sets the text in motion against recognized migration theories.

The newness of the path of *Americanah* as a migration story becomes even more

conspicuous in the decision of Ifemelu to return to Nigeria after spending thirteen years in the

United States not because she is a failure, but out of a strong desire to return home. With

Ifemelu's deliberate return migration to Nigeria, her homeland, she chooses to be identified as an

Americanah rather than as an American. For many migrants, the term "American" indicates the

privileged possession of the nationality of that enormous world power nation that many

immigrants are desperate to acquire, while Americanah defines an identity based on previous

experience of living in America.

No valid statement can be made on *Americanah* without deconstructing the term **"Americanah"** which, more or less, reveals the thesis of the narrative as well as the preoccupation of Adichie in the text. In Nigerian parlance, the term "Americanah" is an identity term that is premised on a person's previous experience of living in America. In an interview, Adichie defines Americanah as a Nigerian word that can describe any of those who have been to the US and return American affectations; pretend not to understand their mother tongues any longer; refuse to eat Nigerian food or make constant reference to their life in America (see http://www.npr.org/templates/transcript/transcript.php?storyId=195598496).

From this understanding, it is clear that Ifemelu's decision to return home without worrying about being identified as an "Americanah", establishes the fact that Adichie is proposing and charting a path for a new kind of migration story whose quintessence is return migration.

THEORETICS OF RETURN MIGRATIONS IN *AMERICANAH*

According to Dustmann and Weiss (2007), return migration is "a situation where migrants return to their country of origin by their own choice, often after a significant period abroad" (p.23). Since willingness to return is essential in defining return migration, theories of return migration emphasize the connection between the compelling reason for both the migration and the return (Dumont and Spielvogel 2008:178; Ghosh 2000:185). The fact that the two major migrants in *Americanah* migrate as a result of choicelessness–a reason/term which ordinarily challenges international migration theories–indicates that the nature of return migration in the text is equally going to be challenging.

The first return migration experience that Adichie projects in the novel is the forced type. This type of return migration is not alien in migration stories, and explains why Dumont and Spielvogel (2008**)** argue that "The bulk of the return migration flow is voluntary. Yet some of those returning home have been forced out by a removal order, for having broken the laws on immigration or residency. Some of those forcibly removed will have been imprisoned or held in detention centres since their arrival in the territory" (p.190). The literary dimension that transforms forced removal into a voluntary one is what Adichie uses to challenge theory.

Following his university education in Nigeria, Obinze migrates to Britain but has to live invisibly there for about two years after having outstayed his tourist visa. His last hope of obtaining the required immigration papers through a sham marriage is, however, foiled minutes before the commencement of the marriage ceremony. Arrested, Obinze has to pass through the rigors of being transferred from one detention center to another before his eventual deportation to Nigeria.

The literary interventions Adichie makes to change this forced return migration into a voluntary one are visible from two aesthetic planes. First, when the immigration officer in Obinze's first detention center arranges a lawyer to meet with him, Obinze plainly tells the lawyer that he is not ready to pursue any legal battle as he is willing to return to Nigeria:

> "The government has a strong case and we can appeal, but to be honest it will
> only delay the case and you will eventually be removed from the UK," he said,
> with the air of a man who had said those same words, in that same tone, more
> times than he wished to, or could, remember. "I'm willing to go back to Nigeria,"
> Obinze said. The last shard of his dignity was like a wrapper slipping off that he

was desperate to retire. The lawyer looked surprised. "Okay then," he said, and

got up a little too hastily, as though grateful that his job had been made easier (p.

279)

Obinze's willingness to return to Nigeria surprises the lawyer who has come with the usual air of

superiority that he puts up in such situations. In spite of that pitiable and reproachable condition,

Obinze is however desperate to "retie" the "last shard of his dignity" that is slipping off like a

wrapper. Obinze's resolve to hold on to the last vestiges of dignity that a two-year invisible

existence in Britain and the imminent debasing detention experience leave him, translates

Obinze's return migration from a forced one to a voluntary one.

From this point of view, it is obvious that Adichie recognizes the theoretical dimensions

in migration studies which subject illegal migrants to eventual forced removals. However, the

novelist widens the borders of migration theories to provide a literary intervention which

proposes that when such forced return migrations are imminent, the returning migrant, as a sense

of personal duty and dignity, must be ready to change her/his status from a removed migrant into

a voluntarily returning migrant. Only such resolve can sustain the returning migrant through the

challenging processes of returning and the realities of having returned.

In his review of return migration theories, Cassarino (2004) submits that resource

mobilization and preparedness are two key factors that define return migration. In his definition,

Cassarino argues that "Preparedness pertains not only to the willingness of migrants to return

home, but also to their readiness to return. In other words, the returnee's preparedness refers to a

voluntary act that must be supported by the gathering of sufficient resources and information

about post-return conditions at home" (p. 271). With Obinze's willingness to return to Nigeria,

Adichie thus interrogates migration theory by building Obinze's voluntary return migration on the singularity of willingness without considering other factors such as resource mobilization and readiness.

The other aesthetic plane that translates Obinze's forced removal into a voluntary return migration is evident when Adichie places Obinze in the company of other Nigerians scheduled to be forcefully removed from Britain. When Obinze gets to the new detention center in Dover, his Nigerian cellmate tells him that he will not allow himself to be deported:

> "I will take off my shirt and my shoes when they try to board me. I will seek asylum," he told Obinze. "If you take off your shirt and your shoes, they will not board you." He repeated this often, like a mantra (p. 283)

The confidence with which Obinze's cellmate discloses his plan to refuse being removed is enticing and tempting for anyone who is not resolved to voluntarily return. The fact that Obinze's cellmate is not one of those eventually deported alongside Obinze indicates that he succeeds with his machination. Rather than praise this cellmate for his crafty ingenuity, Adichie juxtaposes him with Obinze in order to assert that the only honorable option in the ugly situation of a forced return migration, is to allow the forced removal to metamorphose into a voluntary one instead of putting on the pretentious air of someone who is mentally deranged. On this ground, Obinze chooses the more dignifying option: changing a forced return migration into a voluntary decision to return home.

On the return flight to Nigeria, Adichie further places Obinze side-by-side with another forced return migrant in order to emphasize the literary dimension she is proposing in situations

of forced return migration. From Obinze's perspective, one sees the undefeated manner of the woman sitting next to him on the flight. Obinze's observation leads to his conclusion that the woman will definitely get another passport with another name and try again (p. 283). Obinze realizes that the new light of the day dawning on him in Nigeria projects him as a failure of a kind and colors his coming days with gloom.

> Outside, it was like breathing steam; he felt light-headed. A new sadness
> blanketed him, the sadness of his coming days, when he would feel the world
> slightly off-kilter, his vision unfocused (p. 284).

Nonetheless, he is undaunted in his resolve to willingly return to and stay in Nigeria. With this element of unbowed resistance to imposed marginality and discredit-ability, Adichie prescribes willingness and volition as the elixir in a forced return migration.

A voluntary or well-planned return migration is the other type of return migration projected by Adichie in *Americanah*. As earlier indicated, theories of return migration indicate that reasons motivating return migration are almost always related to the reasons that initially encourage the migration. Cerase (cited in Cassarino 2004:257-58) identifies four different types of return: return of failure; return of conservatism; return of retirement and return of innovation. Cerase's categories are not different from Dumont and Spielvogel's (2008):

> We may distinguish essentially between four types of arguments, founded
> respectively on: *i)* failure to integrate into the host country and changes in the
> economic situation of the home country, *ii)* individuals' preferences for their

home country; *iii)* the achievement of a savings objective, or *iv)* greater employment opportunities for individuals in their home country, thanks to experience gained abroad (p. 178).

What makes Ifemelu's voluntary return migration transcend the borders of return migration theories is the fact that her migration, like Obinze's, is motivated by the need to flee "choicelessness." In view of this fact, none of the reasons for return identified in return migration theories matches Ifemelu's return decision. Unlike Obinze, Ifemelu secures a scholarship that gives her legal entrance into the United States. During her thirteen-year sojourn in the US, she is able to complete her college study, work with her college certificate, undertake a fellowship in Princeton and successfully run a race blog with teaming followers and great financial benefits. Given this profile, Ifemelu stands as an accomplished migrant woman, who is not constrained to undertake a permanent return migration home, especially since conditions at home, both in terms of infrastructure and economy, are poorer in comparison with those of the host country. In spite of her successes, Ifemelu finally returns to Nigeria, motivated by no other reason than the need to go back home:

> It had been there for a while, an early morning disease of fatigue, a bleakness and
> borderlessness. It brought with it amorphous longings, shapeless desires, brief
> imaginary glints of other lives she could be living, that over the months melded
> into a piercing homesickness. She scoured Nigerian websites, Nigerian profiles
> on Facebook, Nigerian blogs, and each click brought yet another story of a young
> person who had recently moved back home, clothed in American or British

degrees, to start an investment company, a music production business, a fashion label, a magazine, a fast-food franchise. She looked at photographs of these men and women and felt dull ache of loss, as though they had prised open her hand and taken something of hers. They were living her life. Nigeria became where she was supposed to be, the only place she could sink her roots in without the constant urge to tug them out and shake off the soil (p. 6).

…there was no cause; it was simply that layer after layer of discontent had settled in her, and formed a mass that now propelled her (p. 7).

Since Ifemelu's return is based on no convincing reason, she first of all must deal with her personal struggles in order to convince herself of the rightness of her decision to return to Nigeria. She needs be convinced of that major decision being the right one in spite of so many other perks: the success of her blog, the wealth the blog has brought, the money she generates from speaking engagements, the condo she owns, a Princeton fellowship and her promising romantic relationship with Blaine, an African-American. Consequently, she begins to seek auguries and signs that will indicate that her decision is a right one. For example, during her braiding session at the hair salon in Trenton, Ifemelu enthusiastically agrees with one of the stylists' submission that Nigerian films are good basically because she detects an augury in the statement: since Nigerian films are good, her decision to move back home is equally good. Her encounter with an unusually fat woman in miniskirt on the Trenton platform is another indication to Ifemelu that her decision to return to Nigeria is not just a right one, it is a valiant one:

She thought nothing of slender legs shown off in miniskirts–it was safe and easy,

after all, to display legs of which the world approved–but the fat woman's act was

about the quiet conviction that one shared only with oneself, a sense of rightness

that others failed to see. Her decision to move back was similar; whenever she

felt besieged by doubts, she would think of herself as standing valiantly alone, as

almost heroic, so as to squash her uncertainty (p. 8)

In Adichie's perspective, Ifemelu's decision is an entirely heroic one, especially because

almost everyone around her fails to see rationality in her resolution to return to Nigeria. No

doubt, the lack of support from family and friends contributes largely to her uncertainty:

Everyone she had told she was moving back seemed surprised, expecting an

explanation, and when she said she was doing it because she wanted to, puzzled

lines would appear on foreheads.

"You are closing your blog and selling your condo to go back to Lagos and work

for a magazine that doesn't pay well," Aunty Uju has said and then repeated

herself, as though to make Ifemelu see the gravity of her own foolishness (p. 13-

4).

In this circumstance, home becomes a site of struggle for Ifemelu. Home as a site of struggle is

fueled by the fact that Ifemelu regards America as her home, having learnt to be at home in

America and having secured American citizenship. The question of whether she will be able to

cope in Nigeria thus becomes a relevant and rational one. In spite of the fact that her diaspora home is more beautiful and promising than her origin home, Ifemelu still chooses to go back to Nigeria and she returns to stay. With this dimension in Ifemelu's migration story, Adichie makes a literary intervention to migration theory by postulating a return to the origin home as the closure of every migration, not caring whether or not the diaspora home gives superior access to various socio-economic advantages to the migrant than origin home.

THE HOME OUT OF TOUCH: ON THE CHALLENGES OF RETURNING AND REINTEGRATION

Although Adichie introduces literary interventions into the boundaries of migration theory, her depiction of the challenges encountered by Obinze and Ifemelu after their return journeys conform significantly with the challenges that return migration theories believe returnees are bound to encounter in the homeland. For Obinze, the challenges facing him back home, as a failed migrant, are indeed enormous. From the societal perspective, he is the black sheep that must be isolated so as not to taint the image of the entire community. He will experience his first societal hostility and disapproval, even before he disembarks from the plane that conveys him and other deported Nigerians home:

> As the plane began its descent into Lagos, a flight attendant stood above them
> and said loudly, "You cannot leave. An immigration officer will come to take
> charge of you." *Her face tight with disgust, as though they were all criminals*
> *bringing shame on upright Nigerians like her* (p. 283) (emphasis added)

At his own personal level, Obinze cannot stop the shame of his deportation from depleting his ego and sense of self-worth. On this ground, he stays indoors throughout the first week he spends in Nigeria after his deportation "reeling from what had happened to him in England, still insulated in layers of his own self-pity" (p. 23). However, Nneoma, his cousin, challenges him to handle the issue of his deportation lightly and make an attempt to reintegrate in order to chart a clear path for a successful future:

"Ahn ahn! O *gini?* Are you the first person to have this problem?
You have to get up and hustle. Everybody is hustling, Lagos is about
hustling," Nneoma said (p. 23)

At first, Obinze is irritated by Nneoma's advice, believing that she is a rustic girl from the village who looks at the world with stark eyes and as a result, is ignorant of, and insensitive to, his kind of psychological plight. Soon, however, Obinze realizes that Nneoma is right:

…slowly, he realized she was right; he was not the first and he would not be the
last.
He began applying for jobs listed in newspaper, but nobody called him for an
interview, and his friends from school, who were working at banks and
mobile phone companies, began to avoid him, worried that he would thrust
yet another CV into their hands

The challenges which Obinze will have to endure at home in his efforts at securing employment, the hostility of the society to him as a failed migrant and his friends' avoidance pictures the

home as not feeling entirely like home. Nonetheless, his determination to hustle for success

gives him the elastic perseverance that paves the way for his eventual success.

Ifemelu whose own return is voluntary is equally challenged. The years spent in the

United States have made the home totally strange and unattractive to Ifemelu. Consequently,

Adichie unambiguously depicts how the home can become a site of struggle and home could be

detestable, especially when the origin home is less developed than the diaspora home.

Consequently, the two concepts: 'being-at-home' and 'being-home' are rendered problematic.

This conflict at the heart of the home are understandable because, within migration theories, "it

is the 'real' home, the very space from which one imagines oneself to have originated, and in

which one projects the self as both belonging and original, that is the most unfamiliar: it is here

that one is a guest, relying on the hospitality of others. It is this home which, in the end,

becomes Home through the very *failure* of memory…" (Ahmed 1999: 330).

When Aisha, Ifemelu's hair stylist in Trenton, asks her whether she can stay in Nigeria,

Ifemelu quickly recollects that when her aunt finally accepts that she is serious about returning to

Nigeria, she (her aunt) also asks a similar question: "Will you be able to cope?"   In the same

way, her parents believe she may not be able to cope with Nigeria but are consoled by the fact

that she can always return to America, since she is an American citizen.   The reality of the

deplorable conditions of her homeland stare Ifemelu boldly in the face as soon as she takes her

first ride through the city of Lagos:

"Ifemelu stared out of the window, half listening, thinking how

unpretty Lagos was, roads infested with potholes, houses springing

up unplanned like weeds. Of her jumble of feelings, she recognized

only confusion" (p. 386).

A further description of Lagos life from Ifemelu's view depicts the chaos and confusion determining daily life in that city:

…Lagos assaulted her; the sun-dazed haste, the yellow buses full of squashed

limbs, the sweating hawkers racing after cars, the advertisements on hulking

billboards… and the heaps of rubbish that rose on the roadsides like taunt.

Commerce thrummed too defiantly. And the air was dense with exaggeration,

conversations full of over-protestations. One morning, a man's body lay on

Awolowo Road. Another morning, The Island flooded and cars became gasping

boats. Here, she felt, anything could happen, a ripe tomato could burst out of

solid stone. And so she had the dizzying sensation of falling, falling into the new

person she had become, falling into the strange familiar. Had it always been like

this or had it changed so much in her absence? (p. 385)

Apart from the conditions of the landscape, many aspects about her people including their fashions and passions, religious practices, spending habits, organizational and work ethics among other things, look very unfamiliar to Ifemelu. Thus, the details of her friend's blusher that is too red on her cheeks like bruises, and the green satin flowers in her hair that is askew; the importance and pride of having governors attend one's ceremony; the loud, discordant drone of too many generators whose sound pierced the soft middle of her ears and throbbed in her head assault Ifemelu's sense of decency. Other culture shocks include the monstrous ugly mansion

which must be considered beautiful; the vapid magazines that profile interviews of boring rich women who have achieved nothing and have zilch to say coupled with the bombastic ways of speaking are some of the things that Ifemelu will have to learn and must learn quickly about her homeland. In light of her friends' romantic relationships that are based on financial and material gains, the disclosure by Doris that the women profiled in *Zoe*, the magazine she works for as a feature editor, usually pay Aunty Onenu, the magazine publisher, to be profiled, Ifemelu soon learns so many things including how to be bombastic: "I started feeling truly at home again when I started being bombastic!" (p. 430).

With W. Dumon's (1986) submission that "the returnee can be defined as a person who, in order to be reaccepted, has to readapt to the changed cultural and behavioural patterns of his community of origin and this is resocialization" (cited in Cassarino 2004: 259), Ifemelu is a returnee par excellence because she not only readjusts and readapts to the cultural and behavioral patterns of her homeland, she also makes this theoretical adjustment the theme of the first article in her Nigerian blog which focuses on Nigerpolitan Club, the society of Nigerians who recently returned from England and the US:

>Lagos has never been, will never be, and has never aspired to be like New York, or anywhere else for that matter. Lagos has always been undisputably itself, but would not know this at the meeting of the Nigerpolitan Club, a group of young returnees who gather every week to moan about the ways that Lagos is not like New York as though Lagos had ever been close to being like New York. …If your cook cannot make the perfect Panini, it is not because he is stupid. I t is because Nigeria is not a nation of sandwich-eating people and his last oga did not eat

bread in the afternoon. So he needs training and practice. And Nigeria is not a

nation of people with food allergies, not a nation of picky eaters for whom food is

about distinctions and separations. It is a nation of people who eat beef and

chicken and cow skin and intestines and dried fish in a single bowl of soup, and it

is called assorted, and *so get over yourselves and realize that the way of life here*

is just that, assorted (p. 421) (emphasis added).

Though the article is composed rather sarcastically, it does not deny the fact that Adichie is

making a theoretical assertion that indicates how different the Nigerian nation is from developed

nations of the world, and how returning migrants must learn to admit and embrace this difference

and readjust in order to first be accepted in the homeland, and also make themselves feel at

home.

Within a short period, having become accustomed to how things work in her homeland,

Ifemelu no longer sends text messages to her friend asking where to buy some specifics. At this

juncture, she can truly think: "I'm really home. I'm home" (p. 411). The most important factor

in Ifemelu's re-adaptation and readjustment for reintegration in her homeland is found two pages

to the end of the text. By this time, Ifemelu is well-grounded as a Nigerian blogger writing on

different subject matters that are peculiar to the Nigerian society and her sense of self-fulfillment

and homeliness which indicates she is in Nigeria to stay become so evident: "she was at peace: to

be at home, to be writing her blog, to have discovered Lagos again. She had, finally, spun

herself fully into being" (p. 475).

THE TRIUMPH OVER "CHOICELESSNESS"

During his youthful days, Obinze is obsessed with America, thus; he reads a lot about and on America. The indication is that America, for Obinze, is that exciting place on the other side and it is his migration to America that will definitely make him secure victory over the "choicelessness" plaguing his life. Unfortunately, his desire to migrate to America will never be satisfied as the post-9/11 American immigration measures are tougher and practically insurmountable. In spite of his inability to migrate to America and his failed migration in Britain, Obinze is still able to triumph over "choicelessness."

During his first meeting with Ifemelu upon her return to Nigeria, Obinze tells her in plain terms that the charm that America has over him in his youthful days no longer exists.   As the discussion reveals, Obinze's success over "choicelessness" is deeply ingrained in the wealth he has been able to accumulate in Nigeria over the years:

> "What are you reading these days?" she asked. "I'm sure you've read
> every American novel ever published."
> "I've been reading a lot more of non-fiction, history and
> biographies. About everything, not just America."
> "What, you fell out of love?"
> "I realized I could buy America, and it lost its shine. When all I had
> was my passion for America, they didn't give me a visa, but with
> my new bank account, getting visa was very easy. I've visited a few
> times (p. 433-34).

With Obinze's triumph over "choicelessness" by harnessing the business opportunities in Nigeria, Adichie seems to be making a subtle call to intending migrants plagued by "choicelessness" and looking for something exciting somewhere else, to first look inwards within the homeland:

> "…I met this guy the other day, and he was telling me how he started
>
> his satellite-dish business about twenty years ago. This was when
>
> satellite dishes were still new in the country and so he was bringing
>
> in something most people didn't know about. He put his business plan
>
> together, and came up with a good price that would fetch him a good

profit.

> Another friend of his, who was already a businessman and was going to

invest in the business, took a look at the price and asked him to double it. Otherwise, he said, the Nigerian wealthy would not buy. He doubled it and it worked."

> "Crazy," she said. "Maybe it's always been this way and we didn't know

because we couldn't know. It's as if we are looking at an adult Nigeria that we didn't know about" (p. 429)

The fact that the said "businessman" started his booming business about twenty years before then, which most likely coincides with the peak of Obinze's and Ifemelu's passionate decision to subdue "choicelessness", implicitly indicates that if the two had been patient enough to discover

that there were exciting things around them, they would never have been plagued by "choicelessness." After all, Obinze's success is made possible by his stay in Nigeria.

On her own part, Ifemelu triumphs over "choicelessness" because she is now an American citizen. If any situation that is beyond her control arises, she can as well decide to return to America, her diaspora home. The very first night that Ifemelu passes in Nigeria indicates this:

> A painful throbbing had started behind her eyes and a mosquito was buzzing
>
> nearby and she felt suddenly, guiltily grateful that she had a blue American
>
> passport in her bag. It shielded her from choicelessness. She could always leave;
>
> she did not have to stay (p.390).

Although Ifemelu never thinks of returning again to America later in the text, the fact remains that her American citizenship has adequately protected her from choicelessness.

OF CLOSURE AND AMERICANAH SIGNIFICATION

As disclosed in the earlier part of this paper, understanding the significance of Americanah is highly crucial to the understanding of *Americanah* as a fictionalized theory and theorized fiction. In its very Nigerian context, Americanah is identification based on a previous living experience in America, which is self-revealing in the American accent of the individual. Thus, Americanah is an affinity without root or deep roots where American is the identity of rootedness in, and belongingness to, America. While the former is desirable, the latter is preferable and is the goal of most migrants in America. With Ifemelu's return to Nigeria, she privileges being called an Americanah over being referred to as an American. She is contented to be described in terms of

her past experience of living in America. In this way, Adichie is literarily proposing a return migration for everyone in the diaspora, especially Nigerians.

In fact, Ifemelu will prefer to delineate her identity as an Americanah only in terms of her former experience of living in America, exclusive of an American accent. For this reason, long before her decision to return to Nigeria, Ifemelu decides to stop speaking with an American accent in order to hold on to, affirm, and assert her identity as a Nigerian:

Ifemelu decided to stop faking American accent on a sunlit day. … It was convincing, the accent. She had perfected, from careful watching of friends and newscasters, the blurring of the *t*, the creamy roll of the *r*, the sentences starting with "So", and the sliding response of "Oh really", but the accent creaked with consciousness, it was an act of will. It took an effort, the twisting of lip, the curling of tongue. If she were in a panic, or terrified, or jerked awake during a fire, she would not remember how to produce those American sounds. And so she resolved to stop (p. 173).

Why was it a compliment, an accomplishment, to sound American? She had won: Cristina Tomas, pallid-faced Cristina Tomas under whose gaze she had shrunk like a small, defeated animal, would speak to her normally now. She had won, indeed, but her triumph was full of air. Her fleeting victory had left in its wake a vast, echoing space, because she had taken on, for too long, a pitch of voice and a way of being that was not hers. And so she finished eating her eggs and resolved to stop faking the American sound (p. 175).

In order to make Americanah prominent as a symbolic of return migration, Adichie continues to present return migration as a common trend in the everyday Nigerian life. For making return migration the normal occurrence at the end of a migration story, Adichie makes it easy for Ifemelu to decide to return to Nigeria at a time when she is still clouded by uncertainty:

> She scoured Nigerian websites, Nigerian profiles on Facebook, Nigerian blogs,
> and each click brought yet another story of a young person who had recently
> moved back home, clothed in America or British degrees, to start an investment
> company, a music production business, a fashion label, a magazine, a fast-food
> franchise (p. 13).

Return migration as a normal end of international migration is equally observable through Ranyinudo, Ifemelu's friend, who makes her intended return look normal: "Lagos is now full of American returnees, so you better come back and join them" (p. 14).

This signification of return migration is also projected in Dike's visit to Nigeria. Although Dike has lived all of his life in America, he decides to pay a visit to Ifemelu, his cousin, in Nigeria. In the nature of that migrant who is ready to adapt in order to be accepted at home, Dike soon learns how to go to the back of the house and put on the generator when power goes off; he becomes eager and even desperate to transcend his ability to understand Igbo to being able to speak the language fluently and finally confesses to Ifemelu: "I kind of like it here." The import of Dike's statement in relation to the signification of Americanah is obvious

because he makes the statement while standing on the corridor watching rain droplets in the typical Nigerian situation where rainfall is a harbinger of different woes:

> The rain would come down, a sea unleashed from the sky, and the DSTV images would get grainy, phone networks would clog, the roads would flood and traffic would gnarl. She stood with Dike on the verandah as the early droplets came down.

> "I kind of like it here," he told her (p. 425).

The full import of Dike's statement cannot be conceived until when placed in the context of the situation that precedes the statement. The description of the woes accompanying a common natural occurrence like the rain should ordinarily make the Nigerian environment less desirable for someone raised in America throughout his life. However, because Adichie is using the signification of Americanah to posit return migration as the end of every migration story, Dike, in spite of the ugliness, likes the Nigerian environment as every normal child loves and yearns for the mother. Through this literary turn, Adichie finally and significantly opens up the new path that she is charting for every migration story, not only in literature, but also in real-time.

BIOGRAPHY

Bimbola Oluwafunlola Idowu-Faith earned her PhD from the English Department of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. Her PhD thesis titled "Hyperfictional Language in Michael Joyce's *afternoon, a story* and Megan Heyward's *of day, of night*" is a stylistic investigation into how language materials, applied media aesthetics and textual creativities within hyperfiction texts blur the borders between postmodern literary theories and hypertext theories. She is presently at the Department of Mass Communication and Information Technology, Oduduwa University, Ipetumodu. Her interests are in the areas of stylistics, cultural semiotics, new media studies, trauma studies, women studies and film studies.

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"AFIE NI AFIE" (HOME IS HOME)[2]: REVISITING REVERSE TRANS-ATLANTIC JOURNEYS TO GHANA AND THE PARADOX OF RETURN

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ABSTRACT

This article traces different waves of reverse migrations to the Gold Coast, now Ghana, which began in the early nineteenth century. The article explores external motivations for pursuing these journeys and factors internal to Ghanaian history that facilitated reverse migrations. Both contributed to the contradictions of return and the paradox of freedom or the illusion that their physical presence in Ghana would fulfil their fantasy. Part of the article chronicles the stories of individuals, family groups, and the transatlantic communities they created: Brazilian-Africans (Tabom), Caribbean Africans and American-Africans. The article focuses on themes of slavery, emancipation, abolition, reverse migrations and Pan-African activities in Ghana. This article maintains that literature on reverse migrations should extend beyond the narrow focus of the New World back to Africa. I assert that there are other reverse migratory paths from West Africa to Brazil (after liberated Brazilian-Africans settled in Africa in the early 1800s) and between Nigeria and Ghana that have been overlooked by scholars in their study of reverse migrations to Ghana and West Africa in general. In the end, this article shows similarities in reverse migrations and shared cultural kinship as members of the returnee communities in Lagos-Nigeria (the Aguda) and Accra-Ghana (the Tabom) crisscrossed the West African Atlantic and created various identities.

INTRODUCTION

Reverse migrations to Africa began in the seventeenth century when millions of enslaved Africans were transported across the Atlantic through the middle passage.[3] The Africans revolted during their long voyages and sought different avenues to return to the various communities from where they were captured. Although the slaves left behind their families and loved ones after their involuntary journeys, Africa never left them. Indeed, the concept of return did not emerge overnight. The slaves continued to retain their memory of a home in Africa while in the Americas. The combination of their horrific experiences crossing the Atlantic, the degrees of plantation exploitations, and a deep yearning to be free, in particular, drove waves of voyagers across dangerous Atlantic waters back to a home in Africa characterized as the "bosom of the fatherland."[4]

The journeys of hope and the various preparations, alliances, and collaborations between African slaves from their time of capture and the onset of their emancipation epitomize the birth of Pan-Africanism. Indeed, although this notion of common kinship to Africa and shared struggle united the dispersed enslaved populations in the New World, it was disrupted somehow. This sense of unity and fantasy about a home elsewhere in Africa collided with the reality of rejection, the paradox of freedom and challenges associated with reverse migrations. Over time, the illusion of return—the realization that re-settlement in Africa was not going to be as easy as expected—re-defined their sense of home and their kinship ties with Africans. This article seeks to move the discourse on reverse diaspora migrations from the periphery to the forefront of Ghanaian and Atlantic historiography. The goal is not only to trace the origins of reverse migrations in Ghana but to show the distinct ways in which Brazilian-Africans/the Tabom, American-Africans and the Caribbean returnees identify with Ghana in the twenty-first century.[5]

As this article looks beyond existing paradigm, I argue that limited scholarship about the ways in which the social history of Ghana shaped aspects of reverse migrations has complicated narratives of Ghana. This includes contestations about how to acquire Ghanaian citizenship and identity politics.

In most cases, a voyage to Africa provides a forum for returnees to display their dual-identity and to make claims to a single form of citizenship or dual-citizenship. Kim D. Butler reminds us that by responding to the call to return "home" Diasporan blacks sought to "articulate their rightful share as citizens of nations they helped to create [during the anti-colonial movements]."[6] According to Butler, "a century ago, radical black activists dissatisfied with the hand they were dealt bore witness to common ills suffered by Africans on the continent and abroad. Today, transnational alliances hold the potential of improving the lives of African peoples and their descendants. There are many fronts to forge such relationships."[7]

The forging of relationships that Butler notes, especially at the height of Pan-Africanism in the nineteenth century, calls attention to the challenges freed slaves and their offspring encountered. Particularly significant are the obstacles that those born outside Ghana face while showcasing their Diasporan identity and negotiating their distant blood ties to Ghana via their ancestors' experiences with the middle passage. In drawing parallels between the different levels of Pan-African consciousness, this article asserts that cross-cultural interactions and mutual exchanges between returnees and Ghanaians, mirror other challenges liberated Africans and their descendants were confronted with in Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Angola and other locations.[8] The lived experiences of both emancipated Africans in Brazil and the offspring of liberated Africans from the United States (US) and the Caribbean, especially the historical experience of slavery, have contributed to the ways both groups respond to their transatlantic

past and to Ghanaians. In the case of Ghana, the identities of the Brazilians were influenced by the fact that most of their offspring were born in Ghana, their varying perceptions and diverse memory of their ancestors' experience with slavery, particularly the gradual assimilation into Ghanaian societies that began in the late nineteenth century. As will be discussed later, the returnees' descendants had different levels of experiences.

Aside from the appeal of Pan-Africanism, people of African descent are drawn to Ghana because of its historical ties to the middle passage.[9] Most Diasporans have visited Ghana because it has many more slave forts, dungeons, and castles along its Atlantic coastline than other areas in West Africa.[10] Ghana's record in post-independence democratic political transitions, especially in terms of its capacity to successfully address post-election disputes through judicial processes rather than violent uprisings, has elevated Ghana's image and justified its portrayal as an exemplary nation of peace.[11] This view of Ghana as politically stable reinforced other positive factors that drew Diasporans to Ghana prior to the demise of British rule on March 6, 1957. Besides, the inflows and outflows of people of African ancestry seeking to reconnect to their heritage in Ghana seemed never-ending. For most returnees, their temporal or permanent interactions with Ghana validate a part of their African identity—hence their determination to acquire dual citizenship despite past disappointments.

This article is divided into two sections: the first section traces the different forms of reverse migrations from the New World to Ghana and the motivations for these travels and settlements. This section also shows the reasons why it is difficult to quantify the total number of freed slaves who participated in the creation of reverse Diaspora migrations and Diaspora communities in Ghana. The second section provides two examples of reverse migrations within West Africa—the case of the Aguda in Nigeria and the Tabom in Ghana—and discusses the

ways in which emancipated Africans and their offspring traveled back and forth between these two locations. It ends with a brief discussion about contradictions of freedom and complexity of return.

TRACING THE ORIGINS OF REVERSE MIGRATIONS TO GHANA: REVERSE MIGRATIONS FROM THE PRE-COLONIAL ERA

The Brazilian-African presence which began at the height of abolition in Brazil in the early 1800s is the only one that occurred during the pre-colonial era. Manumission, the 1835 slave revolts in Bahia, Brazil and the demise of slavery in Brazil in 1888 all contributed to the reverse migrations.[12] The arrival of the liberated Africans, however, coincided with colonial ventures in Accra. The intersection between these two historical developments shaped the story of freedom and the contradictions of return as the freed slaves were subjected to British colonial ordinances.[13] There were two major migration patterns: those directly from Brazil to Accra and the others from Brazil to various locations in West Africa, particularly to Lagos and later to Accra.[14] According to colonial documents deposited at the Public Records and Archives Administration (PRAAD), the first groups of emancipated slaves from Brazil were in Accra in the early 1820s. One of these documents relates that, "The late Aruna was one of the Brazilians who migrated to the Gold Coast in or about 1826."[15] This document does not show whether they stopped in Nigeria, but the descendants of Aruna (one of the freed slave settlers) claim that their grand-dad stayed in Lagos briefly before relocating to Accra.[16]

Another archival collections at PRAAD confirms that, "It appears that as far back as the thirties [1830s] a ship load of Africans were landed from Brazil and after they were land [sic] the Gã chiefs gave them land to build on the town Accra and also bush land to cultivate."[17] This archival record does not say who these people are, but another document at PRAAD describes

the arrival of another group of freed slaves a decade later. The reference notes that, "Sometime

in the year 1836, Brazilians landed here [Accra], they came in one cargo ship; there were seven

elders among them namely Mama Sokoto and others…that land was granted to them…the land

remained the property of the Brazilian community."[18] The gifts of land the Gã chiefs gave, or

were granted to the freed slaves as pointed out in the last two quotes, shaped their history and

identity in Accra overtime. Besides, the three documents above show that the earliest recorded

settlement in Accra was in 1826 and continued the decade after. The Brazilian-African reverse

migrations to Ghana continued after the end of slavery in 1888, but there is no evidence that

shows these migrations continued from the early 1900s.

During this time, the then Gold Coast was divided into two halves: the Southern and the

Northern Protectorate.[19] The Southern Protectorate, as the name implies, was about half-way

from the middle of the country to the coast, while the latter includes the upper part from the

Ashante Empire. At the height of colonial rule in Ghana in the early 1900s, both the Southern

and Northern Protectorate came under British rule after the British finally defeated the Ashanti

Empire in the Yaa Asantewaa War, or the British-Ashanti War of 1901.[20] This important

development shaped reverse migrations.

Literature about the Caribbean presence in Ghana is scanty. The Caribbean/West Indies

reverse migration story is understudied and the archives are not forthcoming about their

presence. However, the few works available provide significant overview of the Caribbean

expatriates in Ghana.[21]

REVERSE MIGRATIONS IN THE COLONIAL ERA

British colonial conquest in Ghana after the defeat of the Ashante Empire was an important turning point in the history of Ghana. This development led to numerous changes, not only in the political dynamics of the colony, it also gave the British the opportunity to introduce different degrees of colonial ordinances, including the Public Land Ordinances of 1876.[22] Correspondence between British colonial officials housed at the British National Archives in Kew, explains the urgency for these new laws to raise revenue for the colonist. Other laws required expertise and specialized skills to implement these reforms as part of larger colonial ventures. Emancipated Africans in the Caribbean/West Indians served these important colonial needs.

The African Caribbean returnees who consisted of professionals such as engineers, postal clerks, and medical doctors, lawyers among others were transported to assist with British colonial projects.[23] Indeed, the liberated Africans from the West Indies did not relocate under the same conditions as the Brazilian-Africans who joined dangerous voyages to Ghana. For instance, slavery ended in Jamaica by the mid-1840s which allowed a number of freed slaves to acquire different professional skills when it became part of the Crown Colony a decade later.

In fact, the collaborations between British colonial officials and the professionals from Jamaica and other areas in the Caribbean were not the only arrangements that facilitated the creation of the first Caribbean returnee community in Ghana in the early 1990s. A group of their populations was drawn to Ghana by Basel Missionaries and other religious groups, to propagate Christianity.[24] Although slavery did not end until 1888, most of the returnees from Brazil, who arrived in the Gold Coast colony, did so after they gained their freedom from the early 1820s.

REVERSE MIGRATIONS IN THE POST-COLONIAL ERA

The third set of reverse migrations by American-Africans is different in terms of the historical conditions in Ghana at the time and the period it occurred. It happened after the end of British colonial rule on March 6, 1957. Former Ghanaian president Nkrumah's role in fostering ties between African nationalist leaders and civil rights activists to end both colonization and segregation in American Jim Crow South opened up a new chapter,[25] placing Ghana on the pedestal of Pan-Africanism and transatlantic politics.[26] American-Africans' story of reverse migration is different from the first migrations, which were shaped by emancipation of slaves in Brazil; and the second, which was motivated by the needs of British colonial rulers and the Basel Mission in Ghana to boost colonial projects and to spread Christianity. In addition, it is different from the Brazilian-African story, particularly in the sense that it consisted mainly of the offspring of liberated slaves in the US.

In general, the American-African story is also part of or an extension of the larger history of reverse migrations from North America to Liberia and Sierra-Leone which was partly funded by the American Colonization Society from the post-Reconstruction periods in the mid-nineteenth century.[27] What set those who relocated to Ghana apart during Nkrumah's tenure at the Civil Rights Movements in the 1950s and the 1960s and those who moved to Ghana in the post-Nkrumah eras from 1970s is that the former were mainly invited by Nkrumah but the latter explored Ghana on their own. Overall, the various waves of reverse migrations to Ghana share similar broader themes entrenched in the history of slavery, revolts, emancipation, identity formation and notions of citizenship. For contemporary reverse migrations from the 1990s, most of these returnees travelled to Ghana virtually because of their memory of ancestral ties and shared cultural connections to Africa.[28]

As noted earlier, politically, the history of American-Africans' reverse migrations to Ghana was colored largely by Pan-African rhetoric at the peak of anti-colonial resistance and the Civil Rights Movements that gained enormous momentum in the American Jim Crow South in the 1950s and the 1960s. During this time, the returnees rejected notions of American democracy because American versions of democracy at this time operated side by side with racism and segregation from the early 1900s. Therefore, American blacks sought various sanctuaries in race-free societies outside America.[29] While a number of black Americans relocated to European cities such as Paris, France, others focused on Africa.[30] If the onset of British colonial rule in Ghana favored the expertise of the returnees from the Caribbean, the demise of British rule on the other hand benefited American-African intellectuals, activists, and radicals who supported post-independence reforms in Ghana.[31] According to Gaines, "Ghana was a haven for a range of activists working at the intersection of anti-colonial, civil rights, leftist, and pacifist movements."[32] Gaines also asserts that the "interwoven and anti-colonial routes of passage influenced the political formation of pan-African nationalist leaders and intellectuals, including Kwame Nkrumah (the first prime minister and president of Ghana) who ruled from 1957-1966, George Padmore, and St. Clair Drake" to collaborate and sustain the Pan-African ideology across the Ghanaian and American sides of the Atlantic.

REVERSE MIGRATIONS FROM THE 1990S

In the 1950s in Ghana, under Nkrumah's rule, Pan-African consciousness and post-independence reforms remained the dominant historical forces shaping the first incoming waves of American-African migration until Nkrumah was overthrown in a 1966 military coup.[33] During the 1990s, cultural and economic factors, including the prominent heritage tourism industry, attracted the

second waves of migration to Ghana, both permanent and temporary settlers. According to

American-African returnees in Ghana, these sites of memories along the Central Region

coastline have dual purposes: to connect with spirits of their ancestors in the now sacred spaces

where they once experienced horrors of the middle passage; to perform symbolic rites—rituals of

return. During one of these performances the returnees established the "Door of Return"—(a

permanent mark on the opposite side of the "Door of No Return") to show that the descendants

of slaves are back to the horrific sites where their ancestors were forced unto slave ships to the

New World.[34]

The aforementioned influences, Pan-African consciousness and the sociopolitical climate

in the American Jim Crow South, did in fact influence American-African migrations to Ghana in

the early 1960s. The American-Africans who settled in Ghana invested heavily in the tourism

industry, operating car rentals, travel agencies, and tour services, and working in hotel and motel

management, to name a few.[35] Entrepreneurism among the returnees transformed places of

horror to profitable tourism destinations and heritage sites. Whereas beginning the late 1950s it

was politically conscious Pan-Africanism around the African Diaspora—that attracted the

expatriated populations to Nkrumah's Ghana, a new but related force, *Economic* Pan-Africansim,

was now what attracted most of the continuing migrations into Ghana, in spite of the

aforementioned nationalist spirit.

There are other similarities between the American-African and Brazilian-African story; for

instance, in terms of the hospitality shown to the Brazilian-Africans, including the gift of the

Brazilian Land, when they landed in Accra in the 1830s and were welcomed by the Gã King

Tackie Komeh I. The land transformed their history in three main ways: first, it contained the

freed slaves, because of what the land required, within a relatively small area, which enabled

them to sustain their Brazilian identity in the areas of language and religion, as well as in terms of other cultural aspects[36]; second, most of the freed slaves became first-time landowners with the allocation of the Brazilian Land, and desire among migrants to make this story their own attracted more settlers from other areas along the Bight of Benin; third, and above all, this vast area of land allowed returnees to continue practicing their skills and contributing to development in pre-colonial Accra.[37]

Over a century later, Ghanaian leaders and government institutions developed an incentive strategy to draw Diasporans into the country, adapted from the story of former Gã King Komeh I and his gift to the returnees. Diasporan Africans have responded well to incentives to return to Africa to perform or display their Pan-African consciousness and their "dual" identities in tandem and support new reforms. Not all the returnees are Pan-Africanist, some are in Ghana based on the promise of being initiated as *nkonsohene /nkosohemaa* (development chiefs), and others, as investors and entrepreneurs, are attracted by the tax-breaks or other incentives of dual-citizenship.[38] These and other incentives created paths for reconnecting with an imagined African heritage.

UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT THEIR POPULATION: WHY THEY ARE UNCOUNTABLE

The archives at PRAAD, the major archival repository in Ghana, contain no estimates or information pertaining to the size of Brazilian migrants during the pre-colonial era—not from the period the slaves gained manumission, or when they succeeded in revolts in Bahia, Brazil, or after the demise of slavery in 1888.[39] It is likely that the archival documents contain no population statistics because of the spontaneous nature of their resettlements as they arrived individually or in groups. Part of the reason is due to the fact that many more slaves were taken

from their homes in Nigeria than in Ghana, and therefore the focus of most archives has been on the former.[40] Information in archives at *Arquivo Publico da Bahia*, Bahia, Brazil which includes police and immigration records, is also silent or not sufficient to show the population that settled in Ghana. There are ample records at the British National Archives in Kew even if these data mainly show reverse travels (for commerce) back and forth to Brazil and Nigeria before slavery was abolished in Brazil. These reports also reveal correspondence by the British Consulate officials in Nigeria and the British Crown regarding the future of the freed slaves.[41] One such letter from Benjamin Campbell to Claredon states that, "My protection of those Africans who having purchased their emancipation from slavery in Brazil have settled in Lagos…as it armed me with the authority to interfere on behalf of 230 of these self-emancipated Africans lately brought to Lagos from Rio Janeiro and Bahia in the Portuguese vessel *Linda Flor*."[42]

Although the letter from Campbell states that there were about 230 returnees, it is difficult to find consistency with the records. There is ongoing debate about the population of these returnees. It is believed that about 700 of the liberated Africans left Brazil for various destinations in West Africa, but these records do not tell us how many made it to Ghana. Information about their descendants' travels and population size at different periods is difficult to find in the archives. Stories about their arrival and information drawn from interviews with members of the community indicate that possibly a little more than 300 freed slaves landed in Accra between the 1820s and the late 1800s.[43] The Tabom leaders believe there were about 1 million Ghanaians of Brazilian ancestry by the end of the twentieth century.[44] A recent census in Ghana did not resolve this matter because, instead of classifying Tabom as descendants of Brazilians, it identified them as Ghanaians from different ethnic groups.

Statistics about the returnees from the Caribbean and the United States, like those about returnees from Brazil, are non-existent. These limitations continue to blur efforts to trace their population. For data in the post-independence period, part of the problem is that The Immigration and Naturalization Services in Ghana do not group American travelers to Ghana on basis of their race. It is therefore challenging to know how many Americans of African ancestry arrive in Ghana each day.[45] However, some studies claim that about 60-90 expatriates supported Nkrumah's post-independence reforms from the 1950s.[46] There is no data on those who are part of the second waves (1970-1980), but it is estimated that about 3,000 to 4,000 American-Africans were in Ghana by the end of 2012.[47] Lack of statistics at the Immigration office in Accra does not end with the American-African story of the 1950s. Caribbean returnees are grouped on the basis of their individual countries, but even with this approach there is no substantial or holistic data on the population currently in the country.

In general, the Tabom people outnumber other returnees in Ghana. As mentioned earlier, their ancestors were the first group of returnees to settle in Ghana.[48] The liberated Brazilian-Africans and their offspring (mostly born in Ghana) had a longer period of time to develop their history. Part of this history includes their long-history of marriage union with Ghanaians. Returnees from the Caribbean and the US do not have this kind of history. This stark difference from other returnee groups, in particular, shaped the ways in which the Tabom developed linguistically and enabled the Tabom to assimilate into and make an impact on Ghanaian cultures.[49]

REVERSE MIGRATIONS FROM LAGOS TO ACCRA:
AGUDA-TABOM CONNECTIONS

It would be misleading to limit the study of reverse migrations or the creation of reverse returnee Diaspora communities to early ones that emerged after slaves left various plantations in the New World to Africa in the early 1800s without showcasing internal reverse migrations between two or more settlement communities. In the case of this study, the various cross-cultural interactions and exchanges that took place between the Aguda and the Tabom in cyclical forms is used to explain flaws and limitations in current literature. There are numerous stories that fall under this category in the case of the travel routes between Lagos and Accra. However, the life stories of two emancipated Brazilian-Africans, a man referred to as Ferku and a woman called Madam Okpedu is covered briefly to show the fluidity and complexity of reverse migrations.

The records at PRAAD show that Ferku was one of the liberated Brazilians who left Brazil for Lagos in the mid-1800s to locate a home. It is believed that he later traveled by sea to Accra in the late 1800s and married a woman called Yawah. I describe this as "stop-over" journeys.[50] According to this story, "Her parents hailed from Brazil. Her father's name being Aruna and mother's name was Fatuma. Ferku engaged and married her according to Brazil customs."[51] During their 20 years of marriage Ferku traveled back and forth to Lagos to continue his trading activities, and to visit other family members he left behind. However, there is no evidence that Yawah, who was born in Accra to two freed slaves, ever visited Lagos either before or after their marriage. The love story between the two and Ferku's nomadic lifestyle took a drastic turn when Ferku decided to resettle in Lagos in his old age around the 1920s. To avoid friction between them, Ferku decided to seek help from Yawah's parents and also compensate

Yawah with a gift of land which Ferku received as part of the gifts of land Gã King Komeh that

gave to the early Brazilian settlers. According to this love story,

> "Ferku was old before he married Yawah, and when [he] was about to leave for
>
> Lagos, he told Plaintiff's mother [Fatuma] that he may not likely return back again to
>
> Accra as he is old and the only thing he can do for his wife the Plaintiff as a gift was the
>
> land now in dispute [on] the portion of land he has sold same to one Kwartei Asanti to
>
> defray his expenses to Lagos."[52]

The piece of land Yawah inherited from her husband became entangled in broader land

disputes between members of the Brazilian community in Accra.[53] There is no evidence that

Ferku returned to Accra after he left Accra somewhere in the 1920s. The multiple reverse travels

were a common practice among the returnee communities.

The complex Atlantic travels and identities that emerged in Accra in the case of Ferku and

Yawah, who were both born to Brazilian slaves, are exceptions. Other stories transcended the

Aguda-Tabom dichotomy, or did not emerge between people of Brazilian descent. In some cases,

the freed slaves' journey from Brazil crossed paths with numerous ethnic groups in West Africa

during the process of assimilation. For instance, the story about Madam Okpedu, who most

likely migrated from Brazil to Nigeria and later to Accra in search of a home and various forms

of opportunities, shaped the history of the Peregrino-Brimah family lineage. This did not occur

by accident. Okpedu, one of the founding mothers of the Brazilian family tree in Accra, was

married to Chief Ibrahim Brimah, a devout Yoruba Muslim, philanthropist, entrepreneur, and

community leader in the early 1900s. During his stay in colonial Accra, Brimah, like other

Yoruba and non-Yoruba Muslims, migrated to Accra to spread his faith and to trade. He

established Muslim Mohammedans community and other important towns as Tudu, a town near

Accra. His other accomplishments include the creation of a central business district known as Cow lane, which was an important location for selling cows, other animals, and kola in Central Accra.

The narratives in the archives are not clear about Okpedu's origin or how her parents were sent to Brazil. However, there is ample evidence that establishes her Brazilian-African heritage. Okpedu is not only a household name among the Peregrino-Brimah family; her name also appears in numerous colonial administrative papers, including Supreme Court documents and land tenure records at PRAAD. These archival collections and ongoing court disputes between Okpedu's descendants over land tenure and the distribution of their properties validate her Brazilian ancestry. They also reveal her life as a slave as well as her ties to other Brazilians in Accra. On the other hand, correspondence between Gã *maŋtsɛmɛi* (chiefs) and British colonial officials refer to the significance of Chief Brimah in the organization and creation of Mohammedans and Islamic communities in Accra. For instance, file number ADM 11/1/1505 labeled "Hausa Community-Accra" contain reports about Gã King Tackie Tawiah's (reigned from 1862-1902) endorsement of Brimah as the leader of the Mohammedan community. This document, in particular, shows that the Aguda were not the only migrant groups that contributed to the Tabom-Brazilian identity formation—the Yorubas, like Chief Brimah, also made an impact.

A dark part of Okpedu's marriage union with Brimah has emerged in the twenty-first century. A body of archival documents at the Supreme Court, Accra shows evidence of recent conflicts over Chief Brimah's land and other assets. The ongoing dispute says a lot about the entangled dissonance of memory, conflicting identity formation, and issues of citizenship in the Brazilian-Tabom story. The major court dispute between the Peregrino and Chief Brimah's

children from another marriage in the twenty-first century, which occurred over six decades after the demise of Okpedu (somewhere in the 1940s), has opened new wounds about their past. The two groups are seriously arguing over her origins. On the one hand, the Peregrinos, who trace their lineage to Okpedu, are insisting that she was a freed Brazilian slave in Accra before she married Chief Brimah. Brimah's descendants, however, claim that Okpedu was still a slave when she was involved in the polygamous relation with Brimah, so she and her offspring do not deserve any of Brimah's possessions. The point is that slaves were not entitled or qualified to hold any assets until they were free.[54] There is evidence that some of the freed slaves from the New World were re-enslaved in various locations after they returned to Africa;[55] however, this particular case fails to establish how Madam Okpedu, a freed slave from Brazil, later became a slave in Accra.

There are other ways of tracing the Aguda-Tabom ties. As some of the collections at Kew demonstrate, in general, stop-over settlements in Lagos planted seeds that sprouted into multiple migrations elsewhere in West Africa. Emancipated Africans in Lagos who embarked on additional travels to Accra in the early nineteenth century left an indelible mark that served as a bridge and a path for exploring, creating, and sustaining Tabom communities in British Accra. Furthermore, the Aguda returnees who crisscrossed the Atlantic were active players and agents in the creation of Tabom communities in Accra. They did not only relocate to Accra to be part of what became known as the *Tabon Quarters* but they carried their religions, cultures, and skills along with them.[56] In doing so, these fluid transatlantic travels and exchanges set the stage for descendants of the Peregrinos in Ghana to trace their ancestral ties to their relatives at the Brazilian Olosun Mosque on Bamgbose Street in Lagos that was established in 1858 by their

ancestors (see Figure 1). Additionally, the Lagos-Accra connection route facilitated reverse

slavery practices that were engineered by the returnees.

Figure 1: Brazilian Olusun Mosque (Picture taken by Kwame Essien)

WHEN THE PAST IS/NOT THE PRESENT:
CONTRADICTIONS OF FREEDOM AND ILLUSION OF RETURN

There are limited archival documents on the three major returnee communities covered in this

study, but there are somewhat more collections available for research on the Brazilian-African

narrative. Most of the Brazilian story is buried deeply within correspondence between the

British Crown, British colonial officials and Gã *maŋtsɛmɛi* (kings and chiefs of Accra). To begin, it is important to restate that there is fairly adequate data for examining the Brazilian-Africans' story mainly because they were the first to arrive at the dawn of the nineteenth century—during the early stages of British colonial rule in Ghana. Fleeing Brazil, the place of servitude, to a place they called home in Ghana came at a price: they escaped from slavery into colonialism in Accra. These two conflicting historical developments have broadened conversation about tensions between abolition and colonialism, particularly the paradox of freedom and how it informs our understanding of the degrees of challenges the freed slaves encountered and their striking resemblance to the challenges encountered while under colonial rule in Ghana.

In terms of the ways in which the liberated Africans confronted colonialism, the documents at PRAAD reveal that Brazilian Chief João Antonio Nelson was among those who were arrested for resisting Colonial Labor Ordinance (CLO) of 1897. Nelson arrived in Accra in 1829 with his parents at the age of three years.[57] Clearly, the returnees from Brazil were not a major threat to colonial projects, but there were other concerns about their presence in Accra. In fact, the British perceived the freed Brazilian-Africans as trouble-makers after Nelson's arrest. Other developments reinforced this suspicion. For instance, at the height of abolition, the British together with other Europeans who competed for colonial space and economic advantage were critical and distrustful of the emancipated Brazilian-African returnees in Accra because of their involvement in slavery during abolition in Ghana. The personal diary of Danish Governor Carstensen sheds light on this suspicion when he relates that, "Dutch Accra has for a long time been the residence for several slave trade agents, especially, immigrant Brasilian negroes who have correspondence in Popo."[58]

European settlers, including Danish Governor Edward Carstensen, raised an alarm about the Brazilian-African returnees who were involved in slavery activities in Accra after their freedom.[59] Governor Carstensen's concerns were legitimate in the sense that ample evidence, including stories by returnees' offspring, affirms how they endured horrors of slavery in Brazil yet also participated in the slave trade in the late 1800s after their settlement in Ghana. The returnees' involvement in slavery after they joined reverse migrations to Africa is another paradox of freedom and return, part of which is discussed at the end of the article.

Returnees from the US in general see Ghana as a place with much promise that could meet their cultural, social, political and economic needs.[60] According to James T. Campbell, "African Americans were much less inclined to think of themselves as saviors of the 'Dark Continent.' Rather, Africa was expected to save them."[61] Others are highly disappointed and frustrated because of the long processes for achieving dual citizenship or The Right of Abode[62] (see Figure 2).

NO.R.A 0044147

GHANA IMMIGRATION SERVICE

THE IMMIGRATION REGULATIONS, 2001

FORM II

APPLICATION FOR RIGHT OF ABODE
(Regulation 13, L.I. 1691)

1. Name in full Mr/Mrs/Miss
2. Previous names (if any)
3. Date and Place of Birth
4. Nationality:
5. Passport/Travel Certificate No   Place & Date of Issue
6. Address (in full) in Ghana   Tel. No
   (a) Postal (office/Business)

   (b) Residential (Street & H/No)   Tel. No
7. Address (overseas)

8. Name & Address of Spouse/sponsor (relationship)

9. Profession   10. Occupation
11. Source of Income/Business:
    (a) Net Income per annum
12. How long Resident in Ghana:
    (a) Date of issue of last Residence Permit
    (b) Date of Expiry of last Residence Permit
13. Date of first Residence Permit in Ghana
14. Name of Character referees in Ghana (where applicable)

    1. (a) Address (Postal)

Figure 2: Application for the Right of Abode

Complicated immigration laws have made the situation even worse. For instance, The *Citizenship Act of 2000* under the Ghanaian constitution which gives the Minister of Interior the right to modify or waive any of the requirements for naturalization has not been enforced yet. In fact, Section (e) of *The Citizenship Act of 2000* requires that all applicants must be able to speak a Ghanaian language: this is a major challenge to the returnees partly because this cannot be achieved overnight. It is not clear how many returnees have been able to achieve this goal and how long it took them. Some of the returnees have objected to these stringent reforms because they claim that their ancestors lost their African citizenship involuntarily therefore their offspring do not need any legal procedures to reinstate what was theirs in the first place.[63]

There are other hurdles to cross. According to Janet Butler, the former president of African American Association in Ghana, their interactions with Ghanaians are sometimes marred by discriminatory and racial comments by the local people.[64] The late Benjamin Harrison Robinson Jr., (Nana Ababio II) a returnee and a former fire fighter in New York who joined the third waves of reverse migrations to Ghana in the early 1990s says it more eloquently: "I was an African when I was captured, I was converted from an African to an American so much that when I returned home my brothers, sisters, and family [Ghanaians] call me a stranger, *Obroni*.[65] This feeling of rejection resonates widely in other stories of reverse migration in Ghana and elsewhere. *ABABIO*, a twenty-first century anthology by returnees from the US and the Caribbean provides an overview of their fascinating and insightful experiences with reverse migrations.[66]

CONCLUSION

This article traces reverse migrations from the New World to Ghana. It pays particular attention to layers of transatlantic travels after freed slaves left Brazil for West Africa to locate a home. Besides the broader migratory routes from the Americas, this article reveals other forms of reverse migrations within West Africa as the freed slaves crisscrossed various Atlantic pathways back and forth from Lagos to Accra in cyclical patterns has been understudied.[67] Their goal was to explore other options elsewhere (outside the first locations they settled after leaving Brazil) and to negotiate different terms of return and their identities.

The unending reverse migrations between multiple geographic locations is a fascinating Atlantic Diaspora story, but it has been obscured by the existing single-dimensional paradigm and literature that places these multiple levels of reverse migrations on the margins. These understudied non-linear trajectory migratory paths across the Atlantic are yet to be given the academic attention they deserve. In addressing these limitations, this article highlights the alternative ways of broadening the scope of reverse migration studies. Part of this understudied non-linear trajectory includes the journeys by the Aguda who traveled back and forth from Nigeria to Brazil (after the liberated slaves settled in Nigeria) to trade and to visit family members during the early stages of their freedom in the 1800s. New reverse migrations include the story of descendants like the Tabom who have traveled to Bahia and other areas in Brazil to visit the old homes of their ancestors.

These crossings and crisscrossing based on memory share a number of things in common with two Ghanaian Akan cultural symbols: *nkyinkyim* and *sankofa*. *Nkyinkyim* means twisting or the notion of constant movements across multiple infinite locations, while *sankofa* which means "going back for something you left behind" to reconnect a missing ancestral linkage. Whereas

the middle passage and the need for free labor created involuntary migrations from Africa to the New World, oppressive conditions in the Americas necessitated revolts which ultimately led to emancipation, especially after abolition in the nineteenth century. Freed slaves from Brazil were the first group of settlers who began reverse migrations to Ghana in the 1820s. On the African side, Ghana in particular, European conquest—British colonial rule and the propagation of the Christian gospel—opened up doors for skilled freed slaves from the Caribbean to join other voyages to Ghana in the late 1800s. The demise of British rule on March 6, 1957, on the other hand, created an avenue for the new leaders of Ghana to invite American-Africans to assist with reforms during the period of self-rule from 1957.

The various historical developments in Ghana in the pre-colonial eras did not only facilitate reverse migrations at different time periods but shaped assimilation processes as well. In fact, they defined and redefined how freed slaves and their offspring negotiated their New World identities and contested terms of citizenship from one time period to the other. The Brazilian-Tabom experience in Ghana has numerous advantages over both the Caribbean/West Indian and American-African story. For instance, the freed Brazilians arrived before other returnees; as a result, they had more time to assimilate into local cultures, especially as they used the head-start given to them by Gã King Komeh I—their "Brazilian land"—to continue applying their skills in agrarian communities and building and expanding their own communities as the *Tabon Quarters*.[68] The Tabom inherited properties as land that other returnees do not have. Most of their descendants were born and raised in Ghana, which makes an incalculable difference in terms of the politics of dual identity and what it means to negotiate what it means to be an African. Why does the Ghanaian government require returnees to apply for dual citizenship and the Right of Abode Acts? The answer, insofar as it applies to exchanges between

Ghanaians and returnees, lies in the rigmarole or the complicated dance entrenched in the discourse about the Brazilian-Africans, the Caribbean-Africans, and the American-Africans. Especially important is how returnees' identifiers—how they are identified and labeled by Ghanaians—diminishes their daring story of return.

There are several factors that set reverse migrations and reverse Diasporan communities in Ghana apart. Unlike the Caribbean and American-African returnees, the Tabom do not need to be bothered by these laws or acts (dual citizenship and the Right of Abode Acts), nor do they have to sign any application forms, respond to roll calls, or accept invitations for dual citizenship. Simply put, most of their descendants were born and raised in Ghana, and that makes a significant difference when it comes to debating the politics of dual identity. Besides, claims of "racial" biases that define and redefine returnees' daily interactions with Ghanaians and their institutions linger.[69] The Tabom do not deal with this headache. It is obvious that a return home to Africa does not guarantee warm acceptance by Ghanaians. Returnees' shared ancestral history does not necessarily mean that Africans on the continent agree with the returnees in matters relating to the significance of reverse migrations. Indeed, "Afie ni afie," an Akan expression that expresses the idea that home is home, as the title of this article conveys, does not mean that all Ghanaians or the social history of Ghana accommodated the needs of the emancipated Africans and their offspring in or after the early 1800s. This aspect of the untold story of reverse migrations and the paradox of return or the disappointments associated with their travels back has not gained sufficient coverage in reverse migration studies. This transatlantic traffic is ongoing.

BIOGRAPHY

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"DIARY OF AN AMERICAN WOMAN" FIRST OF A THREE-PART STORY CALLED *THIS AFRICA IN MY DREAM*

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ABSTRACT

The Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) was adopted in Nigeria after unsustainable foreign indebtedness caused grave economic crisis, which spun off political and social turmoil. Its adoption in 1986 by the Babangida military regime, was pushed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), as the only viable solution to Nigeria's problems. Rather than provide relief, the adoption of SAP imposed extreme neoliberal austerity policies that pushed many middle class families into poverty, causing some to migrate both within the country and abroad. "Diary of an American Woman" is the story of three characters, Ola, Love, and Fakar. The story presents an account of three migrations: internal migration within Nigeria, external migration to America, and patrilocal movement from parental to marital abodes. Ola keeps a journal about her immigrant experience in America, which unfortunately is lost with her luggage in Nigeria. Fakar discovers the journal in his workplace and begins to read it. Ola's immigrant experience in America as recalled in her diary reveals the underbelly of life of a Nigerian in America to the hotel janitor.

Immigration is the movement of a person or people across territorial boundaries, including internal migration from one part of a country to another, and external movement across national boundaries. In reality, multiple migrations occur and sometimes interlock to shape the lives of individual migrants, as will be shown in this story. The emigrations in "Ðiary of an American Woman" are initiated by another form of migration that is unseen but extremely powerful; the movement of international money and financial power created the push factor for the internal and external migrations of the main characters (Gopalkrishna and Oloruntoba 2002).

The customary change in a woman's abode from her parents to her husband's or in-law's home after marriage is included as a kind of migration, because it has all the elements of migration from change of locale through adaptation cum assimilation problems and nostalgia for the original home, to the struggle to succeed in the new setting. Such is the example of a young woman called Love who happily moved from her original home in Uzuakoli with familiar villages, forests and savannah to reside with her husband, Fakar Imade, in his one-room cabin in the city of Umuahia in Abia State of Nigeria. Their marriage is a case of double migration because her husband, Fakar Imade, is an economic migrant from Benin-City located in a State where Edo language and culture are standard. The sole reason for his relocation to the Igbo city of Umuahia, whose culture he criticizes, is economic. This couple's life is impacted by the husband's discovery of a diary that narrates another emigration experience by a Nigerian student, revealing the realities of immigrant life in the American haven of Nigerian folk imagination.

The catalyst for both internal and external migration by the characters was the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) (Ogbonna 2002). Under the imprimatur of the World Bank and the Babangida military regime, the SAP enforced neoliberal austerity policies that included not only the devaluation of currency, withdrawal or decrease of government spending on public services

such as health, education and transport, as well as reduction of State employment (Anyawu 1992; Okome 1998), it also increased economic deprivation that influenced the lives of all Nigerians, and led many to migrate to different parts of the country and abroad, in search of ways to improve their life chances (Adejumobi 2005; Shiva 2000).

The principal characters - Fakar, Love and Ola - are directly and indirectly affected by the economic depression initiated by the program. Ola's father loses his job and succumbs to a heart attack. Ola decides to immigrate to America for more education, which would give her leverage in the Nigerian job market. Fakar's father loses his job causing Fakar to leave school and eventually find a job as a migrant worker on the lowest economic ladder. Without employment, many parents can no longer afford to support their children in school. Idle and without purpose, many young people revert to deviant behavior and this is a major cause of friction for Love and Fakar because their son, Fakar Junior, dropped out of school and joined a gang. In her own case, Love's internal migration from her parents to her husband's location proved problematic for her marriage because she finds it difficult to adapt to her marital abode.

Love's problem of migration is mitigated by her proximity to her original home, which serves as an emotional escape in times of stress, intensified by her husband's recourse to domestic violence. Fakar's discovery of the diary of an American immigrant opens his eyes to another migrant experience that will eventually impact his family. In the following story, the narrator uses a limited omniscient viewpoint and stream of consciousness technique to explore the migrant situation of the main character, Fakar, who reads from the personal journal of Ola Udodi, the Nigerian American student.

It is quiet at Big-Time Motel in the upscale World Bank area of Umuahia, the capital of Abia State, Nigeria. The only noise is that of vehicles in the nearby Express-way where hawkers plied their trade. Birds could be heard chirping in adjoining bushes at the edges of the compound. The steward, Fakar Imade, is happy that he has succeeded in convincing his wife, Love, to keep the peace. This was a promise he made to the manager so he could keep his job. He has just hung the kitchen towels outside to dry when he notices that the door of the little store is not properly closed. He goes to close it and discovers a big leather suitcase with a label, "American Tourister," with a journal sticking out of the top pocket. Instantly, he panics, knowing the suitcase belongs to an American tourist and has been stolen by his son, Junior and his gang. If the police get to know, he may lose his job. He wants to push the journal into the pocket of the luggage and hide the luggage while he thinks of the best way to report the situation in a way that will not implicate his family. The wrinkles on his chin deepen in anger as he recalls the numerous times he had warned Fakar Junior that his gang would land him in big trouble one day.

Venting his anger on his new setting and its people's love of money, Fakar forgets that it was his pursuit of money that brought him to the place. "The problem is this Igbo society that we live in. They are aggressive and they like money. My son is a victim of this society. He adores money and has no respect for me as his father. When I try to discipline him, his mother gets in the way. In the Edo land of my forefathers, we do what our fathers tell us to do." He is so angry that instead of pushing the journal inside the bag, he seizes it. Curiosity overtakes him and he opens the journal to get some information about the owner. "Ola Udodi" is boldly written on the front cover. Still angry, Fakar flips through the journal without seeing anything as he rants about his son.

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"At his age of fourteen, my son thinks that he knows more than I do. But he only knows the wrong things that are leading him astray. He knows the names of all the big cars, yet I don't have any moving machine except these 'foot-run'[70] that God gave me." He stamps his sturdy feet on the floor to indicate their strength.

"I'll deal with him whenever I see him, no matter where his colluding mother is hiding him!" He has barely closed the door when there is a knock on the back of his head. Kpom! It is loud and his head hurts.

"Where is my son?" Love says, hitting him again with a frying pan. Kpom!

Fakar holds his wife's hand with the frying pan still in her grip.

"Open that store! Did you lock Junior in there?" She is very loud. Fakar drags her towards their residence still holding Ola's journal with one hand.

"Leave me!" She screams; exactly what Fakar does not want. He remembers his promise to the manager the day his wife stormed into the motel's kitchen to complain that he did not leave enough shopping-money for her.

That day, she stomped into the main kitchen of the motel and shouted at Fakar. "Look at me! She yelled. **"I can no longer buy new clothes since I married you. I'm not asking you for money to spend on myself to look fine like other women. I just want to buy books for our daughter since you won't let me get a job and have my own money."

"Go back to the house. I'm coming," he whispered.

"I'm not leaving here without the money.' She stomped her feet impatiently. The manager came to find out why there was a lot of noise from the kitchen. Fakar knelt down to beg the manager, who promised not to dismiss him. Since that day, he always tried to settle

problems with his wife inside their residence. He even threatened her with the prospect of moving to his parents' house in Benin-City if he lost his job. She promised to keep the peace.

Fakar has now succeeded in dragging her into their residence. He locks the door. He is still holding the journal. He storms out, but Love is not quiet. Her voice could be heard from any part of the big compound. Fakar hurries back to the store and throws a piece of tarpaulin on the suitcase to hide it. Love stops wailing. There is sound of things breaking.

"That woman! I'll kill her." Fakar runs back to the house to prevent his wife from destroying things. He unlocks the door but Love is no longer there. She has jumped out through the window. He looks at the black and white television that the manager gave him when they renovated the guest house. It is completely smashed; just pieces. The white "agbada"[71] that he wears for every big occasion is on the floor; cut into pieces. He notices that the scissors is not there, but it does not occur to him that Love is keeping it as a weapon.

He is devastated. People are losing their jobs all over the country and this has affected the motel. The Manager has reduced the number of employees because the motel lost the patronage of customers who lost their jobs and other sources of income. He feels threatened and no longer assumes that because he works hard, his job is secure. Recently, he expanded his duties to include cleaning the compound and doing the gardening every weekend with his wife and children because the manager had dismissed the gardener and did not hire another one. His expanded duties on his old salary should make him feel secure, but he still feels vulnerable. He needs his family to cooperate with him in doing his job. A son who would steal things from guests or a wife who would shout and disturb the peace could jeopardize his job. He feels that he must control his family. So far, it has not worked with his son. And now, his wife is creating further complications and increasing his anxiety.

Fakar Junior hated his father's job and poverty. He wanted to be rich and drive big cars like some of the customers at the motel. His attitude created conflict with his father and he ran away from home although he comes to see his mother when his father is at work. Fakar blames everything on his wife,

"My wife does not cooperate with me. She spoils the boy. She is also spoilt. She always runs away to her parents' house when we have problems. I blame myself for living in the same state with her parents." He knows that he is not being truthful to himself so he sighs and admits his weakness. "Those eyes of hers; once I see them, my body squashes like ripe pawpaw. I can only deal with her when I'm not looking at her." He kicks the garment on the floor, scattering its shredded pieces all over the room. He looks at the broken window. The absence of the pair of scissors becomes significant as he connects the damage in the room with the anger that caused the destruction. It now crosses his mind that Love might have taken the pair of scissors as a weapon. "No, she's not like that. She won't use something that dangerous to fight me, her loving husband."

Love is on her way to Uzuakoli with the scissors in her hand. She knows the streets, markets and people of the town where she was raised and where her parents still live. The people also know her. They expected a lot from her because she showed unusual intelligence in school, but Love got married before she finished high school. Her circumstances are different from those of the owner of the suitcase, the "American Tourister," in the store of the motel. The owner, Ola Udodi, is a Nigerian student in America, who returned to Nigeria and was travelling to her destination when her bus was robbed on the Expressway.

At thirty, Ola is the same age as Love. Graduating from Abia State University at the age of twenty, she wanted a good job before getting married to her boyfriend, Paul Ibe. This could

not happen because SAP changed everything; shrank the civil service, massively retrenched workers without creating more jobs and therefore escalated unemployment.

Ola's father lost his job as principal because his school was merged with another one as part of the SAP's goal to cut the education budget. Many teachers were laid off, leaving a few to manage larger classes. The situation was depressing for dedicated teachers like Mr. Udiodi. In his fifties, Ola's father was too old for a new job and there were many people looking for jobs. It was whispered that he gave in to despair because of the change in his lifestyle caused by his jobless situation, but the truth was that since the government no longer provided free health service for all, and he could not afford to see a doctor when he started having heart problems. He died of a heart attack. Ola was devastated, but she had to be strong and focused on her final examination. She did not want to be frustrated like millions of unemployed college graduates. This was why she decided to do graduate work in America. A degree from America would be helpful in securing a job in one of the oil companies. With support from her sister who was married to an oil company worker, and her mother who sold her father's old car, she travelled to America where she faced immigration problems.

Unlike Ola whose migration was motivated by the need for economic independence, Love thinks of her problem in terms of emigrating from her buoyant village to live in marital poverty. She does not recognize that she has become part of the bigger picture initiated by the migration of foreign investment money to Nigeria. The big feature of her new home in the motel compound is that it is the hideout of rich people who have profited from foreign money invested in new economic sectors, especially the servicing of oil exploitation. The small percentage of local contractors and servicers of the new economic sectors are happy that they are not part of the majority of the middle class that have become impoverished. Some of these lucky few like to

show off their wealth by wearing flamboyant traditional attire, driving expensive cars, and patronizing exclusive clubs. Big-Time Motel is one of their favorite hubs. Some of them live in far-off cities like Port Harcourt and Enugu, yet they drive the distance to Umuahia in order to keep clandestine appointments because of the privacy and seclusion offered by the motel.

Love wanted a job in the motel but Fakar who knew a lot about the goings-on in the motel prevented her from realizing that ambition. This has been a constant source of tension in their marriage and Love has become bitter about having a husband who cannot provide all her needs and yet will not allow her to work. Sometimes she hawks fruits at her daughter's school but the profit is not enough for her needs. Love thinks about these things and her resentment for Fakar increases. "Next time he touches me, I'll do to him what I did to his favorite attire! Stupid man!" She secures the scissors in the folds of her wrapper.[72] She spends some time at the bus station looking at vehicles and thinking about her life.

A bright yellow and red bus attracts her attention. She reads the inscription on the bus; "Udo-ka-mma".

"Peace is not better!" She contradicts the message of the inscription.

"Peace is good when the two people work for it, but if my husband beats me and I don't fight back, how can there be peace? If I don't fight back, Fakar will beat me to death. I have to defend myself!" She thinks and moves to the area where there are lots of cars. She does not notice the vendors or the touts, neither does she pay attention to other people wanting to select a vehicle like she is doing. Her mind is on her present quarrel with Fakar. Suddenly, she smiles because she has seen the bus inside which something special happened to her several years ago; the bus where she met an elderly woman who changed her life by giving her some marriage-survival tips.

The bus is called "No condition is permanent." It now looks really old and weathered. Love hops on the bus with a smile on her face as she recalls her meeting with the elderly woman. It was the first time that Fakar hit her. She knew that some men beat their wives, but she never imagined that it would ever happen to her. When it did happen, her reaction was to run. She did not even know to where she was running. She spent a long time crying in the bush. She regretted leaving school and the comfort of her parental home in order to marry Fakar. Finally deciding that "he is not worth it" she went back to the house, collected some of her things and left for Ozuakoli to be with her parents. She entered this same bus now, but it was new then and very comfortable. In the bus she sat near a woman who just reminded her of her mother by her age and the way she smiled.

"Good afternoon." People greeted her back but she noticed a gorgeously dressed woman in the seat behind the driver.

"Good afternoon, my daughter," The woman shifted on her seat, inviting Love to sit next to her. She was traveling to the village to see her people just like Love. Love narrated how she sacrificed her studies and good life for a marriage that had become intolerable because of her husband's poverty and aggression.

"You can still go back to school."

"I have two children."

"That shouldn't prevent you from living your own life. All my six children graduated from college before I went to school and now I have my own sub-contracting business."

"What business?" Love smiled for the first time, showing her interest.

"I am in the garment business. I learnt how to make clothes and dye wrappers from my mother who sewed clothes for women in my village. I used to sew clothes for my children; couldn't afford ready-made ones."

"Madam, how did you begin a business?" Love says thinking about her infrequent effort at buying oranges from village markets and selling them to students when she goes to pick up her daughter from school.

The woman smiled because Love was showing interest in learning. "College opened my eyes. We learnt about the Structural Adjustment Program. We had to learn to create our own jobs. College gave me connections with school mates. I teamed up with two of them."

"They sew the clothes with you?"

"I sew and supervise other tailors while one partner manages the business and another does the marketing. Traditional outfit is in high demand and our garments have the stamp of the traditional tie-dye. I learnt from my mother. Think about going back to school sometime. It will help you to nurture your talent."

Love did not respond to the woman because she believed the idea of going back to school was far-fetched.

"How long have you been married?" The woman said.

"Seven years."

"Do you still want to be married to him?" This question by the woman took Love unawares. She hesitated, looked around the bus to see whether she recognized anybody who might talk about her private life. Although she did not see any familiar face, she whispered her reply.

"I want to leave him, but I am ashamed of going back home as a divorcee."

"So you want to keep an abusive marriage?"

Again Love hesitated before speaking. "If he will not hit me again, I will stay and take care of my children."

The woman smiled at what she considered Love's naiveté. In college, she learnt that nobody willingly gives up power unless you force that person to do so. She wanted to explain to this woman that she needed to improve on herself, make her own money, and not rely on her husband for every expense.

"My dear, it is your own marital problem. Your parents have their own life. Go and deal with yours. You are no longer a child."

"What will I do? My husband is more than six feet tall and heavy. Look at me. I am a little woman at barely five feet with little weight except for my breasts. He picks me up with one hand. I used to like it when he did it with love. Sometimes he would carry me on his back. But now, he complains about the way I spend money. I have not changed. I spend now just the way that I used to spend when we first met. He himself has not changed much. No…. yes, he has."

"You are confused. One thing that I'll tell you is this: Don't let his weight intimidate you. Use what you have; frying pan, shoes, or whatever possible. Never use your hand directly. You will hurt those dainty little hands of yours. And don't hit a vital part of him." The elderly woman said.

Love looked at her long fingers. She remembered how Fakar liked to kiss her hands. She continued to look at her hands as she spoke.

"My hands are now rough from cooking and washing clothes," she said.

"They are still your loving hands, so protect them and use a pan or something to fight him."

 "But if he takes the pan from me?"

"Use your teeth. If he hurts you, hurt him back in any way that you can. Deprive him. He is a bully. Stand up to him and he will leave you alone." The woman nodded.

"Hurt him back in any way I can." Love also nodded.

Sitting on the same seat in the same bus, seven years after getting this wisdom from the business woman, Love thinks that fighting her husband with weapons has not solved the problem but it has helped a little. At least, her husband knows that she is a force to be reckoned with. Yet, he still beats her. She is confused about why he continues to use a method that does not help him. He has not cowed her with his aggressiveness. She also has not solved the problem by hitting him back.   She has only become more aggressive. And more unhappy.

Alone in their room, Fakar bends down to pick the pieces of the television. He changes his mind. He wants a witness. He thinks about the only member of his family that does not give him problems. His daughter, Efosa, gives him peace. He decides to go and get her from school. He walks the five miles form Olokoro to Abia Government Day School in the city of Umuahia with the journal still in his hand.

It is almost eleven in the morning but the sun is already hot and burning. Fakar is a large man weighing about two hundred and fifty pounds. He sweats profusely but makes no attempt to wipe off the sweat soaking the singlet[73] that he wears underneath his shirt and his shirt. By the time he gets to the school in two hours he is completely drenched. The large compound of the school appears desolate but he can hear the sound of pupils inside. He goes to the far right of the school shaded by lots of fruit trees. He sits on the exposed root of a mango tree. He uses his shirt to wipe his face. The breeze blowing from the orchard cools his body. He has no interest in

reading, but to keep himself busy, he opens the journal. He admires the beautiful hand written style that slants to the right. He begins to read:

    Friday: June 15, 2007

I can't believe that I have lived in America for eight years without setting my feet in my country, Nigeria, or seeing my mother and all my loved ones. It will happen tomorrow. That is why I can't sleep and that is why I am writing. My room mate, Joan, said that she had to leave our room because the presents were on her bed, but I don't think that it's her real reason.

    "I have to go back to David's place for the night. Your things are everywhere," she said.

I removed the presents from her bed. I hurried. But she still left.

"Take your time. I'll be back in the morning to take you to the airport," Joan said.

"I'm not sure that it will happen. Sleeping with a man can be distracting. I know. I used to do that with P̶."

Fakar cannot see the name of the person that Ola used to sleep with because it is scratched off as if the writer does not want the name to be in her journal. Fakar flips through the pages backwards to see whether he can find out the name that was scratched off.

    Thursday. June 14, 2007

    It was very nice of Joan to have helped me out with wrapping the presents that I will take home to my loved ones. Joan Lasey is a good friend. I have roomed with her for three years. I

have shared things that I locked in my heart with her. But today, I almost regretted telling her about Paul because she brought him up at a time that I was very happy.

I was playing one of my favorite pop music, "I will survive," by Gloria Gaynor. It was the hottest music when I arrived here in June 1998. I wasn't so much into the lyrics then because all was well with me and Paul. When things changed with Paul, I fell in love with the lyrics of Gaynor's music. It encouraged my spirit of survival.

Today I was singing, "I've survived" instead of "I'll survive." I was really dancing and having a great time as Joan and I wrapped the presents. She was sitting on the bed near the table and I was kind of gyrating around the place, shaking my behind and really getting so cool. She said something that made me think that she wanted to spoil my fun or maybe she was still angry about the fight with David. Her business with David is not my concern; it's her cup of sweet problem. What I don't like is when someone digs up a secret that I shared with her. That was what Joan did. That I shared it didn't mean that she should talk about it even to me.

The first thing she said was, "I've always wondered why you have not picked any of the guys you date as a boyfriend."

"Keep wondering about it," I said and continued to dance.

"I don't know why lots of guys like you anyways. You have big butt and you're short and-."

I looked at her, real hard. Joan dared to say that to me. Political correctness was not one of her virtues. Incidentally, that was one of the things I liked about her when I first met her and she bluntly said that her parents were racist but she liked people of all races. Her bluntness has become ridiculous, since she can now judge me with her standard of beauty. I wanted to fix her and say: "Even though you are almost six feet tall, you look like a scallywag because there is no life in your anorexic face. That's why David cheats on you." But I did not say it. Not today.

Joan has been a good friend. I just said, "So you don't know that that's part of my natural beauty. Read the right magazines and not the ones that tell you how to change your body." Diary, do you know what? She said nothing. This is very much unlike her.

The first time I met her she didn't frown at me or tell me that I had an accent. She didn't ask me where I was from or say that I did not belong. She accepted me as a fellow human being. That was three years ago and we have continued to room together. It's just that she is too much into pop culture. She likes to do everything that the fashion magazines say about attracting men. She buys designer clothes, starves herself, takes diet pills, and freely dispenses sex, yet that stupid David barely tolerates her. She spends her money on him and calls it liberation. I go out with guys on my own terms. And my terms don't include lavishing money on them!
Mmh! Diary. You know how I have been saving money for my school fees. I work hard too, you know. Three jobs! No joke.

Fakar's back hurts. He gets up from sitting on the root of the tree. He sits close to the trunk and rests his back on the trunk. He is still keen on knowing more about Paul, so he scans through the pages till he sees Paul's name.

It's not fair of Joan to have referred to Paul just because I shared my secret with her. I told her more about Paul than I wrote in this diary. She knows that I am sensitive to his name, so why bring it up? Why bring up a memory that I buried several years ago?
"There's no present for Paul," Joan said to me.
"I don't care." I continued to sing but I was hurt.
"Whatever."

Joan's cup was full. I waited for her to open her mouth one more time about Paul before I gave it to her. After all, I knew where it would hurt her too. That stupid David! Like she knew, she decided to leave for his place. I think that I would have quarreled with her. She didn't have to spoil my fun.

Now that Joan has raised the issue of Paul, I can't keep my mind off it. This means that there is still some resentment that ought to be expelled. It is tied to my beginnings in this country. I came to this country in June 1998, full of enthusiasm. Paul was anxious about my leaving him for someone new when I get to America. I had to promise him that I would be faithful to him. I assured him that I would return to Nigeria as soon as I finished my course. I did not know that America would not accept my credits from Nigeria. Look at me. Back home in Nigeria, my school mates called me Alfa; that was because I was very good. The professors gave me excellent recommendations. All were rejected in America. It was like I had never been to school before. No diploma, no friends; just nothing.

Diary, do you remember the very first entry I made when I landed in America? Inside the airplane at Dulles Airport, other passengers were leaving but I stayed back to write down my feeling of happiness. I remember that entry that I made on the 10th of June, 1998. I still remember it like I wrote it only yesterday and I quote it here:

"Hurray! The plane has touched down. People are clapping. Hurray for America! I am very happy. But I'm also sad. I miss Paul. I miss my mother. God bless my mother for giving me the Toyota Crown that my late father left for her. We sold it to make up the money for my upkeep here in America. Right here inside this plane, I vow to make good with the proceeds from my late father's car. I promise not to disappoint my late father who was my greatest teacher. I promise to go back to Nigeria and show my mother that I have made her proud. God

bless my sister, Oyibo, and her husband for buying my plane ticket. They all supported my plan to come to America for further studies. Only Paul. He said that he did not want to lose me. I will get into college, get one more degree and go back to Nigeria with American experience that is important for getting a good job in Nigeria. This is my promise to you, Paul, even though you are not physically here with me. God, please help me!"

But I could not get into any university. I could not begin to pursue my American dream of getting an education. I panicked. My money was running out. I wrote to Paul. He said that I should return immediately because I didn't have family and friends to help me out. He also said that I was too young to be on my own in a strange land. That sucked. I was twenty two years old at the time, for God's sake! And Paul is only two years older than me.

I wrote my experiences down every day and shared them with Paul. He also wrote constantly. His letters helped to keep me alive because I was dealing with a lot. On the social level, I was a mess. I could not accept the burden of being black in America. I had learnt in an American literature class that I took at my university in Nigeria that race was tied to benefits and disadvantages in America but I guess I didn't really know the extent of its impact on everyday life. I didn't understand why people referred to me as "that black woman." There was this incident at the University of Maryland where I had gone to submit my application at the Graduate School. I sat in the lounge waiting to see the Students' Advisor. Another woman also came in and sat down. The secretary spoke to the Advisor on the phone.

"There is a woman waiting to see you," she said. I thought that I was the one and so I got up. She added, "And there's also a black woman."

"Why did you call me a black woman?"

"Because you're black."

"Why didn't you call her....?" Before I could finish the sentence, the secretary looked me in the face and said, "Because she's not black."

I was actually confused. I even apologized to her.

"I didn't mean any harm. Just new in the country and want to know why I'm always referred to by color and other people are not."

She turned to her computer.

*Dear diary, why am I defined by color and other people are normal? This is shocking. All of a sudden, I am labelled as a black woman. My country and ethnicity are no longer important. And I am not even black in color. Nobody is. When I was new here, I sometimes felt like screaming at people to look at me properly and see that my skin color was not the color of my black boots. I wanted to tell them that nobody was white like the color of my paper. I thought that people were only color blind and put labels on people **just** to put them down or raise them up. The color they put on you was supposed to define you. Society has already decided the behavior of the racial colors. People already knew what black meant in the society. They believed that black was not intelligent and not pretty at all. How could I, an Igbo woman, accept that?*

I came from a great country, Nigeria, but many people I met did not even know my country. They knew Africa but in their view, it was just a place; a village with a lot of disasters and where people go half-naked. I was in shock. I fought. I cried. I lost. I cried some more. If my pillow could tell stories, its stories would reveal the things that I said as I wept myself to sleep many nights.

I thought about taking Paul's advice to go back to my country, but I did not want to go back and join the millions of unemployed graduates. My father lost his life because he lost his

job and could not afford to see a doctor. He deserved better. I'd make it up to him by succeeding. He'd be proud of me wherever he is. I knew that my mother would not want me to go through the kind of suffering that I was experiencing in America. Like Paul, she would want her baby to just come home. But I did not want to go home. I did not want to feel like I had failed in America. I would rather continue in America and accomplish what I came here for. While nursing my wounded ego, the University of Maryland Students' Advisor opened the door and motioned me to enter. When I entered his office, he stood up, looked me in the face, gave me a firm hand shake and introduced himself as Jo Timble. He treated me like a human being. Even though he gave me bad news, he also gave me very good advice.

"My grandparents were immigrants from Ireland so I have some idea about what new immigrants go through in terms of situating themselves. My position as Students' Advisor also keeps me in touch with the reality of new students and those from foreign countries."

As he spoke to me, I felt that he understood a little bit of what I was going through. Tears came to my eyes, but I held them back because my mother taught me to never cry in public. Tears should be saved for those who love me, and for my dear pillow. I looked at him like he was a brother to me.

"America does not easily accept credits from other countries," he said, still looking at me like a human being and not an alien with unmentionable diseases.

"Meaning that they do in some cases," I said hoping that mine would be one such case.

"If you like, you can send your diploma for verification. However, most universities would be reluctant to accept credits from Africa at this time."

"Why?" I shot my eyes at him for not saying Nigeria instead of Africa.

"For God's sake, Africa is not a country!" I felt like screaming but I did not scream. I had learnt to stifle my irritations because if I reacted at every act of disrespect, they would put more labels on me.

He explained that every report on Africa indicated that education was going downhill. I felt mortified because this was true of Nigeria, especially the public schools. That was why Papa gave me private lessons that helped to give me a good grounding in my studies. If only a college here would give me a chance, I would prove myself.

"There is something that you must know," he said.

"Some immigrants you see here doing all kinds of jobs in restaurants and convenience stores have degrees, some even have PhDs. They start over; and do those jobs with a purpose. When you see them working you know that they have a purpose. They don't drink or smoke and get into trouble. They just focus on getting an American degree and they do it in good time because...."

"They already have degrees," I said.

"You got it. And they are focused."

God bless Jo Timble. I decided to start over. Another problem arose. I was not qualified to apply for student loan or scholarship because they were for citizens only. I needed a job. I had never had the need to hold a job as a student in Nigeria. Of course, I worked during the long vacations to get experience. My parents always paid school fees and gave me allowances that took care of other needs. In America, I not only had to provide for myself, I also had to pay school fees and rent. I had two options for a job. One was the type where I would do the conventional forty hours a week and get paid like I worked for twenty hours. The reason was because I had no work permit and the employer was at risk of running afoul of immigration laws

for giving me a job. The other kind was to register as a student and work in the college, but that was kind of harder for me because I did not have the money to register in any school. Foreign students' school fees were just exorbitant. I had no option but to choose to work full-time and earn half salary. I wanted to save money for college.

Once I began to hang out with immigrants, it was easy to get information on how to survive and succeed in America. My first job was in a gas station at Veirs Mill Road. It turned out that the other young woman who was waiting to see Jo Timble at the University of Maryland was not American. This I found out when both of us were waiting at the bus stop.

"You speak English very well," she said.

"You have an accent," I said and laughed at my audacity to tell another person what people usually told me.

"Do people tell that to you a lot?" She laughed like she knew why I laughed.

"Always," I said.

"Me too. And they tell it to me like I am stupid or something," she said.

"I learnt English in Armenia. Many people here can't even speak a word of Armenian but they look down on me for not knowing enough English," she said.

Dolores' family knew the owner of the convenience store at Veirs Mill Road. So I got the job. In Nigeria people would look down on me for getting a job through a connection rather than through a competitive interview. They have a derogatory name for it – Ima-mmadu – that just refers to 'knowing people' rather than depending on merit. Here in America, it is called networking and it is not offensive.

I registered for my first class in October 1998. It was a six weeks' Basic English course at the University of Maryland, a prerequisite for foreign students. The professor made us keep

journals. He even graded our daily entries, so I had to write in the journal every day. I no longer had enough time for writing letters. I worked at McDonalds in the morning. From there I would go to classes late in the afternoon. The night was for the convenience store at the Gas Station at Veirs Mill Road. I barely had time to keep up with the demands of journal writing, let alone the luxury of writing letters to Paul.

I was alone, lonely, and tired. I looked forward to hearing from Paul because that was a big connection to who I was. I was struggling to define a new me in America according to what America laid down before I came. I wanted to surmount the obstacles in my way as a foreigner, as a woman who had become black. I stopped fighting the label of being black. I accepted that I was black. I began to navigate the system through that route. I would fill forms and check the box that categorized me as black. Sometimes, the box would be for African Americans and I would still check it because that was what the system understood. I always felt funny because I was not an American yet the system classified me as one.

Fakar stops reading the journal. His own problems have receded in his mind as he read the journal. He thinks about what he has just read. He looks straight at the road from where he came. A woman is passing by. She wipes her face.

"So life can be tough like this in America." He drops the journal. It makes a noise.

The woman looks at him suspiciously.

"Shoo!" He claps his hand as if beating off imaginary dirt. He cannot understand why Ola stayed back in America.

The woman turns to look at him closely; a man who claps his hands and talks to himself.

"Why not go back?" Fakar says still reacting to what he regards as Ola's stubbornness. He is loud. The woman on the road thinks that his words are directed at her.

"How dare you tell me to go back? Does this school belong to you?" She says going towards him.

"Not you Madam," he apologizes. The woman looks at his face. She notes that he's sweating, even though he is sitting under the shade of a tree. His eyes are red and his clothes are wet like he just came from a dip in the river. His face looks calm except for the bloodshot eyes. The woman decides that he must be a crazy man to be "talking to himself like that." She turns back. She hurries.

From the road, she can hear him continuing with "his madness of talking to himself."

"I cannot understand why a small girl like that will go to a foreign land and suffer like a person who is not a human being. Just for the sake of getting another degree. Look at me, I have only 'attempted secondary school' but I am happy. I started work in the motel as a kitchen cleaner and became a steward. Even though I am in the servants' class, nobody thinks that I am not a human being. They may look down on me for being poor, but nobody thinks that I am a black something. I am an Edo man. Imagine being called a black man with accent like it is a bad thing to have intonation! In this country, we have different peoples who speak in different ways. Yoruba people talk as if trains move inside their throats. Igbo people hack language like firewood. Hausa people fan language like breeze. As for my people in Edoland, we hit am like iron."

"All be English. No one better pass the other," he concludes in Nigerian Pidgin. He is clearly agitated by what he read. He gets up and stamps a foot on the journal. He stretches. School is not yet over. He picks up the journal, wipes dust from it, and continues to read.

My letters to Paul became infrequent. I was suffering; didn't even have time for myself. Thinking about it now, I believe that Paul might have interpreted it as loss of interest. But that was no reason to accuse me of being unfaithful. I still remember the hateful lines like I read them just yesterday: "I know that the glamour of God's Own Country has opened you to new possibilities for romance. You probably have another boyfriend by now, but I tell you something my dear: all that glitters is not gold. Agaracha must come back."

That word, "agaracha," stabbed me in the heart. This is not a name that you call someone you love. I stared at the word in the letter until tears from my eyes made them unreadable. Agaracha was a synonym for flirt and prostitute. I have never been unfaithful to him. I remember that day very well. It was on the 24th of December 1999. The snow was seven inches high and people were happy about white Christmas. The joy of Christmas was not mine. I had no family here so I was not planning to travel like other people. I did not have a visa that would enable me to go home to Nigeria. Even if I had, I would not have had the money for the trip. Anyway, I turned my loneliness into an opportunity to cover three jobs. I did not have the time to sit down and cry out my heart over Paul's letter, but the message of the letter shot pains in my heart from time to time. I tried to suppress the pain by hardening my resolve and creating more work for myself at the convenience store where I worked as a retail clerk. When I was not attending to a customer, I would concentrate on sorting out the shelved items just to occupy my mind.

It was on Christmas night that it finally got me. Waiting for bus 26 that would take me from Veirs Mill Road to Takoma Park, I had nothing to occupy me besides watching out for the bus and for any marauder that might show up. Snow flakes, the size of a quarter, cascaded down

sporadically. Anybody would have taken pleasure in their beauty and I guess that many would have done so from the comfort of their homes. I did not enjoy their beauty. They irritated me because they made a mess on the road and made it hard to walk on. They melted and seeped into my hair. I was very cold. The bus was late in coming. What would have been just ten minutes turned to thirty and forty? Within that time, I was almost frozen.

I stood there and thought about Paul's letter. Tears from my eyes washed off the snow that brushed my face. I shivered from cold, loneliness, and anger. Still the bus did not come. It was at that bus stop that I vowed never to acknowledge Paul with a thought or mention. But now, after all these years, just because Joan mentioned him, I'm breaking my vow. I'm happy that Joan brought him up. It's good to clear my mind of any bitterness before this journey home.

Fakar closes the book. "This girl is a big fool. She had a man who loved her and begged her not to leave him. She said a very big No just for the sake of a degree. What degree is better than hooking her man and marrying him? She would have been a wife and maybe a mother of children. Look at my wife, Love. Her father wanted her to finish school, but she refused because she did not want to lose me. No matter what happens, she is fulfilled as a woman. She has a husband who loves her and God has blessed us with children. What more does a woman want?" His voice sounds hollow and the wrinkles on his chin deepen.

Meanwhile, Love gets off the bus in her home town. She is delighted that the outdoor market is full of life. She decides to visit some of her favorite wrapper stalls not because she has money to buy anything, but just to enliven her mood before going to her parents' house. Many of the sellers are excited about a visitor from America who stopped at the market to take

photographs. Some youths gathered around him and he spent some time talking with them. The youths narrated what they heard from the visitor. Each narrator embellished the information and very soon the picture of America as a place of richness without poor people was created. Love hears the stories through the sellers, some wanting to go and live in America while others say they do not want to leave their families, but they want things to return to the way they were before the government's SAP and its austerity measures.

Fakar is still holding the journal but he is no longer reading it. He is just thinking about his circumstances and comparing aspects of his life with Ola's experience. Like her, he had the ambition of going to college and getting a degree. He remembers his days of living with other students in the residence hall at Warri High School. That was when they said that Nigeria was going to borrow money and introduce Structural Adjustment Program. There was a public debate. The government said that the program would make Nigeria a better place. Many people opposed the loan because it would reduce people to the kind of poverty that Nigerians had never seen. On the television in the common room of their school, they would listen to views of the government and the opposition.

Fakar did not understand the whole thing then. He did not know that it would affect him. He had the ambition to go to a university and study accountancy. His mother always praised him for being very good at counting her money and keeping record of her sales because she did not know how to write. This was why he became interested in accounting as a subject of study. He did not suspect that there would be any problem with his ambition. His father was a manager at Bendel Line, one of the biggest public transport services in the country. His family got free tickets from the service to travel once a year and everything was fine until Nigeria took the loan.

Fakar remembers how he used to wake up very early in the morning to stand at Uselu Junction with his father and other people who lost their jobs. "I used to stand there with my father; right there in the sun hoping that somebody would come by and hire us to do some work. We did any work." They did garden work, construction work, kitchen work; just anything for any money that it would bring. The money they made was not always enough for rent. But his mother was a market woman who sold palm oil. She would use her profit to buy food for the family's only meal at night. Fakar was not happy that he left school, and his father explained that nobody liked what was happening, but that they needed to survive and wait for life to become normal again. He enjoined his son to work hard always in whatever situation Osalobua, the Almighty, placed him. One of their regular clients, Mr. Okoro Madu, liked the way Fakar used to wash his clothes and iron them. He hired him as his servant and Fakar served him well. When Madu got married, he got Fakar the motel job in Umuahia. That was why Fakar moved from Benin to Umuahia as an employee of Big-Time Motel. He started as a cleaner and was later promoted to work in the kitchen.

He washes plates and eats there also. Sometimes, he brings left-over food to his family. Fakar believes he has not done badly by moving up from a domestic worker in a private house to a kitchen-boy in a corporate motel.

"But my son? I am afraid for that boy. Children of nowadays want everything to be easy. They see people in big cars. They want the cars by any means. I need my wife on my side for us to deal with him together," he frowns as his thoughts return to the stolen suitcase.

A group of children run out of the school with their bags and boxes. He goes to find his daughter, but he is informed that the senior class will be released in a short while. Again he goes back to the mango tree and resumes his reading.

Saturday, June 16, 2007

I am so anxious about this trip that I want to cry and shed the emotions that I have bottled up for such a long time. I have been so afraid that my mother would die like my father and I won't have the opportunity to show her what I have made of myself. It was because of my mother that I got my first cell phone. It is very expensive to phone Nigeria, but I still would phone her as often as I could, just to hear her voice and laughter. Now my dream is coming true. I am going home and I will see my mother again! I don't want anything to prevent this trip.

I have heard and read about the new travel rules on the internet. The airlines introduced many new rules to strengthen security since the 2001 bombing of the World Trade Center. I made a lot of notes from my research on the new rules so that I won't forget them. Things have changed so much since I travelled by air from Nigeria to America. Now you have to remove your shoes and be patted down. When I told Joan that September 11 had changed the world, she said something that I have not forgotten.

She said, "And the world helps it to destroy the world."

"That is the title of the project that my group is working on," she said. Joan and I major in Communication but we are in different groups. We began to discuss the project. She talked about how thousands of people die in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq because of the people killed at the World Trade Center.

"As we go after those that are connected with the bombing of the World Trade Center, we also hurt other people even though we did not intend to," she said.

"We also hurt our own people. Those who get killed and their families," I said.

"Those who lost their lives on nine-eleven can never come back even if we kill all the people in Afghanistan and Iraq. We are just creating casualties who turn round to lash out," she said.

"The cycle of hurting and hurting back goes on," I said.

God, please break the cycle.

I have just remembered something that I did not pack. I will need to freshen up in London during the nine hours waiting period before the transfer for the second leg of my journey. I think that I will pack my brown cotton suit in my backpack. I bought presents for everybody. My two brothers, Ben and Tom, and my sister, Oyibo. I also bought things for my uncles and aunts and other people. I missed so many Christmases so I want to give them presents to make up.

Another group of children rush out of the school. They are bigger than the former group. Fakar feels that Efosa must be in the group. He goes to find her.

"Papa!" Efosa hugs her father.

"How was school?" he says. She puts her small metal box down and brings out her exercise book. She holds it up to her father. He smiles.

"My daughter who makes me happy." He touches the word "excellent" beside the 'A' written by her teacher.

"Why are you here, Papa? Is Mummy Okay?"

"Your mother is fine. I closed early from work. I decided to take a walk, so I came here."

"You walked all the way from our house?"

Fakar nods.

"My strong Papa. You are my hero!" Efosa takes his hand and they walk across the big yard.

"Efosa!" Some people call out to her from a bus.

"Papa, are we walking home?"

"Of course not."

"Those are my friends in that bus. Let's go to their bus." She swings her father's hand.

From the bus stop near the motel, Efosa and her father walk towards their house. It is a two-room house that is known as 'boys' quarters." This was a British name for the abode of their African servants during the colonial era. Even though Nigeria is now ruled by indigenes and Nigerian men are no longer called "boys," the residences of domestic workers are still called "boys' quarters." Love has planted flowers in the front yard of the house where they sit in the evening to tell folk tales to the children.

Fakah thinks about how to handle his domestic situation. He knows that his wife has run to her parents' house as usual. "That's what she does whenever she wreaks havoc. She comes back when she thinks that my temper has cooled down. This time, I will not cool down."

The fragrance of the frangipani wafts to Efosa's nose. She smiles. The sight of the guest house always makes her happy. She can see the yellow and pink flowers of the frangipani above the hibiscus hedge. Her greatest joy is the flame tree.

"Papa, it really lights up like flames!"

"What?"

"The tree." Efosa points at the flame tree that hovers like a huge red umbrella above their house.

"That's why they call it flame-of-the-forest. It gives color to the forest." His voice is gentle. It does not indicate the rage that he is fighting.

"I will beat that woman until she dies death! Idiot!" He clenches his jaw to prevent his mouth from speaking his thoughts.

"Papa. Where is my mother?" Efosa cries when she sees the mess in the house.

"She did all this to our house! Look at the television. She knows that you learn from the educational programs."

"What did you do to my Mummy?"

He is angry at her reaction to what her mother did.

"I did not do anything to her. Look at what she did. Look at the window; smashed up!" He raises his voice.

She throws down her school box and makes to run out. Fakar holds her hand.

"I won't let you run away too!"

"My mother ran away? Where is she?"

"Let's go and get her."

Love is still in the market when her mother comes to find her. Mama Love has heard from some of the youths that she was in the market. She knows her daughter's favorite stall. She is about to cross the road beside the market when a taxi stops. Her grand-daughter is the first to see her.

"Mama-Nnukwu!" Efosa runs to her grandmother.

"Good evening Ma," Fakar says.

"Is something wrong?" Mama Love says.

"Nothing is wrong Ma."

"We are looking for my mother. She ran away," said Efosa.

Mama looks sternly at her son-in-law before turning to Efosa. "I know where to find her," she says. As she expects, Love is in a wrapper stall helping the owner to pack the wrappers.

Fakar does not want to go to his in-law's house and face Love's father and the probing questions he might ask. On her own part, Love wants to take her daughter home because she needs to do her homework and go to bed. Seeing that both of them want to go back to Umuahia, Mama Love tells them to hurry so that they would get back to Umuahia before dark. Before they enter the taxi, Mama pulls Fakar aside. "If you ever beat my daughter again, I will kill you. Do you hear me?"

"I don't beat her Mama."

"Do you hear me?"

"Yes Ma."

Everybody is quiet in the taxi. Efosa is reading a book. Her mother, Love, places her head by the window. She is not thinking about her present problem, but about all that she heard about America in the market.

"God's own country. Everything is perfect there. Money is like sand," she recalls the stories trying to decide whether she would like to go there or not. She glances at her daughter and smiles but the smile is quickly followed by a sigh of anxiety as she remembers her son. She wonders why the government can't do something about gangs that recruit the youths of this country.

She remembers Fakar's suggestion that they will move to Benin and live with his parents if he loses his job. She will not move to another place. There are bad things in Umuahia, like

her son joining a gang. She also hates to see students wearing school uniforms that remind her of her high school days. She does not want to leave Umuahia because she hopes that things will be return to normal. Her son will come back to his senses when he sees how well his sister is doing, and she will also go back to school one day like the elderly woman she met in the bus. Life will be good. She likes the hills, the paved streets, and the people of Umuahia. She likes the bus travel from Umuahia to Uzuakoli. Her family is not perfect but she belongs with them. She would like to visit America and see a country that has nothing bad in it. She would like to see it but she would not like to live there because she also loves Umuahia.

Love looks through the window at the green forests. She stretches her eyes to look at the folds of the mountains. She knows that a river runs through the valleys. There are cassava plantations on the low-lands where her mother has a farm. Maybe she should try her hands at cultivating cassava like her mother. She glances at her daughter again. She also glances at her husband. This is the life that she had wanted but she did not know that it could be so tough. She looks at Fakar again and sighs. She cannot believe that he is the same man that she married fourteen years ago. Her father wanted her to finish high school but she refused. She wanted to be a wife and mother like her own mother. She met him in her school when he came with his manager to deliver refreshments. School Inspectors had come from all parts of the state to hold a meeting in her school. He was there to serve the visiting School Inspectors. Love was also one of the girls that the Principal selected to help serve them. Love still remembers her first sight of him in a sparkling white chef suit and matching white chef hat. He was tall and majestic. She smiled at him. Since that day, she never lacked special chocolates, cookies and chewing gums. He supplied her with these goodies each time they met and this was often.

"He was so good." She sighs. Fakar snores.

Fakar and Love are on the same bed but they face different directions. They both know that they have a big fight that is yet to be settled. In addition to their fight, Fakar knows that he has to face the issue of the suitcase with the Manager. and it may not augur well for his job.

Love is not asleep. She is thinking about her marriage.

"Love, what is wrong with us?" He holds her.

"Remove your hands from me!" She pulls back. He releases her because he is afraid of what she could do to the little property left in the house.

"I have kept quiet about what you did in the morning. Please I don't want any trouble with you. Let's make up," he says.

"You don't want to quarrel with me? Do you think that I have forgotten what you did to me in the morning?"

"I did not hit you."

"The way you dragged me like a small girl…."

"You knocked me with a frying pan. You wounded me. Do you think that I am a piece of wood? You always hit me with a pan or spoon."

"You are lucky that I haven't hit you with my kitchen knife," Love says.

"Don't crack this kind of joke." He puts his hand on her waist.

"Who is joking with you?" She does not remove his hand.

"We need to be together. That was why we got married."

"So you know?" Love says.

"We have to be together. Our love and togetherness are the most important things in our life. With all that is happening, we need to hold tight." He shifts closer to her.

"Where is this new wisdom coming from?"

"I'll show you something that you will read and see that life is not good even for those who travel to America. They think that they are getting something, but they lose themselves."

"My husband, this is deep." Love gets up wanting to know how her husband got a view of America that is different from what she heard in the market.

END

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RETURN MIGRANTS AND THE CHALLENGE OF REINTEGRATION:
THE CASE OF RETURNEES TO KUMASI, GHANA.

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the nature of migrants' return to Kumasi, Ghana's second largest city, and the strategies employed by the returnees to establish links with their relatives and friends, as well reintegrate into their neighbourhoods, and participate fully in city life. Using interviews and observations carried out among 30 return migrants and some migrant associations, the paper concludes that return migration is a negotiated process among family members. Migrants face several challenges including finding accommodation and jobs, establishing contacts with former colleagues and friends, meeting the high expectations of extended family members, and adjusting to the poor infrastructural facilities in the city. Return migrants are able to surmount these difficulties with support from family members, friends, colleagues, and a host of social organizations and networks.

INTRODUCTION

Although a small number of Ghanaians has always migrated to neighbouring West African countries and overseas since the 1960s, it was not until the mid-1970s that Ghana experienced the mass migration of its nationals abroad. Besides Nigeria and Ivory Coast, the main destinations of Ghanaian migrants include the United States, Canada, and Western European countries, particularly the United Kingdom, Germany, Holland and Italy (Asiedu 2005; Anarfi et al 2004; Twum-Baah 2005; Manuh et al 2010). These migrants included highly skilled professionals such as lecturers, teachers, accountants, doctors, and nurses as well as unskilled workers including masons, carpenters, drivers, tailors, watchmen, cooks, etc. (Dei 1991; Asiedu 2010). By the mid-1990s the number of Ghanaians abroad was estimated at more than three million persons, constituting about 10-20 percent of the population (see Anarfi et al 2004; Peil 1995). As a result, the development of the "Ghanaian diaspora" began to take shape (Awumbila et al 2011; Manuh 2005; Nieswand 2009; Tonah 2007). The return of these migrants since early 1990 has been attributed to the stable political conditions, improvements in the economy in Ghana and the recent discovery of oil (Awumbila et al 2011).

While new migrants continue to leave Ghana in search of greener pastures abroad, an increasing number of Ghanaians who migrated abroad have been returning home; however, less attention is given to how these migrants survived on their return. In the past decade, following the expansion in the banking, telecommunication, and the services sectors, combined with the economic crises that have hit the Western industrialized countries which once served as the main destination points for Ghanaian migrants, an increasing number of Ghanaians abroad have been returning home for varied reasons (Kabki 2007; Orozco et al 2005; Smith 2007). Available data on return migration to Ghana indicates that 10 percent of emigrants return in any given year

(1999 Ghana Living Standard Survey cited in IOM 2009). Recent studies reveal that most of these return migrants remain in the urban centres, particularly Accra and Kumasi (Anarfi et al 2003; Taylor 2009).

So far, few studies have delved into how Ghanaian returnees reintegrate into the home community, and the challenges they face upon return. This study analyses the experiences of Ghanaians who have voluntarily returned to Kumasi, Ghana's second largest city, and examines some theoretical perspectives on return migration and reintegration. This is followed by a detailed description of the study area and the study population. The paper then examines the processes of reintegration and the experiences of return migrants to Kumasi. Thereafter, there is an analysis of the main challenges facing return migrants to the city. The paper concludes with an examination of the pathways towards the successful re-integration of return migrants to Ghana.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON RETURN MIGRATION AND REINTEGRATION

The process of return migration can be conceptualized under four main theoretical perspectives, namely, Neo-classical perspective, New Economic of Labour Migration Theory, Structural Approach and Transnational Approach.

According to the neo-classical perspective, the migration process is motivated by wage differentials between origin and destination countries, in which case migrants generally move from areas or countries with low wages to those with higher wages (Borjas 1989). Using this framework, Thomas (2008), argues that migrants will only return home if they fail to derive the expected benefit of higher earnings abroad (see also Constant and Massey 2002; Cassarino 2004). In contrast to the neoclassical theory, the New Economics of Labour Migration theory

(NELM) considers return migration "as part of a defined plan conceived by migrants before their departure from their countries of origin" (Thomas 2008: 657). Adherents of this theory argue that the original plan of migrants includes designing an eventual return to their destinations after accumulating sufficient resources abroad. Therefore, most migrants leave home with the intention of acquiring skills, savings, and other resources that would be useful to them upon their return home. The time abroad is often considered a temporary enterprise, and most migrants are said to return home soon after they have achieved their goals (see Ammassari 2004).

Structural theories on return migration, on the other hand, stress the importance of the social, economic, and political conditions in the home countries, not only as major factors in the decision to return, but also as components affecting the ability of returning migrants to make use of the skills and resources that they have acquired abroad (Diatta and Mbow 1999; Thomas-Hope, 1999). Unlike the other two theories, structural theories of return migration do not consider the success of the migration experience abroad as a key factor in the decision to return; instead they focus on the productivity of return migrants after arriving home. Structural theorists argue that returnees may not be able to reintegrate and consequently may decide to leave again if the "gap" between their own norms and values and those at home is too large (Cassarino 2004). Alternatively, they may also respond to expectations at home by spending their savings on consumption or unproductive investments.

Transnationalism compared to the NE, NELM and Structural approaches, provides a better framework for explaining return and reintegration. It sees reintegration as a process of re-adaptation which may not entail the abandonment of the identities they acquire while abroad. Of course, returnees are faced with challenges of reintegration. Through regular contacts with their households in countries of origin, as well as the back-and-forth movements which illustrate

transnational mobility (Cassarino 2004; 2007; Portes 1999), they are able to better prepare and sustain their return and reintegration. Unlike the other three theories, explanations about the activities of migrants during and after migration between home and host countries further explain return and reintegration as a process which is sustained through advanced technology and telecommunication. In this respect, return migrants are more likely to be reintegrated through contacts with host countries; however, there is hardly any empirical evidence on how the transnational perspective helps us to understand return migration and reintegration in the Ghanaian context. More importantly, there is less critical attention on any evidence supporting the challenges faced by returnees despite their cross-border activities during their stay abroad; hence, the purpose of this study.

Within the context of this paper reintegration is defined as the process of give-and-take in the home country as return migrants learn to live with their families and communities back home (Kyei 2013). Preston (1993) argues that upon return from a chosen destination, the migrant needs to be reintegrated into the original society as it will be unrealistic to assume that the social and economic milieu to which migrants returned, had not changed since they left their communities (Potter 2005; Preston 1993). There is also the need to appreciate the different social settings of the two destinations in question. Several factors determine the extent to which migrants would be estranged upon their return home. These, according to N'Laoire (2007) include the age of the migrant prior to leaving home, the length of time spent abroad, the nature of contact with family members and friends back home, and the level of engagement in transnational activities.

THE STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH METHODS

THE STUDY AREA

Kumasi, with an estimated population of 1.9 million inhabitants is Ghana's second largest city. The city is located about 270km (168 miles) north of the national capital Accra. The city lies within the transitional forest zone with an elevation of between 250 and 300 metres (820-984 feet) above sea level, and an area of about 254 square kilometres (98 square miles). The traditional capital of the Asante Kingdom and seat of the Asantehene, Kumasi is also the overlord of the Asante people in Ghana and regarded as one of Ghana's foremost cities of culture and tradition (Fynn 1971). Kumasi is a rapidly growing city which has incorporated many of the surrounding settlements into the metropolis as a result of rapid population growth and physical expansion (Dickson and Benneh 2001).

Kumasi is the commercial and administrative capital of the Ashanti Region of Ghana. Besides being a main market for forest and agricultural produce, the city owes its wealth to the manufacturing of light industrial goods, the production of cloth, handicraft and working tools as well as for the processing of gold and other minerals. During the 1950s and 60s, Kumasi enjoyed a boom as a result of the large revenues accruing from the expansion in cocoa plantations, and wood processing. Kumasi has quite a number of prestigious health and educational institutions, including some of Ghana's best high schools, several universities, a teaching and referral hospital, and an airport (Dickson and Benneh 2001).

Although the indigenous Asante constitute the majority, Kumasi has a large number of migrants from all parts of Ghana and the neighbouring West African countries. Kumasi is also well known for its residents who have migrated abroad. Many of the city's residents were pioneers in the migration trail from Ghana to other parts of West Africa, Western Europe and

North America during the 1970s and 80s. Indeed, more of Ghana's diaspora population trace their origin to Kumasi (Manuh 2000; Sidney-Boateng 2008). It is in Kumasi that the popular term for a Ghanaian return migrant from overseas (*Burger)* was coined.

RESEARCH METHODS AND STUDY POPULATION

This qualitative study is mainly based on observations and in-depth interviews conducted between October 2009 and April 2010, with 30 return migrants and members of their households and extended families residing within Kumasi and its environs. In the absence of reliable data on return migrants in the city, the study relied on information obtained from individual returnees and members of three return migrant associations in the city. The individual return migrants were located using the snowball method. In the first wave of the survey, fourteen returnees were selected. Through chain referrals by the fourteen respondents in the first wave and personal contacts, the researcher finally achieved its sample size. A questionnaire was administered to these migrants on their migration history, their experiences abroad and the challenges of reintegration. Additional information was obtained from the family members of returned migrants. Thus within one migrant family, all who had sojourned abroad, including the spouses and their children were interviewed. This method enabled us to access different perspectives and experiences of family members. The researchers also engaged the relatives of migrants resident in Kumasi. Tabled for a focus group discussion were some executives and members of the three return migrants' associations in Kumasi. All the names used for the interviewees are pseudonyms.

The returnees interviewed consisted of 16 males and 14 females, who were aged between thirty-two and seventy-two years. This means that many of the returnees arrive home at the peak of their productive working age. The selected respondents had returned from abroad for a minimum of one year. Indeed, our respondents had returned home for a period of between one and 10 years. On the average, our respondents had since their return lived in Kumasi for a period of five years. There was a wide variation in the year of departure abroad and the number of years spent abroad. The earliest migrant left Kumasi in 1984, while the majority left Kumasi for abroad between 2000 and 2004. The number of years of stay abroad ranged from 4 to 28 years, although most of them spent less than 10 years abroad. The countries of residence abroad varied considerably and included the United Kingdom (50 percent of respondents), Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, Germany and the United States of America.

Most of the respondents (62 percent) were married while 26 percent of them were divorced or separated. Only 3 out of the 30 returnees were single. Almost all of them (90 percent) were Christians with the rest (10 percent) being Muslims or Traditionalists. The educational level of the respondents, though diverse, was generally high; ranging from elementary school education to post-graduate degree. Sixteen of the respondents had a higher education degree while the remaining had completed their primary and secondary school education. At least half of our respondents worked as teachers, administrators, economists, computer and ICT experts prior to going abroad. The other half had been trained and worked as mechanics, drivers, traders, masons, hairdressers, tailors and farmers. Highly qualified persons tended to work in the formal sector while most of the low-skilled ones were self-employed or worked in the informal sector of the city. Four of the respondents upgraded their educational status while abroad; three pursued a master's degree while one was awarded a diploma. Nine of

the female respondents continued their education while abroad, and all but one did not work in the area of their training and qualification while abroad. Indeed, almost all the respondents were underemployed and worked at levels far below their qualifications while abroad. All the women were employed as cleaners while the men worked as sorters and packers or as line staff in a factory during the entire stay abroad.

RETURN AND REINTEGRATING INTO KUMASI

This section analyzes the nature of migrants' return to Ghana and the strategies employed by the returnees to establish links with their relatives and friends. Their efforts at reintegrating into their neighbourhoods and participating fully in city life are also examined.

Before their return, the migrants frequently discussed the idea of relocating to Kumasi amongst the family members and with friends over some period of time. However, the decision to relocate and when to do so was seldom unanimous and often had to be negotiated; male returnees informed us that their spouses and adult children were not always pleased with returning to Ghana. Nonetheless, because they were tired of their jobs, frustrated by their under-privileged status and could not cope well with the weather, they had to pressurize the family to return. Elderly females, on the other hand, were wary of the poor infrastructure in Ghana, the high cost of living and the likely demands on them by the extended family. Adult children, like their elderly female relatives were also not particularly interested in returning to Ghana, but for a different reason: they had their network of friends and acquaintances abroad and did not want to break up with them. Besides, most of them did not know much about Ghana and had been told by their friends that conditions there were not particularly good. Indeed, one of our respondents

returned to Ghana after nearly 28 years in the United Kingdom without his wife and children because they "found conditions in Ghana too difficult and preferred to remain in the UK".

Three distinct factors determined respondents' decision to return to Ghana. These were events at home [Ghana], events in the host countries and the age of respondents. Events in the host countries were more important in the decision to return than those at home. Two major factors in host countries which influenced decisions to return home were the accomplishment of the purpose of migration and the expiration of residence permits (visas). One of the returnees recalls her experience:

> I took a decision about three years ago to return home to settle; because of this I came home on about three separate occasions ... I needed to do some checks so I would know where to invest upon return. Due to that I rented a shop around Kejetia, [a portion of the Kumasi market, Ashanti Region] and started a provision shop, specifically selling rice, cooking oil and so on. After some months, I started a hair dressing saloon at Afful –Nkwanta [a suburb of Kumasi, Ashanti Region]. I employed shop attendants to take care of the shops. I left these shops in the care of the attendants and returned to Italy intending to stay for six (6) months. I however returned to Ghana after three (3) months. I had to come because business was booming back home (Sonia, interview in Kumasi, 30th March, 2010).

The conditions at home which influenced some respondents' decision to return to Ghana were generally family related; they included returning to assume extended family responsibility as a result of the death of parents, to fulfil a social obligation or to join spouses and children in Ghana. One of the returnees explained:

I came because my husband wanted me to come home with him. I thought about it. As a married woman I couldn't just abandon my children and husband; who would take care of them? Had it not been that, I would have stayed in Denmark. After all, the system is far, far better than Ghana's; our system is bad. I wonder! Anytime I visited, the differences were so obvious. Ghanaians don't follow or obey any laws (Mary, interview in Kumasi, 18th November, 2009).

Prospective returnees had several opportunities to obtain news about the situation in Ghana. Besides newspapers, radio and the internet, they acquired first-hand information from friends who had just visited Ghana and others who had successfully relocated to the country. They also had contacts with persons who had returned abroad after a failed attempt to resettle in Ghana. The opportunities open to them as well as the risks were carefully assessed with their friends. Some returnees actually visited Ghana several times to assess the situation before taking a decision to return. Such visits were used to reconnect with friends and relatives, commence a building project, or explore the job market and the likely areas of investment. The typical case was for the man to initially return to Ghana and make the necessary preparations in terms of acquiring a place of residence, looking for a job or establishing his business, and finding a suitable school for the children. It is only after the most basic arrangements had been put in place, usually lasting between one or two years, that the rest of the family then joined him in Ghana.

The next section presents a summary of the experiences of return migrants in Kumasi. These have been grouped into social and economic spheres in spite of the often difficult task of delineating between the categories of activities. Similarly, the context in which return and

reintegration took place also differed considerably amongst the various returnees. Individual experiences as related to us will therefore be presented where necessary.

SOCIAL REINTEGRATION

The immediate task of every returnee was to find suitable accommodation within the city, as all of them considered it inappropriate to live together with members of the extended family. Most returnees wanted to be socially close to their extended families, but spatially distant from them. The returnees expressed the desire to be "independent, have a decent place to live in and be comfortable". All of the returnees considered building a house for themselves as one of the major expectations of their relatives (cf. Henry and Mohan 2003; Smith 2007). In line with this, 8 out of the 30 respondents had built their own houses prior to returning to Ghana. The remaining 22 returnees had reached various stages of their building project at the time of the study. The state of the building was nonetheless a function of the length of their stay abroad. All those who had completed their buildings had lived abroad for more than ten years, while those whose structures remained uncompleted had stayed for a period of less than six years. Many of the returnees had acquired land and commenced their building projects or had actually completed them while abroad. Family members and friends typically assisted with the purchase of a plot, preparation of a building plan, obtaining the required permits, securing the services of masons and other artisans, purchasing building materials and supervising the construction of the house. Only three returnees indicated that they did not have relatives whom they could entrust with such tasks, and therefore decided to rent a house upon their return while they made arrangements to start their building projects.

After finding decent accommodation, the next task for the returnee is usually to reach out to extended family members, friends, former school mates, and colleagues and re-build their social network. The returnee is expected to visit members of the extended family and inform them of his or her return. This is seen as a sign of respect for the extended family members. In this regard, the returnee has to carefully consider those to be visited immediately and those who can be contacted later. Persons visited were usually given small gifts in cash or kind, depending on the closeness of the relationship. With the widespread availability of mobile telephones some returnees would visit only a few family members and friends and call up the rest to inform them of their return. Such calls are conventionally followed by promises to visit them at a later date and bring along their gifts.

Most returnees also acknowledged the importance of friendship networks for integrating effectively into life in Kumasi; consequently, they had to reconnect with old friends and colleagues as well as institutions with which they were previously associated. The measures adopted include attending alumni and hometown association meetings, joining religious groups and churches, linking up with former friends and colleagues at meetings, training sessions and workshops, in addition to building up a network of friends through exchange of addresses, phone numbers and e-mail contacts. The returnees also attended social gatherings to improve upon their status and build social networks (cf. Anarfi & Jagare 2005). This finding supports the structural argument that family members and friends play a crucial role in the behavior of return migrants.

ECONOMIC REINTEGRATION

Return migrants to Kumasi can be broadly categorized into two main groups with respect to their integration into the city's job market. The first consists of those who returned with some capital, skills and resources and wanted to establish their own businesses in the private sector or the informal sector. These include setting up a vehicle maintenance and spare parts shop, hair salon, a school, training centre or hiring a store in one of the city's huge central and satellite markets (cf. Dei 1991). The second group is made up of skilled returnees with a higher level of education and professional qualifications, seeking employment with private or public sector establishments.

Many returnees were astonished about the paper work and bureaucracy that accompanied the setting up of a business, obtaining a permit for a task, or simply getting an appointment with the relevant city officials. They were also dismayed by the red tape, bribery and corruption that characterized the public service. While return migrants who wanted to establish their own businesses relied primarily on the support of extended family members, those seeking employment in the formal sector depended mainly on their friends and their social networks. Friendship ties such as those with former school mates, colleagues, their superiors, teachers, church leaders and members were revived. Besides obtaining relevant information on job opportunities, the primary purpose of reviving such ties was to get in touch with people who would link them up with heads of institutions and recruitment agencies. This finding supports the structural approach that emphasizes the "reality" of the home economy (Cassarino, 2004). It also highlights the importance of family and organization networks as local contextual factors, for reintegrating into the local economy. One returnee related how he used his social networks in securing his current employment:

...anyhow, it was a link through my uncle, because I eventually wrote an application after I had had the job. They (the employers) called me for an aptitude test, an interview and later called me to start work. I remember my uncle was among the first people I saw when I came back and he asked me for my CV and particulars when I said I was looking for a job. He said he was going to circulate them to his friends and colleagues. I often called him when I was in Denmark. That's how I was able to get this job as an administrator. It took me almost two years before I finally secured the job (Samuel, 20th December, 2009).

Despite their social networks and family ties, returnees indicated having to go through a rigorous process before finally getting a job in the formal sector. Many indicated having to write a series of application letters and attend interviews, most of which proved futile. Furthermore, they had to endure long waiting periods of between one and two years before they finally secured jobs. This was attributed to the high unemployment situation in the country and the fact that recruitment of skilled personnel appeared limited to the teaching, banking, telecommunications sectors and some non-governmental organizations (cf. Anarfi & Jagare 2005).

Returnees were generally flexible in their demands, and willing to work in areas below their educational qualifications in professions they were less enthusiastic about, particularly during the initial phase of returning home. Some accepted offers of employment that did not match the qualifications and experience they had acquired abroad. Others explained that since they did not work in their professions while abroad, they were prepared to take cuts in their salaries to enable them get a job as quickly as possible. It was not uncommon for returnees to abandon the search for employment in the formal sector when such attempts proved futile. Furthermore, a few among the returnees expressed the desire to work in non-bureaucratic and

hierarchical environments and therefore preferred to be self-employed. Here again, instead of being drowned by their own huge expectations of the home country, returnees found an alternative means to escape some of the problems of reintegration, by setting up their own businesses with their accumulated capital. In this case, the findings support the NELM perspective that resources transferred home enhance the smooth reintegration of returnees despite challenges back home. Some who had intended to work in the formal sector changed their minds midstream, as the search for jobs proved futile and was beginning to take a toll on them and their families. They subsequently decided to invest their capital in private businesses. One returnee who had worked as a professional teacher prior to leaving for the United Kingdom, decided to set up a primary school in a Kumasi suburb after his failure to get a job in the public service. With the assistance of his relatives, he purchased a sizeable piece of land, built a classroom block, recruited a few teachers and then started his school project.

THE CHALLENGES OF REINTEGRATION

Although most returnees had planned their return to Kumasi and were quite excited about their prospects, they nevertheless faced several challenges. While some of these challenges have been mentioned in the previous section, they will be discussed extensively below.

POOR INFRASTRUCTURE

Generally, the first challenge all the returnees encountered was the poor state of infrastructural facilities in the city. During the first few months, most returnees were exasperated by the erratic supply of water, the frequent disruptions in power supply and the poor state of the health and educational facilities in and around Kumasi. While they acknowledged that the city

had changed and progress had been made in the country since their departure abroad, the returning migrants had expected much improved infrastructural facilities in the urban areas. Another issue frequently discussed was the poor sanitation and littering of the city with plastic and other household wastes. Many were also overwhelmed by the difficulties associated with finding good schools for their wards within their immediate neighbourhoods. They thought a lot of time was wasted driving their children to and from school daily. In the absence of an expansive public transport system they organized private transport (taxi) services to bring their children to and from school. Another issue of concern was the poor health infrastructure in the city, particularly the absence of emergency services. Many returnees dreaded having to face emergency situations (cf. Taylor 2009: 25).

EXPECTATIONS FROM FAMILY, FRIENDS AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS

A major challenge facing all return migrants is meeting the high expectations of relatives and community members. It was usual in Kumasi for returnees to be inundated with visits and telephone calls from friends and relatives, many of whom expect to be given gifts and support in one form or the other. Some of the presents made by the returnees in the first few weeks of returning home include clothing, perfumes, mobile phones, cameras, toiletries, footballs, as well as cash donations to relatives and friends. Some friends and relatives specifically request funds to feed their families, pay school fees, hospital bills, and other household expenditure. While it was common for returnees to avoid persons making persistent demands for assistance, there was unanimity amongst the returnees that the reception given them by their kinfolk and acquaintances in Kumasi was warm and rousing. The extent of support obtained, however, depended on the support given to the family members while they were abroad. Migrants who

maintained close relationships with their kith and kin through regular telephone calls, visits, sending of gifts and remittances to cover the payment of school fees, medical bills, and funeral expenditure, were very warmly received (Kyei 2010; cf. Kakbi et al 2004).

Besides gift-giving, residents expect returnees to display some level of affluence and sophistication in all spheres of their life. Returnees are regarded as "burgers" or "been to" and are expected to distinguish themselves as having lived abroad. This should be evident in what they wear, where and what they eat, where they reside and the means of transport used. They are expected to display a higher standard of living than other residents in the community. They are also expected to make substantial and generous donations at social events such as weddings, funerals, church programmes, associational, and club meetings. Many returnees described these demands from their friends, neighbors and relatives as "unrealistic, overwhelming and beyond their capabilities". According to one returnee:

> You see, there is so much expected of us as returnees. Unfortunately we are not able to meet these expectations and we are seen as being frugal and uncaring about the plight of people in our communities. Many still think that the streets of Europe and America are littered with gold. People whom you employ to assist you, like the masons, electricians and plumbers seize the opportunity to dupe you; they think I have enough money to spare anyway. It has happened to me on countless occasions. Now I do not even know whom to trust (Evelyn, interview in Kumasi, 15th October, 2009).

BUREAUCRACY AND WORK ETHICS

The bureaucracy associated with obtaining public services, coupled with poor work ethics of public and civil servants, were other issues that frustrated many returnees. For some of them,

everything seemed to be "too bureaucratic" in Ghana. They were frequently frustrated by the delays associated with obtaining services such as the registration of land, building permits, vehicle licensing, registering a business, obtaining water and electricity services. They were exasperated by the frequent inability of public officials to take decisions instead of deferring such decisions to higher authority. Many returnees were also worried about the poor work ethics and behavior of most public workers in the city. They were impatient with the slow rhythm of life in general, and the laid-back attitude of residents to work. Returnees also had problems with the attitude of most residents to time. People were generally late to meetings which usually started 30 minutes or an hour later than the advertised time. The situation was even worse with respect to social events such as funerals, weddings, church services and family gatherings which often started several hours late and continued well beyond the scheduled time. Returnees felt that life was very slow in Kumasi and it took so long to get things accomplished (cf. Potter 2005; Taylor 2009). One returnee who was frustrated with the working environment in Kumasi claimed that:

It is not easy to initiate anything here, there is so much bureaucracy, go here, get this documentation and so on. Worst of it all they don't even keep their promises. Things are not as easy as in the UK... Can you imagine I went to the Metropolitan Assembly to set up a rubbish dump in my school; this simple thing, for months was not done. I had to finally do it myself. It is so frustrating. If it was anybody else, I am sure the person might have given up. Ha! Things must really change (Paul, interview in Kumasi, 12th January, 2010).

EXCESSIVE RELIGIOSITY

Some return migrants were also concerned about what they considered to be the "excessive religiosity of many Kumasi residents". They were alarmed by the mushrooming number of churches in Ghana and the numerous "prophets, pastors, bishops, and evangelists of all sorts who claimed to have solutions to people's daily life problems such as illnesses, divorce, witchcraft and, poverty". Returnees were amazed about the ease with which religious explanations were provided as cure for all sorts of challenges in life and the impact of such attitudes on residents. Though they considered themselves to be religious, their experiences abroad, in largely secular environments, had shown them the importance and limits of religious explanations. It was difficult for some returnees to "comprehend the irrationality associated with the number of hours Ghanaians spend in churches instead of engaging in productive activities, only for them thereafter to beg for alms". Perhaps the driving force of this excessiveness could be due to the lower opportunity cost of time in Ghana than in industrialized countries. Another returnee complained about this:

> …in the US, church services were brief and one was not obliged to frequent them as happens in Ghana. Here people are always in the church. I don't know but maybe it is because they are poor...we spend close to seven hours in church and even have to give a number of offerings and we seem not to gain anything. At least out there, [the United States] after church we are provided with snacks. I think they should invest some of the collection in that or use the money to support the poor. ... Why should church members be suffering, while the pastor is in a four wheel drive? (Mercy, interview in Kumasi, 18th February, 2010)

Indeed, the finding supports the proposition of the structural approach, that these challenges form part of the institutions and traditions of the home country that prevent returnees from having a smooth reintegration. Most return migrants could not utilize the skills and knowledge acquired abroad within the existing system to change and contribute to the development agenda of their home country. Yet almost all respondents were much more concerned about the impact they could make in their communities; since, according to them, there is "no place like home".

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The stable political situation and the improving economy have often been mentioned as the main factors responsible for the large numbers of return migrants to Ghana (Awumbila et al, 2011). Further emphasizing the significance of the structural approach on return migration, migrants return when they expect better conditions at home, armed with resources that establish them in the local economy of the home country. With advancements in technology and telecommunication, returnees were able to secure their return through remittances, and intermittent visits home (Cassarino, 2004; 2007).

This paper describes the experiences of return migrants to Kumasi, Ghana's second largest city, as well as the challenges migrants face in reintegrating into the extended family and their communities. The study shows that return migration is often a well thought-out and planned process, involving all members of the family over several months. It also proves that the decision to return is often contentious, with divergent interests, from various members of the family. This study further indicates that while migrants are generally well received back home, the level of enthusiasm shown by friends and relatives depended on the strength and

sustainability of the relationship while the migrant was abroad. In this regard, return migrants also anticipated a good reception back home when they had given material support to friends and relatives while in sojourn.

Finding suitable accommodation and employment remain immediate pressing challenges facing return migrants. Most of the return migrants to Kumasi had already made various forms of investment in the city prior to returning home. Others returned with funds and resources that had been earmarked for the acquisition of land and the completion of their homes; indeed, more than anything else, the completion of a house was considered indispensable for a successful reintegration into Ghanaian society. This paper also implied that while most of the unskilled returnees set up their own businesses, skilled returnees preferred to work in the formal sector. Most returnees were very flexible with respect to the type of jobs that they were prepared to do; and those who could not obtain employment in the formal sector, later opted to set up their own businesses. Other challenges include the pressure of unrealistic expectations from their relatives and friends, the frequent demand for gifts and other assistance, the poor infrastructure and sanitation condition in the city, as well as issues related to work ethics.

The structural approach helps us understand family and organization networks as the contextual factors necessary for a successful reintegration into the local economy (Thomas, 2008). Similarly, the assistance of family members and friends was indispensable towards the social integration of newly-arrived returnees into the city. Upon arrival, returnees expanded their social networks by participating actively in social gatherings such as funerals, weddings, alumni associations, town and ethnic associations, and other social clubs. This extensive network of friends and relations aided in the successful integration of the migrant into the society.

Aside from illustrating how return migrants reintegrate into their original society, this research shows that return migrants considered themselves as agents of change (Ammassari 2004; Anarfi et al 2004; Taylor 2009). As development agents, they undertook new businesses and brought their skills and experiences to bear in running these businesses. In addition, they brought new work ethics into their businesses and communities by making generous financial contributions towards the welfare of their extended family members and by initiating useful projects in their communities.

The paper indicates that Ghana has been quite successful in attracting some of its most qualified and experienced professionals back home. These highly educated persons are contributing in diverse ways to national development, especially by establishing a school, creating jobs through businesses, ICT centers and other economic activities. Analyzed within the context of the need to attract human capital back to their countries, this paper shows that Ghana has been able to reverse the phenomenon of brain drain that has gripped the country since the 1960's, into a brain gain.

Finally, the paper shows that the decision to return is taken solely by the individual migrant, and the success of the reintegration process depends largely on the effort of the returnees. There is neither a government policy, nor program to encourage and support migrants to return home nor are returnees supported financially and administratively to reintegrate into their home communities. Returnees mostly receive some financial support from Non-Governmental Organisations and donors located in the country.

Based on the findings, the study makes the following policy recommendations: First, policy makers and the government should develop a collaborative effort to institutionalise return programs and policies. The governments of the country of residence of these migrants could be

approached to support these endeavors. A comprehensive and collaborative migration policy is required since Ghana lacks a well-defined or a holistic policy on return migration, in spite of efforts by the International Organisation for Migration, various international agencies, Development Partners and researchers to address specific issues relating to return migration. The policy should include, for example, the provision of assistance in the form of tax incentives, grants and subsidies to cover the initial costs of resettlement and support towards the acquisition of some form of accommodation in the short term.

Second, most initiatives such as those originated by the Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) program, the Dual Citizenship Act of 2002 by the Ghana government, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), and Development Partners so far, aim to alleviate the economic obstacles that returnees face (Kyei 2013; Mazzucato 2008). However, this study found that returnees also faced cultural difficulties. Return migrants often have to regain an understanding of how local structures work at home, and often face a period of adaptation due to prolonged time spent abroad, during which a realistic picture of the home context may be lost. Some of the major factors that obstruct the return migrants' ability to induce change include poor local work ethics, poor working conditions, lack of adequate and modern infrastructure as well as a slow bureaucracy characterized by corruption. These largely cultural conditions create tensions for migrants trying to introduce change. Attempts to introduce change were received in a number of ways by the community or population at large. These initiatives may, for example, cause difficulties or tensions with colleagues in the workplace, including local jealousies and returnees' superiority complex and consequent deterioration of the relationship between return migrants and non-migrants. For this reason, programs and policies facilitating return need to consider that that the impact of returnees depend

both on the efforts of the returning migrants, and the attitude of residents at home. This paper recommends that the respective districts, municipal and metropolitan assemblies receiving these return migrants be well-endowed both in terms of logistics and skilled personnel, to be able to provide psychological and material support to returnees.

BIOGRAPHY

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THE POLITICS OF GENDER, WATER AND MIGRATION IN GHANA: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE WASH SECTOR[74]

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the broad issues of Gender, Water and Migration among rural dwellers in Ghana. Particular emphasis is paid to women who seek to improve their life chances and reduce their level of poverty through out-migration from their indigenous homeland primarily to urban and small town enclaves. It updates research on migratory trends in Ghana and examines the socio-economic and health conditions of rural women as a consequence of poor access to water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH). The politics of water access and impact of globalization and disasters, among other factors, are raised to highlight how such phenomena linked to issues of climatic change and migration, can lead to loss of indigenous knowledge (IK) in rural communities. The paper ends with an overview of how one organization, WaterAid Ghana (WAG), is attempting to alleviate rural women's poverty by providing sustainable WASH services delivery and advocating for WASH as a basic essential service and right. The use of culturally appropriate and endogenous development is proposed, with the right requisite levels of local and government leadership and financing, to reduce WASH related poverty, support rural development and reduce migration of men and women to overburdened cities where slums are developing without adequate WASH services and negative health outcomes.

KEY WORDS: *Gender, Ghana, internal migration, globalization, Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH), poverty, climate change, endogenous development, culture, indigenous knowledge.*

INTRODUCTION

The historical migration routes of various indigenous peoples of West Africa were dominated by movements of nomadic peoples and traders for centuries. In the fourth century A.D., the kingdom called Ghana (also known as Wagadugu) arose in the Niger River Valley. The capital of the empire was also called Ghana. Ancient Ghana's location (not completely the same geo-political space as today's Ghana) allowed it to control trade between Northern and Southern Africa until the emergence of the Kingdom of Mali.[75] Early patterns of migration in Africa reflected movement of peoples across the continent seeking to not only trade and pursue livelihood interests, but also to escape wars, occupation, and slavery from the Arab invaders in the seventh century and later European colonialism in the nineteenth century. Due to its central location in the region, Ghana occupied a key crossroad for these routes. For the most part, continental migration and trade was 'normal' and peaceful, it became part of the cultural milieu and landscape. Today, in the twenty-first century, migration routes and patterns of African people, especially nomadic peoples have been changed by the historical partitioning of Africa by major European colonial powers granted by the1885 General Act of Berlin. These borders, which have been maintained for over a century, regulate and restrict people's movement in ways contemporary structures like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)[76] and Southern African Development Community (SADC)[77] have done little to change. One can rarely travel from one African country within a region or the larger continent, without the extraction of fees for a 'visa' and/or goods carried.

This paper focuses on migration within the contemporary post colonial nation-state of Ghana and is most concerned with the gender dynamics of internal "rural-to-urban" migration. Modern cities in Ghana such as Accra and Kumasi have emerged as magnets for traders and migrants from rural areas seeking jobs and educational opportunities outside the rural landscape

and political economy. Following a brief review of the literature relating to the broad issues of

gender, water and migration in Ghana, the paper explores emerging research on migratory trends

in Ghana, highlighting the socio-economic conditions of rural women as a consequence of poor

Water Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH)[78] coverage. The impact of globalization and disasters,

among other factors, is then raised to highlight the links to climate change and a disturbing loss

of intergenerational transmission of indigenous knowledge in rural communities. Such

knowledge I argue is necessary to support endogenous development efforts that can provide

African solutions to contemporary development problems. Next, a case study is shared to

provide an example of how WaterAid Ghana (WAG), an International Non-Governmental

Organization (INGO), attempts to alleviate the poverty of rural women by providing sustainable

WASH services delivery.   Recommendations for future research on gender, migration and

WASH are provided in the last section for future scholars and activists to consider.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As will be documented, several concepts- gender[79], integrated WASH or I-WASH,

globalization, structural adjustment programs (SAPs), rural-urban migration and urbanization –

can all provide multiple lenses to analyze rural and urban poor migration often linked to

deprivation of WASH services. Nearly one-third of the world's population experiences some

kind of physical or economic water scarcity.[80] There is growing competition for use and control

of local waters and the waterways of coastal states among actors like private industry (e.g., oil

companies), governments, small and large-scale agriculturalists, and of course, people who lead

migratory lives and enter spaces of sedentary people faced with water scarcity. Indeed, it is

predicted that the next world war will be over the control, access, and use of water. [81]   In Africa,

which has 9 percent of global water resources[82], these and other contesting demands complicate and indeed limit the amount of water accessible to both the urban and rural poor for cooking, economic production, socio-cultural and spiritual activities, and household health care and hygiene needs. Tensions over water resources during the past 50 years are evident, with data showing that there have been at least 1,831 interactions on transboundary basins. Basins that are shared by more than one nation-state cover over 45 percent of the land surface of the world.[83] Lives are being lost as a result of the global politics of water and its varied uses deemed as appropriate, which are embedded in the cultural ontology, cosmology and worldview of different peoples. It appears now that the ontological worldview of the power-holder(s) in the West toward water and other natural resources, wherein such resources are part of nature's biodiversity with utilitarian value, is more dominant. This dominant worldview is problematic as human lives are treated as expendable as long as competitive advantage can be gained over bodies of water.[84]   While not examined here, studies in the field of political ecology are relevant to more concretely explore histories of conflict and violence over waterways.

Examining gender, migration, and water issues in Ghana presents a potential porthole on how development and demographic change may affect urbanization and migration in other parts of Africa. This is because Ghana is considered a frontrunner in the demographic and development transitions in Africa, particularly in relation to migration patterns that reinforce a strong urbanization trend.[85] For example, rural women and men in Ghana responded to the effects of the Structural Adjustment Programs of the IMF and World Bank adopted by the Government of Ghana (GoG) during the 1980s by migrating to urban areas looking for jobs as state support for rural development drastically declined, with the exception of cash crop farming

production.[86] Consequently, they have been instrumental in shaping high urbanization rates and increased urban slums.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION IN GHANA: THE PUSH-PULL FACTORS

In Ghana, as in other parts of Africa, migration patterns are largely informal and undocumented, though increased literature has emerged in the past decade to supplement scanty earlier literature from the late 1960s and early 1970s. This does not discount the fact that there have been centuries and thus a long history of rural, and more recent urban, population movement, with migration playing a central role in peoples livelihood and advancement strategies. Migration in Ghana during the 1960s was internal among ethnic groups that moved for reasons of security during periods of internecine warfare, or in search of new land safe for settlement, and fertile for farming. As Addae-Mensah (1983) observed, farmers migrated in search of empty lands for the cultivation of both food and cash crops and the introduction of cocoa in the late nineteenth century resulted in unprecedented migration of farmers within Ghana and in countries around it (Hill, 1963).[87]   The literature on North-South migration in Ghana can be reviewed in the works of Oppong, (1967); Nabila, (1975), Zeng (1993); Pellow (2001); Mensah-Bonsu (2003); Sulemana (2003); Kubon, (2004); Hashim (2005a, 2005b, 2007); Meier (2005); and Kwankye et al (2007). Other works examine the migration trends of youth and females from the northern parts of Ghana to the southern cities, particularly Accra and Kumasi, to engage in menial jobs (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).[88] Research on salient issues related to the gender dimension of migration is highlighted for this discussion.

Although Ghana has periodically expelled 'aliens' since the 1970s, Ghanaians, especially the affluent ones, are migrating in droves, to the West in search of better education and economic

opportunities. It should be noted that the first President of independent Ghana, Kwame

Nkrumah, encouraged a number of African "freedom fighters and Pan-Africanists to come to

Ghana describing it as 'a haven'" Brydon (1985). This Pan-African belief in Ghana as a country

embracing all other Africans, including those from the Diaspora, continues today with mixed

advances in policy practices of resettlement.[89] For example, promises of dual citizenship are yet

to materialize for descendants of enslaved Africans born in American who responded to calls to

return to Africa and settled in Ghana.

A review of demographic trends (internal migration, immigration, transit migration and

emigration both within and outside Africa) in today's Ghana provides a "classic" pattern of

change where death rates fell dramatically along with significant decline in fertility and

population growth rates.[90] The annual population growth rate for urban areas has historically

been about 3.5 percent, and that of the rural areas, 1.5 percent (overall national growth rate is 2.3

percent). Although it remains a relatively poor country in comparison to much of the world,

Ghana, since independence in 1957, is regarded as a good "IMF and World Bank pupil" in terms

of achieving many social indicators of western-modeled development. This relative affluence

has primarily been centered in the urban areas to a greater extent in Ghana than her neighboring

countries resulting in the net immigration status of Ghana (Antwi Bosiakoh 2008). While having

achieved "middle-income" status in 2011 based on Ghana Statistical Service data,[91] the country

is only ranked 139 out of 178 countries on the UN Human Development index (UN Human

Development Report 2011). According to the UNHD Report, nearly half of the 24 million

people are split between urban and rural dwellers with about 28 percent of people living below

the poverty line, 11.4 percent living in extreme poverty and 30 percent living on just US$1.25

per day; and so many Ghanaians remain poor. Also, despite recent developments, the prospect

of earning a decent living in rural and northern communities in Ghana has dwindled. The removal of subsidies on agriculture and social services during the SAP decade of the 1970s and 1980s, has resulted in minimal local and external employment; prosperity is uneven, with variable geographical and gendered dimensions. For example, extreme and persistent poverty and lack of infrastructure (electricity, transportation) continues to exist in the Northern, Upper West, Upper East and Central regions of the country, where people have historically been most deprived of WASH services, despite the GoG pledges to address past exclusionary national development.

Ghana draws enormous attention in West Africa because it remains one of the few countries in the region and the continent that has avoided large-scale conflict and out- migration since independence in 1957. Relatively peaceful elections were held again, in Ghana during the 2012 Presidential elections in spite of some sporadic violence as political power and control of future oil revenues was at stake. Some scholars have argued that the earlier economic improvements through 'austerity measures' were only at the macro-level. These scholars further argue that the impact of SAP of the late 1970s-1980s on the poor and vulnerable groups in both rural and urban areas in Ghana was disturbing and indeed harmful.[92] Despite relative peace and growing hope for lucrative oil driven economy, of the nearly 24 million people estimated in the country's 2011 census, 53.61 percent lived on less than US$2 day.[93]

The proclaimed prosperous development in Ghana remains uneven and inequitable along class, regional and gendered dimensions. Women and men, particularly from the Northern regions in Ghana, continue to migrate to the southern part of the country only to end up without finding jobs and settling in urban "Zongo"[94] slums. In Accra, women, children, and the youth are engaged in petty street trading, and live in extremely hazardous places without adequate

WASH services. As urbanization proceeds in Ghana and Africa, cities and the rural and peri-urban landscape are differentiated in many ways. Understanding the migration patterns in these areas, and the availability of WASH services becomes increasingly important.[95]

Much of the existing research on migration in Africa and other so called "less developed countries" around the world has focused on rural-urban migration and urbanization; but internal migration includes more than movement from rural to urban areas. Recently, more attention has been paid to other types of migration: rural-rural, urban-urban, and urban-rural; the degree of "urbanness" of particular localities, as well as questioning the usefulness of the rural/urban conceptual dichotomy in understanding internal migration.[96] For example, one can argue, as have White and Lindstrom (2005), that step migration, the sequence of moves from smaller communities to larger communities instead of a single move from a rural community to a large urban area, may provide a more nuanced picture of internal mobility and migration than using a simple rural-urban model to study migration. Step migration then, suggests those towns and secondary or peri-urban cities, serve as intermediate destinations for urban-ward migrants, and best highlight urban-urban movement in less developed countries.[97]

Several studies of sex differences in migration have emerged over the past two decades. Few of these studies have focused on migration within national boundaries as does this discussion, and fewer still have used a gendered lens to examine the variety of origin and the direction of migration by both men *and* women, *across their life span.* Additionally, female migrants, particularly those who are married and/or have children, are often assumed to migrate for different reasons, compared to their male counterparts.[98] Sudarkasa (1977) observes that, until the 1970s, there was little focus on the female experience of migration compared to men; and when mentioned, it was in reference to their role as wives and mothers, and mostly the ones

who remained in the villages to "tend the farms, care for the children and maintain village cohesion."[99] Today, women in Ghana move independently within and outside the country, for economic as well as other reasons such as education and career development. Consequently, one finds more recent studies emphasizing the independent economic and social role of young women (Appiah 2000; Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

Taken together, the above research is uncovering interesting aspects of migration in Ghana. However, absent in the past and more recent studies of gender and migration are reasons associated with the need for clean and potable safe water, an essential life-saving resource. Additionally, as shown in the 2008 Ghana country paper on Migration, it is increasingly evident that socio-cultural factors and other non-economic factors, are also very important for studies on emigration and migration of various types, and that a realistic explanation of Ghanaian (and indeed African) migration should be multi-disciplinary (Achanfuo-Yeboah, 1993).

COASTAL MIGRATION IN GHANA

Research articulated in Reed's 2010 study on "Gender, Family, and Migration between Urban and Rural Areas in Coastal Ghana using Event History Analysis"[100] has led to interesting findings on gender and migration. Reed's work confirmed earlier studies of how the Ghanaian coastal areas and inland regions have drawn migrant men, since colonialism, to work in the fishing and logging industries and on cocoa farms. The research further showed how, in most of Ghana, especially the coastal areas studied, women had a fair amount of autonomy,[101] and female migration for employment, marriage, or family reasons was common.[102]

A reliable determinant of migration across almost all societies is age; the youth are generally highly mobile as are very young children (usually moving with their young adult

parents though they have lower mobility during later stages of childhood). On the other hand, there is increasing mobility in the later teen years that typically peak among youth in their twenties, declining steadily through to older adult ages. This pattern of migration, according to Rogers (1984), while also true across a variety of settings in Africa including Ghana,[103] may shift slightly upwards, or down depending on socio-economic changes[104] and level of development shaped by national development priorities, globalization, and by an amalgamation of colonial and post-independent economic policies and environmental factors.

Education is also a particularly powerful factor of women's mobility in Ghana. Interestingly, Reed found that women also migrated regardless of having secured employment, unlike men who favored being employed. These findings suggest that interregional migration in Ghana was less about marriage, and more about economic opportunity, among other factors, contrary to earlier ideas that women migrated primarily for marriage. Childbearing was another deterrent on mobility, according to Reed, but oddly not as much for women's mobility as for men. Reed finally reported that having a prior "urban" experience increased mobility for both sexes.

It is apparent from the literature review that rural women have migrated in Ghana for a number of reasons over time; and that age, education, and economic factors more than marital status, are determinants of such movement.

WATER AND MIGRATION IN GHANA: EXPLORING THE NEXUS

WATER-RELATED FORCED MIGRATION: DISASTERS AND FLOODS

Globally between 1991 and 2000, 665,000 people died in 2,557 natural disasters, of which 90 percent were water-related. Of those who died, 97 percent were from developing countries.[105] In Northern Ghana, floods are periodic occurrences causing death and destruction

and greatly impacting the environment. Floods increase people's desire to leave affected communities in search of safer land, potable water and a more hygienic environment.[106] Such floods cause great mourning and feelings of destitution and desperation. How to reconstruct one's life after such disasters becomes a stressful situation, with great sense of grief among people who have lost loved ones. Women and children in general inherently suffer great loss and instability in these cases. Migration after floods and other disasters is consequently considered, regardless of the knowledge of potential risks of living in a new area.

Decreased environmental quality and rising food insecurity also heighten the desire to out-migrate. Depleted agricultural production in rural areas increases chances of starvation, poor nutrition, and lower household income. As a result, rural exodus often occurs that paradoxically, over the long term, reduces the number of people available to farm and engage in local economies in ways that if they remained and solutions are found to the challenges, could engender food sovereignty. As previously noted, lack of sustainable rural development efforts exists throughout Africa. The right government support is needed so that migration for reasons related to food insecurity and livelihood are greatly decreased or avoided altogether.

The health of communities is at risk during floods. There could be outbreaks of water-borne diseases like cholera and intestinal or other infections that result in malnutrition, anemia and stunted growth. It must be emphasized that pre-existing poor sanitation practices within communities also feed into the outbreak of cholera and other water-borne diseases. Globally, 90 percent of cholera cases come from Africa every year. Poor national sanitation coverage, currently at 14 percent, results in Ghana regularly experiencing outbreaks of cholera.

Of grave concern in rural areas in the North of Ghana, out-migration has contributed to the erosion of local *Water* knowledge and to a loss of the skills required for coping with the aftermath of a flood. Some of the migrants, including women, are equipped with the knowledge of flood prediction, and herbal medicine as well as seed production and storage. Thus, while in the short term remittances from migrants to provide relief to kinfolk and communities in such situations can serve as a buffer for family members in time of need, in the long term this out-migration may deplete a community of its skilled workers, particularly the youth. In sum, the cultural integrity of a community and its potential for endogenous development are eroded when natural disasters occur.

Cultural integrity is based on local indigenous peoples' values, institutions and resources, which satisfy the material, social and spiritual well-being of the community.[107] In terms of water resources for example, while certain circumstances may not hold, indigenous practices of rainwater harvesting promotes flood and erosion control, groundwater recharge, and reduced silting at major rivers and streams.[108] Indigenous knowledge of community based water resources management and adaptation strategies to climate variability that mitigate impact of droughts can be lost. Countless other water and sanitation related practices may disappear when the knowledge holder, male or female, migrates without transferring their knowledge to those left behind.

ENVIRONMENT, MIGRATION PATTERNS AND CLIMATE CHANGE:
WASH IMPLICATIONS

Somewhat debatable is the belief that the relationship between the environment and migration is rarely direct or causal, but indirect and contextual.[109] The indirect form of the relationship is reflected in current disputes over whether people who move as a result of

environmental degradation are "environmental migrants" or "environmental refugees" as denoted by Sanderson (2009), which provides a useful analytical framework of the linkages between globalization, the environment and migration relevant to this discourse.[110] Sanderson asserts that the relationship between the natural environment and human populations is characterized by uneven development across regions or zones within an exploitative international division of labor, perpetuated by the tenets of global capitalism, which are yet to be fully interrogated. Turning to Ghana, his work shows how the mining activities by foreign companies has led to deforestation, soil erosion, groundwater contamination, and siltation and sedimentation of waterways in large portions of the Western Region of the country. The result has been both in- and out- migration of women and men due to what he calls "globalized environmental degradation" from increased artisanal mining and poverty-driven rural to urban migration. At the same time, there is some urban to rural migration for mining activities, yet such labor markets cannot absorb those coming to search for work in mining areas where safe, clean and adequate WASH services are virtually absent for residents. Surveys of communities in southwestern Ghana found that approximately 50 percent of small-scale miners were women serving as cooks, petty merchants, and sex workers.[111] Thus, the gendered and environmental impact of mining in Ghana results in women (and men) being located in an unequal globalized market with low pay and major health risks. Mining company profits are siphoned out of the country, continuing colonial patterns of resource extraction, while these entities do very little to protect local water sources, rehabilitate the land, or provide local communities development support as part of their "corporate social responsibility" mandate. This situation reflects a dire failure of the neocolonial state government in Ghana to adequately regulate private mining interests and protect local communities. Simultaneously, one hears government outcry against

'illegal' mining or galamsey done by individuals while the international corporations do more to destroy the environment and clear land that contributes to the looming local and global water crisis.

In terms of climate, environment and migration, changes in climatic conditions are increasingly being linked to the onset of disasters like floods and earthquakes. Where and when these disasters occur, water sources at both surface and ground levels, are often tainted. We are now more aware of how migration is an adaptation strategy to climate change and has gendered dimensions. When land, forest, and agricultural resources and production become less available, predictable and constrained due to mining, logging and/or climatic factors such as drought or gradual desertification, women less often than men, may decide to migrate from rural to urban areas for alternative livelihood options. The impact on family structures, women's health (increased risk of HIV/AIDs as sex-workers in urban and mining areas) is well known in such cases; a tremendous amount of time is spent by women, girls and children fetching water,[112] fuel, food and fodder which increase in times of disasters and as a result of desertification and deforestation. In Ghana, women spend more than twice as much time as men gathering water and firewood, especially in the dryer areas of the north. As precipitation levels change, women spend even longer hours going further distances to fetch water (it should be stressed that such water is not necessarily potable, safe, and clean) for cooking, cleaning, and other uses. The implications for food insecurity are apparent, the cultural and spiritual significance of water may be eroded, and such situations have negatively impacted on girls' school enrolment as they are conventionally expected to accompany their mothers in search of water.

Research on climate and livelihood changes in North East Ghana by Dietz (2004) revealed that lower rainfall patterns over time have resulted in lesser water reliability and

predictability of the rains, causing a shift in the planting season.[113] In the past, many female (and male) farmers started planting as early as April, or late March, but now have changed to May or even June. Additionally, many running streams become stagnant water pools much earlier on in the season, leading not only to poor water quality, but also serving as breeding grounds for mosquitos. Migration has been a steady response to this growing climate variability and food insecurity, with farmers drifting to riverine and ex-marshy areas. Consequently people may actually migrate to areas where risks of floods, poor sanitation and other human health risks (water borne diseases) increase or they may altogether abandon rural life for peri-urban or urban locations.

Interestingly, Dietz's study also indicates that improvements in modern drinking supplies and the average quality of drinking water has improved in Ghana, especially in urban areas in the north, due to the efforts of local and International NGOs, and that this water supply is being rapidly commercialized and sold.[114] While seemingly positive, the rural and urban poor, especially women, struggle to pay for water supply, and spend more of their overall earnings than households that have greater ability to pay. This situation, however, is not unique to Ghana, but is the case in many parts of Africa. Over time, this commercialization of water, as has been the case with land, erodes traditional communal practices of ownership and sharing of resources.

GLOBAL AND LOCAL STATISTICS ON WASH COVERAGE

Currently, 884 million people worldwide are without access to clean water and 2.6 billion are without proper sanitation.[115] This sanitation crisis is the primary cause of diarrhea, which is the biggest killer of children in Africa. The impact of unsafe water and poor sanitation on health, education and productivity falls disproportionately on women, and in particular, on girls. As a UNICEF survey of 18 African countries shows, over 80 percent of the time spent fetching water,

is done by women and girls. These chores keep girls out of school. Women and girls also have

the additional responsibility of spending more time caring for the sick.[116] The necessity of

having adequate WASH services contributes to meeting the UN Millennium Development Goal

(MDG) 7, which seeks to ensure environmental sustainability. In addition, MDG target 7c is

specific to WASH, and is designed to galvanize global efforts to halve the proportion of people

without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation by 2015. However, due to

existing cross sector linkages, meeting the WASH related MDG 7c allows for other MDGs to

become more achievable as a result of having equitable, inclusive and sustainable WASH

services as indicated in Table 1 below:

Table 1	Linkages of WASH MDG 7 to other MDG's
Health HIV/AIDS Nutrition MDG 6, 5, 4	• **88% of diarrheal deaths from poor WASH** • **fewer diarrhea episodes & worm infestation can impact nutritional status** • **new evidence linking hand-washing to Acute Respiratory Infection**
Education MDG 2	• **improving WASH in schools has an impact on enrolment levels, particularly for girls**
Poverty –MDG 1	• **5.5 billion productive days per year lost due to diarrhea and burden of fetching water** • **household water required for small-scale productive activities**
Gender-MDG 3	• **Women & girls bear the brunt of fetching water & benefit most when distances are reduced**
Source: Adapted from Government of Ghana, Sanitation and Water (SWA) Compact Launch Presentation, August 2010	

Despite the benefits of WASH as shown above, in Ghana, the national coverage for

improved sanitation facilities only stands at 14 percent in 2013. Ghana is off-track for meeting

the sanitation MDG and has to raise coverage from 18 percent to 61.5 percent for urban areas

and from 7 percent to 55 percent in rural areas by 2015 (Ghana Compact, 2010). Based on the

average cost of a latrine and water supply, it is estimated that a total of GHC 2.4 billion (US$1.6

billion) is required to meet the sanitation and water MDGs, of which GHC 2.25 billion (US$1.5

billion) is needed for sanitation. The GoG Compact of 2010 also indicates that Ghana needs to

serve about 1,283,000 people annually between 2006 and 2015 to reach the MDG target of 53 percent national coverage for sanitation.

Though banned in urban areas, a recent study conducted by the Environmental Health and Sanitation Directorate (EHSD 2012) of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, has revealed that there are still 20,000 pan latrines emptied into open places, while 4,63 million Ghanaians with no latrines defecate in the open. Approximately 13,900 Ghanaian adults and 5,100 children under five years, die each year from diarrhea. Nearly 90 percent of these deaths are directly attributed to poor and inadequate sanitation and water problems. Poor sanitation costs Ghana GH 290 million each year, representing 1.6 per cent of National Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Open disposal of fecal matter called "open defecation" is said to cost Ghana US$79 million per year, while US$215 million is lost each year due to premature deaths from poor water, sanitation and hygiene conditions throughout the country.[117]

Current provision of water services in Ghana is better than that of sanitation, though still fraught with inequities. Approximately 51 percent of Ghana's population has access to improved water supplies from various technologies. Coverage in urban areas is about 61 percent. In Accra, it is estimated that only 25 percent of the residents have regular water supply while the remaining 75 percent get supplies only through rationing and purchasing of water. Rural water supply is even worse; only 44 percent of rural[118] dwellers having access to improved water supplies mainly through boreholes and hand-dug wells with hand pumps and small piped systems being the technology choice for small towns. Over the last six years, development partners and donors, through joint financial agreements with the GoG, contributed approximately 95 percent of the total WASH sector capital budget. Yet GoG budget allocation for safe water is less than 0.5 percent of GDP. In 2004, the sector received GHC18.04 million being 1.36 percent

of the total national budget (GHC1331.36 million). This allocation however, increased in 2009

to GHC212.76, million reaching 3.29 percent of the total budget (GHC6462.77 million).[119] GoG

allocations for rural and small town water supply have shown an upward trend from

GH¢2,179,419 in 2006 to GH¢35,026,106 in 2009. However, the gap between allocations and

actual releases is rather widening; from about 25 percent in 2006 to about 90 percent in 2009.[120]

In April 2012, the Government of Ghana joined other WASH sector actors at a Sanitation and

Water High Level Meeting (SWA-HLM) in Washington, D.C. to discuss the country's progress

on WASH. At the meeting, WASH also had to account for progress, particularly on the Ghana

SWA Compact launched in 2010, which promised US$350 million annually to tackle WASH

issues. Expectations that the forthcoming oil revenues would fund WASH are yet to materialize.

In fact the promises made at such meetings are rarely kept and poor communities in Africa do

not really have the power to hold government accountable at any level. Neither national, district

or local GoG actors have done much to change the politics of who benefits from WASH

services. Consequently, the GoG and her partners still have a long way to go to achieve the

nationwide goal of access to sanitation services by 53 percent of all Ghanaians. Neither donor

dependency by the GoG, nor external funding to address these inequities, has yielded the

required or expected returns. Lack of political prioritization and inability of the GoG to

effectively and efficiently spend the funds acquired (absorptive capacity challenges) are key

primary reasons contributing to Ghanaians' inadequate access, or total lack of access, to

sanitation services.

It is important to scrutinize the theories and approaches used to explain the relationship

between women, water and migration, as the WASH sector globally and locally follow the

general western-led development approaches and trends. Moving from a subsidy or "basic

needs" approach to WASH to one of "sustainable" development and "rights based" approaches, call for communities to make investments of human and financial resources to attain WASH services. Unfortunately, since not all people or communities can afford WASH facilities or services, the government can, and must, do more. Strong community-level socio-political agency, and more coalitions formed of dispossessed urban poor citizens with an activist stance against the injustice of WASH exclusion and poverty, are needed to counter the government's poor response to their plight. Furthermore, the real test of lasting changes in WASH related development is realizing that one cannot fully comprehend African people's psychology of behavior towards WASH, without situating such understanding in their culture, spirituality, belief system and worldview. The concept of sanitation adopted here mirrors that of Black and Talbot (2005) as articulated in Akpabio and Subramanian's (2012) groundbreaking work in Nigeria. In the article "Water Supply and Sanitation Practices in Nigeria: Applying Local Ecological Knowledge to Understand Complexity on sanitation issues in Nigeria," sanitation is defined as "all aspects of personal hygiene, waste disposal, and environmental cleanliness which could have impact on health."[121] Akpabio and Subramanian's work shows a lineal connection between dirt, water, and disease - covering personal and domestic hygiene, vector control, food cleanliness, and drinking water storage - among local peoples, as well as socio-cultural factors that shape WASH related behaviors and decisions. This is compared with most intervention efforts today that narrowly conceive of sanitation as "toilet construction, rather than a package of environmental and household cleanliness, with water assuming a central position."[122] Akpabio and Subramanian's research brings a much needed cultural dimension to understanding gender, sanitation and hygiene practice and should be widely consulted.

CASE STUDY: WATERAID GHANA AND THE FIGHT AGAINST URBAN & RURAL POVERTY: IMPLICATIONS FOR MIGRATION PATTERNS

Water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) coverage in Ghana is clearly uneven, and is a function of geopolitics, donor priorities, weak Government of Ghana (GoG) institutions and wealth as well as privilege. The work of the British based International Non-governmental charity organization (INGO), WaterAid (WA), has as its mission, the task to bring safe water and improved sanitation and hygiene (WASH) services to the most marginalized and poorest communities in 26 countries in South East Asia, Central America and Africa.[123] The institution is a relatively conservative development organization going through interesting changes since a new 2009/10-2015 global strategy was launched, but it has basically been working within government parameters while advocating for changes in policies to mitigate WASH deprivation and simultaneously providing direct WASH services at no or low costs to poor communities. The WaterAid Ghana (WAG) country program is part of this global institution. I has worked in Ghana since 1985. In April 2011 WAG launched a new Country Strategy (2011-2015), with change theories predicated on improving WASH outcomes and impact through working with selected local NGO Implementing Partners using Rights[124] and Strength Based/Endogenous (cultural) development approaches to achieve sustainable WASH service delivery outcomes. WAG advocacy efforts are primarily targeted at the national level with increasing focus at the community level and need to strengthen policy-practice linkages and agitate more strongly for duty-bearer accountability.

WaterAid's Global Report on Equity and Inclusion published in 2010 identified the need to promote increased focus on equity and inclusion issues to ensure for example, that poor and marginalized communities and people with disabilities benefit from WASH interventions. Sustainability, equity and inclusion, pro-poor targeting of services and WASH as a right, are

cross-cutting themes and core tenets of WA's global work. The attention to culture in development using the strength based approach of endogenous development (ED)[125] is unique to the Ghana country program of WaterAid. ED involves efforts to deliberately search for and incorporate the strengths of a people's indigenous knowledge and traditional cultural values and worldview, along with their community assets and resources, to drive development projects. Indigenous leaders, structures and institutions support participatory and sensitive ways for community led development and engagement with externally offered development solutions, technology, and resources as and when appropriate. Figure 1 below is symbolic of the areas of knowledge encompassed within the ED process, including the spiritual, social and material aspects of a community.

Figure 1: ED Conceptual Framework (Source: www.compasnet.org)

The aim of Endogenous Development is to empower local communities to take control of their own development process by:

- Revitalising ancestral and local knowledge and appreciating the worldview therein to guide a community's development;

- Selecting external resources where needed, that best fit the local conditions; and,

- Increasing bio- and cultural diversity, reducing environmental degradation, and creating self-sustaining local and regional exchanges.[126]

Since disease, illness and well-being are culturally constructed, there are valid reasons to bring the ED approach to address sanitation challenges. Endogenous development, which is embedded in the culture of a people, can help the WASH sector better address behavior changes needed amongst Ghanaian people to get improved sanitation and hygiene practices. Likewise, ED methodology for engaging communities and building relationships can improve WAG and chosen local Implementing Partners' data gathering to generate the relevant socio-cultural profiles of targeted communities and indicators of project success, grounded in community visions and not just donors. This information can help determine what WASH interventions are appropriate for a communities' vision of their development that may over time halt migration due to poor WASH services.

WaterAid Ghana (WAG) also uses a more integrated approach to WASH service delivery (I-WASH) and advocacy to fight WASH poverty. Wherever poor Ghanaian people are, and for whatever the plethora of reasons that induce migration (disaster, climate adaptation, employment, etc.) from rural to peri-urban or urban enclaves, small towns or across borders, WAG advocates that the government provide the relevant WASH service needs. Because such assistance is fraught with challenges, WAG leverages funds raised from a variety of donors to provide more assistance as government efforts are deficient. Indeed, sometimes, WAG is the only provider of WASH facilities in a community. Equitable and inclusive (E&I) WASH is targeted not only from the user end, but from service providers, both public and private. WAG's engagement with water utilities emphasizes pro-poor targeting to get affordable prices and expanded services to all regardless of location and socio-economic status. Water and sanitation management must be democratic, transparent and represent the needs of all communities.

AFRICAN WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN WASH INITIATIVE (AWILWASH)

WaterAid Ghana's fight to end rural and urban women's poverty depends greatly on the ability to mobilize strong leadership of women in their communities, and there are times when rural to urban migration can yield varying levels of improved access to WASH services through women's concerted efforts. Of particular note has been women's role in the WASH progress of an urban Accra slum area—Sabon Zongo. Sabon Zongo was created from years of migration from northern Ghana by a steady stream of women, children, and men from various ethnic groups. Progress to overcome the poor WASH situation in Sabon Zongo has been facilitated by local residents, led by former assemblywoman Honorable Jane Oku, dubbed a "Female WASH Champion." Hon. Oku and other women have been featured in WAG's flagship quarterly publication *Dawuro*. WAG also launched the African Women in Leadership in WASH Initiative (AWiLWASH) to create a cadre of women to advocate for increased women's participation and decision-making in the WASH sector. The overall goal of the initiative is to inspire women across different socio-economic backgrounds, including women already occupying national government and local leadership positions, to support more equitable and inclusive WASH service provision for improved health and holistic human development.

The first AWiLWASH meeting was held, in June 2011, with the theme "Building Alliances to Further Equity and Inclusion." Twenty men and women, including government officials, technocrats, civil society and community leaders attended the meeting to deliberate on how to improve WASH services delivery so that women's and other marginalized groups' voices are heard and responded to in policies and actions taken in the WASH sector. Key among the participants were women leaders in the WASH and wider development sectors including the

Honorable Sherry Ayittey, Minister of Environment, Science and Technology, Hon. Gifty Kusi, MP, Tarkwa Nsuaem, Honorable Juliana Azumah-Mensah, Minister, Ministry of Women and Children; Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Water Resources, Works and Housing – Honorable Dr Hanna L. Bisiw; and former Assemblywoman of Sabon Zongo, Jane Oku. An integral part of the initiative agreed upon will be to conduct equity and inclusion (E&I) Learning Visits by these women and others to WAG supported communities in order to map local power dynamics, access and control of WASH and other natural resources, and to better understand barriers to women's participation in WASH policy decisions that impact livelihood and health outcomes *and can induce internal or external migration*. Future directions in this area of work will include efforts to:

- Engage in active and continuous tracking of the level of women's involvement and gender dynamics in WASH programs and projects at the national, district and community levels.

- Deepen interaction with key parties involved in WASH at the district level who can monitor and provide sex-disaggregated data, facilitate E&I programs and rural women's empowerment.

- Deepen involvement of Traditional Women Leaders to advance WASH advocacy messages, improve sanitation outcomes, and promote equitable and inclusive WASH service delivery at the community level as a measure to stem migration.

- Support research, documentation, and sharing of women's indigenous and local knowledge especially on climate variability, water, sanitation, and hygiene issues.

It is unfortunate that women and girls in Ghana and throughout Africa spend long hours daily in searching for water. Girls are sometimes unable to attend school[127] due to lack of separate toilet facilities for their hygiene needs. Yet, it is relevant to stress that migration to cities does not automatically alleviate these issues, despite small successes evolving in Sabon Zongo in Accra. There are growing numbers of urban slums in other major cities like Kumasi and Tamale that need urgent attention to meet migrant and local WASH and health challenges.

CHESHIE SCHOOL WASH PROGRAM[128]

Figure 2: Rainwater Harvesting Tank, Cheshie

Until 2010, 1,127 inhabitants of Cheshie, a rural community in Northern Ghana near the city of Tamale, depended on a dugout close to the community for their domestic and commercial water supply. This water source however, was sometimes completely dried up and abandoned. Oftentimes, the dugout's poor water quality led to high incidence of water related diseases in the community, especially with low water levels experienced during the dry season. Community members attribute part of their hardships to climate variability that over time caused declining levels of traditional water sources. These issues caused temporary and/or permanent migration of residents to nearby areas. In 2010, with Conrad N. Hilton Foundation funding, WAG and New Energy, which is one of its local NGO Implementing Partners, aligned with the Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL) to extend pipelines to Cheshie from the city of Tamale's GWCL main water system. Stand pipes were constructed on the new water extension pipelines and now serve community members who enjoy safe water within a short walking distance. The facility is managed on behalf of the community by a committee trained to ensure sustainability. The

committee charges an agreed user fee (tariff) that goes towards payment of monthly water bills from GWCL. A bank account is kept by the committee where tariff profits are kept for any needed minor repairs and possible future pipeline expansion needs. However, the primary school in Cheshie, which serves 210 children including some from surrounding communities, received support from WAG to construct a 30,000 litre (7925.16 gallon) Rain Water Harvesting tank. The tank provides water for sanitation, hygiene, and cooking meals. It is disinfected at the end of each rainy season.   According to school officials, the water facility has improved school attendance, especially of girls. The children also have more contact hours with teachers instead of searching for water that may not necessarily be safe. This example of WAG's work in Cheshie represents what ought to be done in far too many cases of government built schools that lack adequate WASH facilities, despite existing laws to the contrary.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The WASH crisis in Africa has become an issue of global concern. It is a problem that contributes to women's burden and migration decisions and must be solved by Africans, with African derived resources and ideas, that reflect endogenous, culturally led development approaches. Efforts in African nation-states to meet national and local development aspirations, and those needed to address economic and other factors of exclusion and marginalization that cause migration, must include provision of WASH for plans and policies to be successful. A caution here, however, is that it is essential to recognize the cultural meanings of water, sanitation and hygiene. These meanings and understandings must be researched and appreciated,

to form the basis of, and best approach to, sustainable WASH solutions and broader development.

This paper explored factors leading to various forms of internal migration. In particular, natural disasters such as floods, and the push-pull of global economic exploitation that cause rural women migrate to urban areas to work as petty traders, or especially to rural areas near mines are problematic trends that need urgent attention. These challenges force women and their families to live in environments without regular water supply, or, in the case of mining camps, to live in contaminated water sites with pitiable sanitation facilities. Increased instances of water-borne diseases and climate variability (principally, though not exclusively, in the Northern regions of Ghana) linked to food insecurity, are also unfortunate reasons for migration.

The impact of migration (within Africa or externally) on the erosion of traditional and indigenous knowledge for endogenous development is a matter of major concern. Migrants are equipped with common and gendered indigenous knowledge of spiritual practices, plants and herbal medicines, seeds production and even water conservation, storage, and preservation methods. Furthermore, local knowledge in rural communities on how to cope with floods and other disasters are at risk of erosion. More research is needed to document indigenous knowledge for posterity and it may be best to do so within the parameters of intellectual property rights.

Ghanaians who internally migrate often find themselves in urban slums without adequate WASH services and facilities. Contemporary urban spaces clearly cannot accommodate the rising population shifts and demands for jobs, housing and WASH services. While the GoG has made some progress in the provision of water to citizens, it is failing miserably in providing

sanitation services. This brief discussion highlighted the need for African peoples to have clean,

safe water, and improved sanitation and hygiene (WASH) services as a precondition to

alleviating poverty and reducing rural to urban migration. When rural women, men and

communities are empowered to hold government accountable and challenge them to be more

responsive to their needs, they can participate in a process to bring equitable and inclusive

WASH services that can improve their lives and holistic development. A power shift is needed.

Across Africa, it is necessary for poor communities to be able to challenge unequal access to

water and sanitation services disproportionately benefitting private companies, the wealthy, and

middle class. WAG's work as depicted in the case studies show that once WASH rights and

access are secured, equitably and inclusively, the life chances for rural women, children and men

are improved.

Finally, this discussion recognized the complex interaction between the natural

environment, migration, and globalization—all variables that profoundly affect economic

production, including mining activities. The paper made a brief reference to the politics of

water; and made a call for scholars to further explore how the global geopolitical and economic

context influences life choices of rural women, men, and restricts their access to WASH in

Ghana and Africa. A focus on urban development by African governments, donors and INGOs

at the expense of rural areas was also challenged. These entities rarely challenge the global

inequalities and effects of neo-liberal economic reforms or the consequent power imbalances that

constrain African nations and leave the poor most vulnerable to floods, climate change, food

insecurity, and the health challenges these environmental and human induced problems can

cause. As a result, rural migration will continue and overwhelm major cities in Africa already

struggling with waste management problems. In the end, development decisions made today are

meaningless if they cannot ensure the equitable availability of Africa's resources for future

generations of African men, women, and children to live in dignity.

BIOGRAPHY

Dr. Afia S. Zakiya is currently the Country Representative of WaterAid Ghana. Afia holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Clark Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, and has over 20 years of experience in International affairs and development practice and leadership, primarily in Africa. Her areas of focus, research and published writings examine African Politics, Gender Relations, Globalization & Migration, Political Ecology, Higher Education, Climate Change, WASH, and Africana culture and indigenous knowledge. As an Organizational Development expert, Afia also works to strengthen African institutions and leadership, and facilitate organizational change using African centered methods.

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DEVELOPMENT IMPACT OF RETURN MIGRATION IN NIGERIA:

MYTH OR REALITY?

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an attempt to examine the nexus between return migration and development in Nigeria. The paper reveals that the bulk of return migrants in the country are the repatriated, while the rate of return of professional migrants is low. It was observed that the ability of migrants to contribute to homeland development is influenced by their destination; those from Europe and North America are more likely to act as agents of change than their counterparts within Africa. A major obstacle to the return of professionals is the unfavorable living and investment conditions in the country. The paper concludes that for efforts to stimulate return of innovative migrants to succeed, genuine attempts must be made, to provide an enabling environment to make return a worthwhile endeavor for migrants.

Keywords: Voluntary return, migrant smuggling, hybrid return, repatriated.

INTRODUCTION

Migration describes the movement of people from one place to another, involving a change of usual residence. The phenomenon has a deep history dating back to the beginning of the human race, and has been subjected to considerable scientific attention by scholars interested

in interpreting the consequences of population movements and distribution on societies

(Campbell and Barone 2012; Hatton et al. 1998; Lucas 2005; McNeil, 1984; Oyekanmi 2004).

Earlier patterns of migration involved the historical movements of mainly permanent settlers

trying to escape conflict zones, oppression or starvation in the wake of crises, famine and

drought. In some cases, it had involved forcible transfer of humans from one place or part of the

world to another as was the case in the inhumane trans-Atlantic slave trade, during which period,

able-bodied men and women were forcibly transferred as slaves from Africa to Europe, North

America and the Caribbean in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This kind of migratory

movement was involuntary, and the people had no idea where they were headed and what their

fate would be on their journey, and the intent to return was totally out of their hands. The

consequences of such massive removal of human population on the African continent was aptly

captured by the Guyanese historian, Walter Rodney, in his *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*

(Rodney 1976).

Scholarly interest in return migration first appeared in print in the 19th Century

(Ravenstein 1885). Return migration attracts less attention than other studies of migration that

concentrate on emigration and immigration, and their consequences in origin and destination

countries such as depopulation and the resulting deprivation of origin communities much of their

human resources, on the one hand; and overpopulation in places of destination on the other hand.

These concerns tend to limit the scope of migration to the movements of people out of their

territories, and the act of entering into new lands (Abreu 2010; Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010;

Udo 1975). Return migration was studied less and not accorded much attention (De Haas 2008;

Iversen, 2005; Lucas 2005). Interest in studying this phenomenon in Africa intensified in the

1970s following the economic downturn and consequent growing migration (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010).

The history of migration indicates that a number of migrants usually return to their countries of origin after sojourn abroad; and many make frequent visits before the final return (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010; Owasanoye 2012). Though the scale of return is not yet clear, some studies (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010; World Bank 2011) suggest that it may well be around half of the migration flow from Africa. Nevertheless, it was not the scale of return migration that prompted the impetus to focus on return migration, but attempts by some number countries to tackle social and economic crises that began in the 1970s (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010). Many countries, especially in the developing regions, convinced that migration contributed to a brain drain of skilled and experienced citizens abroad, began to consider return migration as a potential route to economic revival. Efforts were also made by some more developed countries (e.g. Japan, Israel and Spain) to induce foreign nationals (with the promise of cash gifts) to return to their countries, as a means of reducing the effects of population pressure on available resources and open job opportunities for host countries' citizens (Farrant et al. 2006; Findlay 2002; Finn 2012). In the developing countries, the idea was to tap into the experiences and skills of their citizens returning from overseas to aid development efforts back home. This idea was based on the assumption that returnees constitute a vital agent of change and development, having acquired more experience in their various places of sojourn (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010).

In Nigeria, the desire to reverse the consequences of the brain drain and tap into the skills and knowledge based of citizens who migrated abroad for better opportunities inspired the establishment of the Nigerians in the Diaspora Organization (NIDO) and the Nigerian National

Volunteer Service (NNVS) in 2000. This paper is an attempt to examine the relationship between return migration and development in Nigeria. The assumption that return migration is intrinsically related to development took for granted that the phenomenon takes various forms, and that returnees originate from different destinations. The paper explores the various forms of return migration and will attempt to determine their relative significance for homeland development.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Return migration is conceived of as the return of migrants to their country of origin, sometimes as fulfillment of original intentions, while at other times, it occurs as a consequence of revised intentions (King 2000). Literature on return migration in Nigeria is scanty, indicating that the subject has not received sufficient systematic investigation. This situation, coupled with lack of effective registration system and management of migratory movements in Nigeria, will make a robust presentation of the actual state of return migration in country somewhat challenging. However, the little that could be gleaned from few existing records on return migration in Nigeria indicates that some Nigerians who traveled abroad return (whether voluntary, involuntary, or voluntary by compulsion). Adepoju and Van der Wiel (2010) suggest that the scale of return migration in Nigeria may well be around half of the migration flows: the movements of people between countries of origin and destination over a defined period, usually twelve months. They argue that among migration groups which intended to settle in a new country, a significant number returns (Adepoju and van der Wiel 2010). Their calculation is nevertheless based on impressionistic evidence, rather than empirical information. But they supported their claim by citing Laczko (2005) and stressing that of all Europeans who migrated to the USA between 1908 and 1957, between one-quarter and one-third returned home. This

trend might have changed over the years because, Findlay (2002) reveals that the rate of return in the UK was relatively low in the 1990s. The author notes that between 1995 and 1998, only one highly skilled migrant in some Commonwealth countries departed, for every four professional and managerial migrants who arrived.

Furthermore, Adepoju and van der Wiel (2010) looked at return migration among migrant students abroad and concluded that their rate of return is low. According to the authors, in the USA, only a fraction of overseas' science and engineering graduates leave after their studies; with stay rates being highest among graduates from developing countries. They noted that inter-country variation in stay rates is wide. For instance, in one study in the USA, only 15 percent of Koreans in the sample stayed; while 91 percent of Chinese and 87 percent of Indians stayed (Adepoju and van der Wiel, 2010; Finn, 2012).

In Nigeria, a large part of data on return migration comes from the media, and individual returnees who volunteer information because there is no effective management of migration data in the country (Adepoju and van der Wiel 2010). Reference is sometimes made to returnees like Yvonne Emordi-Njideke, a thirty-seven year-old Nigerian who returned to the country after her studies abroad, as an indication that some Nigerian nationals abroad are returning home (Weekly Trust, July 4, 2009). According to the report, Yvonne Emordi-Njideke had her childhood in Ghana and her secondary school in Switzerland, before moving to the United States. After spending about twenty years in the United States, with a background in Silicon Valley, she decided to return to Nigeria and joined the Strategy Department, Nigerian Stock Exchange (Adepoju and van der Wiel, 2010). Similarly, the media is replete with news of Nigerians deported and those awaiting deportation from different parts of the world. For instance, between September 21, 2012 and early September 2013, the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) reported

that over 1,023 Nigerians were deported from different parts of the world (Muanya, 2013). Similarly, Adepoju and van der Wiel (2010) note that between September and October 2000, during a violent clash between Libyans and West African migrants in Tripolli and Ezzouiya, over six thousand Nigerians and Ghanaians were repatriated. Then, between November 2004 and March 2005, Morocco chartered five planes to deport African refugees to Nigeria; an action that nearly strained the relationship between the two countries. Furthermore, in October 2009, over 140 Nigerians were repatriated from Libya (Adepoju and van der Wiel, 2010). By the same token, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) reports that since the end of February 2011, 790,000 migrant workers have crossed the Libyan border into other countries to escape the ongoing violence in that country. IOM reveals that a significant number of these returning migrant workers were Nigerians (IOM, 2012).

On the other hand, the IOM's Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) program reveals that since the inception of AVR in 2001, over two thousand Nigerian irregular, stranded and labor migrants have been repatriated (IOM 2012). Between 2003 and 2004, IOM in Nigeria, working with their UK and Switzerland offices, coordinated the return of about 134 AVR beneficiaries from the UK, and another 103 from Switzerland, to Nigeria (IOM 2008). Furthermore, in 2011, IOM-Nigeria provided voluntary return assistance to over six hundred migrants returning from countries of destination or transit including the UK, Austria, Switzerland, Norway, Morocco and Yemen. Records indicate that the IOM's AVR activities have assisted over 1.4 million migrants to return safely to more than 160 countries of origin since the first of the programs in 1979. Reports reveal that post conflict returns have been large, with recent records showing return to Bosnia and Herzegovina: over 187,000 persons; Kosovo province: some 200,000 persons; and East Timor: nearly 200,000 persons (IOM 2012).

The literature suggests that a significant number of returnees to Nigeria involved involuntary (or voluntary by compulsion) returns (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010; IOM 2012, 2010); and whether these kinds of returnees can serve as agents for the development of their homeland is debatable. In the opinion of Global Migration Group (GMG), true voluntary return is most relevant for development, and that depends on whether the returnees have the kinds of skills relevant for national development (GMG 2011).

Many immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa, including Nigeria, do not return. Owasanoye (2012) and Adepoju and Van der Wiel (2010) attribute this to many challenges facing the country, maintaining that most irregular Nigerian migrants abroad and in transit countries, chose not to come back even when they are faced with uncertainties and difficulties. Naturally, it is expected that migrants from poor countries to Europe and North America might want to stay after experiencing the taste and comfort of Western societies relative to their home country. For many of them, it is might be considered better to face misery with hope abroad than to return home to face misery without hope. From all indications, organized efforts are needed to stimulate return migration of skilled and professional Nigerian nationals abroad to contribute to the development of the country. Attempts to stimulate the return of a significant number of experienced migrants will involve measures that go beyond verbal appeals to patriotism and ersatz summits. Such attempts must encompass real measures to provide attractive conditions for returnees. In other words, and as Oucho (2008) rightly observed, for a return to be desirable, there has to be something tangible for skilled migrants to return to. This point is buttressed by return migration experiences in China, Singapore, Turkey, India and Israel, which tended to follow significant economic gains as well as improved political stability and consequent opportunities (IOM 2012).

Furthermore, the problem of getting accurate migration data is not limited to return migration; data on emigration is equally contentious. Very often, researchers had to rely on information from destination countries for data on Nigerians living abroad (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010); and this option is said to be precarious because of irregular migration and the multifarious nature of migrants' destinations. For instance, De Haas (2008, cited in Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010:116), suggests that the number of Nigerian emigrants in 2005 was 836,832 people. The distribution according to the authors revealed that 14.1 percent stayed in the West African region; 26.9 percent stayed in Central Africa; 3.5 percent stayed in North Africa; 1.7 percent stayed in the Gulf; 24.6 percent stayed in Europe; 19.9 percent stayed in North America; and 9.3 percent stayed in other regions. Given the spate of irregular migration and migrant smuggling, these data are not likely to be accurate. To illustrate the degree of dissonance on emigration data, the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) once revealed that at least, 200,000 Africans entered Europe irregularly in 2005 (UNODC 2006). This assertion was however countered by De Haas who cautioned that the figure might have been inflated, and opined that the number should not be more than 50,000 (De Haas 2008). Thus, as the IOM observed, data on Nigerian migrants abroad can only amount to guesstimates (IOM 2008).

NATURE OF RETURN MIGRATION

The nature of return is conceptualized around questions concerning the conditions under which migrants return, and the considerations that inform their decision to return. Nonetheless, it appears there is no consensus and synthesis on the nature of return migration in the literature.

Gurka Celik (2011) identified four patterns of return migration thus: repatriation, circular migration, reverse migration and re-migration. These patterns are briefly discussed below.

Repatriation: return by repatriation describes the voluntary or involuntary return of migrants to their places of origin; and in many cases, repatriation takes more of an involuntary return. When repatriation is voluntary, it may represent the wisest option to the challenge of survival in destination country, such as when migrants report themselves to a host country's authority or AVR agency for repatriation. This often happens when migrants are faced with serious existential challenges that push them to think of home as more humane (Maja-Pearce 2009). *Circular migration* involves a situation where migrants repeatedly travel between origin and destination countries. Circular migrants are short-term migrants who travel periodically between destination and origin places, and they include seasonal migrants who combine activities in several places according to the availability of seasonal work opportunities and seasonal labor demands. *Reverse migration* has to do with a situation where migrants travel exactly opposite to their route after unsuccessful attempts to settle in the new destination. *Remigration* represents the coming home of migrants with the hope of settling back in their places of origin after years of sojourn abroad. Celik illustrated the last point in his *Turkey Pulls, The Netherlands Pushes* by showing how an increasing number of Turks in Netherlands returned to Turkey, taking with them the education and skills they acquired abroad (Celik 2011). The push was instigated by economic challenges and social tension that surfaced in Netherlands at a time when Turkey's economic and political conditions were improving, making home coming appealing for many Turks abroad.

Other scholars identified five categories of return as follows: *the return of failure* (those who return following a traumatic shock upon arrival, and inability to adjust to the new environment); *the return of conservatism* (migrants who maintain links with the origins and eventually return after their sojourn); *the return of motivation* (return migrants with new and

treasured values, ideas and expertise which they intend to apply on return); *the return of retirement* (migrants who have terminated their working careers and returned to their countries as a matter of course; with a strong attachment and lack of total severance with cultural roots); *return of innovation* (migrants who purposefully traveled abroad to acquire skills with the intention of returning home to contribute to homeland development) (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010:378; Cerase 1974). In their observation, Adepoju and Van der Wiel (2010) lament that return of innovation is no longer common in Nigeria. It has been pointed out that the late 1950s and early 1960s represented the golden age of return of innovation (Alubo 2006; Udo 1984). Thus, later migrants looked at home coming with contempt because of the mismanagement of the country's affairs and the resulting crises since the late 1960s (Alubo 2006; Oucho 2008). The voluntary or involuntary nature of return, as well as whether the condition of return is permanent or temporary are other questions to consider (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010; IOM 2012; Owasanoye 2011).

Studies on the interconnection between specific types of return and development are inconclusive; thus the forms of return migration require increased analysis, synthesis and exploration to understand their relative implications and significance for national development. In the following section, an attempt is made to consider some theories of migration that may contribute to our understanding and explanation of return migration.

THEORETICAL ISSUES

Return migration, as an epiphenomenon of migration, has not attracted established theoretical systematization and interpretations in the same degree as the phenomenon of migration. What will be done, for the present purpose is to visit existing theories of migration

and invoke the aspects that may be malleable for the explication of the phenomenon, and then do a critique for possible synthesis.

Until the birth of the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) in the 1980s (Stark and Bloom 1985), the field of migration theory was dominated by two major schools: the neoclassical school and the historical-structural theoretical accounts. Each of these schools embodies a variety of theoretical strands. The neoclassical school represents mainly scholars who advanced the view that the migration process is based on the rational calculus of the individual; emphasizing rationality, "methodological individualism," with little or no regard for structural constraints (Abreu 2010; Lee 1966; Wood 1982). On the other hand, the historical-structural approach to migration represents a body of theoretical pronouncements which emphasizes structural demand for migrants' labor in advanced capitalist societies, as well as the interpretation of the migration-inducing effects of the penetration of capitalism in peripheral socio-political formations (Castles and Kosack 1973; Massey 1988; Nikolinakos 1975; Petras 1981; Priore 1979; Sassen 1991). Lack of satisfaction with both the neoclassical school and the historical-structural school by some migration scholars gave birth to NELM. The NELM posits that migration, particularly international migration, is part of the household's economic strategies. The approach emerged in the 1980s from the work of Stark and Bloom whose theory sought to occupy a middle ground between the structural emphasis of the historical-structural perspective and the agency orientation of the neoclassical school (Stark and Bloom 1985).

However, the NELM has been criticized as lacking in theoretical robustness. One author who has vehemently attacked the theory for its theoretical inadequacy is Alexandre Abreu (2010). Abreu argues that NELM is nothing more than an avatar of the neoclassical approach, with only marginal changes. While admitting that NELM provides some tools to migration

scholars unsatisfied with the neoclassical approach, Abreu rejects it as theoretically unsatisfactory. In his opinion, the main theoretical alternative to the neoclassical perspective, the historical-structural approach, presents a more powerful instrument for grasping the reality of past and present migration flow systems. Yet, according to Abreu, the historical-structural approach also deserves a new and improved synthesis (Abreu 2010).

If these various theoretical prescriptions are incapable of providing satisfactory interpretation of migration in general, as Abreu (2010) contends, how can they lend themselves to accurate explanation of return migration; especially as return migration did not seem to receive any consideration during the production of these theories? The reason for this theoretical lapse on return migration was elucidated by Hatton et al. (1998) who noted that the absence of theories on return migration could be understood from the perspective of the nature of the social forces propelling migratory movements in the early period of migration studies. Such forces not only determined the patterns of migration, they also shaped it definition and presented it largely as a one-way movement. Thus, the idea of return migration was not envisaged because the general assumption then was that those who left never returned (Hatton et al. 1998).

To overcome the present theoretical impasse on return migration, an alternative might be to deploy an aspect of the neoclassical perspectives, particularly the tradition initiated by the German geographer, Ernst Georg Ravenstein (1889), and pursued by Everette Lee (1966); especially in the latter's formulation of the "pull-push" concept. In that connection, it could be assumed that return migration is propelled by push factors (frustrations) in destination or host countries.

Similarly, attempts have been made by some scholars to link Africans homecoming to African optimism or *Afro-optimism*: the notion that many Africans abroad are beginning to be

optimistic about their homeland as a result of the political advances recorded by some African states as authoritarian and dictatorial regimes begin to give way to democratization in some parts of Africa (Onwudiwe 2003). However, records suggest that many of those who return are involuntary and their return home is not necessarily inspired by optimism (IOM 2008, 2012).

Furthermore, Campbell and Barone (2012) adopted a personality perspective to theorize on human migration. According to them, human migration can be understood by a consideration of personality characteristics. They postulated that a certain personality type, which they termed the *mobiocentric* personality type: (one who values action and motion; is always on the move; and would always want to be on the move), is prone to migration. This suggests that some individuals are more likely to migrate than the others because of their personality characteristics (Campbell and Barone 2012:47). As noted earlier, evidence indicates that many return migrants in Nigeria did so involuntarily and out of frustration, and their return may have little or nothing to do with the tendency to always be on the move (IOM 2008). Given the available information, and its inability to provide empirical evidence of the psychological evaluation of returned migrants, Campbell and Barone's (2012) personality perspective appears to be of limited utility as a source of adequate explanation and conclusive analysis of the phenomenon of return migration in Nigeria.

The lack of robust and theoretical synthesis that can adequately interpret the phenomenon of return migration in Nigeria suggests that more studies are required in the field of migration. As it stands, the neoclassical school serves us better for the purpose of providing explanation to the phenomenon. The emphasis of the school that the migration process is governed by the rational calculus of migrants on the one hand, and the "push" factors in destination countries, on the other hand, cannot be ignored; the reservations of Abreu (2010) notwithstanding.

RETURN MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

References have been made to the development impact of return migration on a nation,

with some authors pointing to China, Korea, India, Israel, Singapore and Somaliland, as

examples (Adepoju 2010; Farrant et al. 2006; Lucas 2005). It is believed that some returnees can

act as agents of change in the origin country; a phenomenon described as "brain gain" (Lucas,

2005). Nonetheless, evidence indicates that not all forms of return migration are instrumental to

the developmental aspirations of home country. Even among scholars who posit that return

migration is catalytic to origin countries development, there is hardly any agreement on the ideal

form of return migration and its precise developmental implications. For instance, while Cerase

(1974) opines that the category of return migration with the potential to stimulate progress and

national development in origin country is the return of innovation, Owasanoye (2012) asserts that

the development-igniting form of return migration is to be understood within the context of

circular migration.

Owasanoye argues that circular migrants are potential engines of growth and

development because their periodic circulation between origin and host countries tends to

transfer learned ideas and skills to the benefit of homeland (Owasanoye 2012). On the other

hand, the GMG contends that the aspect of return migration capable of provoking development is

voluntary return (GMG, 2011). GMG distinguished between voluntary return and involuntary

return by stating that involuntary return is associated with rejection, frustration and deportation.

Consequently, migrants in such situations are not in a position to act as agents of progress and

innovations in the country of origin (GMG, 2011). The majority of return migrants in Nigeria

are not of these categories (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010; IOM 2012); and the conducts of

some returnees in the country do not evince traits with serious developmental consequences. In other words, it will be difficult to describe some Nigerian returnees as agents of progress if their conducts as public officials are subjected to critical analysis. Whether it is the character of the Nigerian state and the pervasiveness of corruption in the country that drowned their genuine intentions (if any) and undermined their efforts is unclear; but judging from the conducts of some of them, it is obvious that the motive for their engagement in public affairs is primarily pecuniary.

These returnees that best exemplify problematic impact in Nigeria include Professor Maurice Iwu, former Chairman of Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), and Dr. Andy Uba, former Special Assistant to former President Olusegun Obasanjo, between 2003 and 2007. The appointments of these individuals were marred with serious controversies. The 2007 elections conducted by Maurice Iwu, for instance, had been described as the worst election in the history of the country (Odebode, 2012). Contrary to expectations that he was going to apply his foreign experiences to ensure objectivity and contribute to the deepening of democracy through better functioning public institutions, Iwu was reported to have collaborated with the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to massively rig the 2007 elections in favor of the ruling party. The irregularities that characterized the 2007 election were evident in the manner in which some state governors, who had earlier been declared winners by Iwu's INEC, for instance, in Anambra, Edo, Ondo and Osun, were removed by election tribunals for obvious electoral malpractices (Odebode, 2012). To date, Nigeria is still struggling to deal with the disruptions Iwu's actions inflicted on election arrangements across the states. Andy Uba, on the other hand, was one of the arrowheads of the Third Term bid by former President Obasanjo; and had been fingered to have been in charge of the slush fund meant to see the passage of the

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bid; this was in addition to his alleged role in the abduction of a former sitting Governor of

Anambra State in 2003, Dr. Chris Ngige, and the subsequent siege in Anambra State by

hoodlums led by Chris Uba, the younger brother of Dr. Andy Uba (Ninalowo, 2007).

Other noticeable circular migrants in many instances include those exploiting migration

as a strategy to escape poverty in origin country by going to work in a high-income country and

spend in low-income, but low-cost origin. In the course of their working life, they circulate

between destination and origin. Many however return on retirement; at best, they could be

reckoned with for their remittances to home country which benefit primarily their families

(Adepoju 2010). Adepoju observed that remittances reduce poverty by providing families in the

countries of origin with additional income. He noted further, that the surplus from the remittance

ends in consumption as well as investments in education and health (Adepoju 2010). The

practice of sending remittances to homelands by many African migrants abroad for the

educational and health needs of their family members has been acknowledged by the United

Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Nevertheless, in recognition of the

development challenges facing many African countries, the body cautions that it is pointless for

African households to receive remittances to pay for school and health care costs when there are

not enough teachers and nurses (ECA 2006). The point here is that unrelenting migration guts

the human capital and knowledge base in the education and health care sectors and may also

serve to encourage further migration due to perceptions that economic and career success, as

well as upward mobility and wellbeing are to be found abroad.

As things stand, the idea of tying development to return migration raises many questions.

Aside from the fact that many countries of the world did not have to wait for their nationals

abroad to return before they commenced their journey to development, there is a lack of

consensus among scholars on the strand of return migration associated with development (Cerase 1974; GMG 2011; Owasanoye 2011). Furthermore, it has been argued that the impact of return migration on home country's development is influenced to a large extent by migrants' destination country and the kind of skills they have acquired. Those from Europe and North America are different in economic and social terms, and are more likely to have a greater impact on homeland development than those returning from sub-Saharan Africa. Unfortunately, as indicated earlier, there is a higher return rate in regional migration than intercontinental migration (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010; IOM 2012). Similarly, there is a significant difference between the contributions made by skilled returnees and unskilled returnees, as well as between legal and undocumented returnees. The return rates of unskilled and undocumented migrants have been shown to exceed those of skilled and legal migrants (IOM 2012).

In an attempt to measure the impact of return migration in Nigeria, efforts have been made to point to certain individuals who studied abroad and returned to take political appointments. However, an analysis of the activities of some of them and their mode of engagement with the country, as alluded earlier, would reveal that the driving motive was far from a patriotic zeal to lift their country from lameness. Many consider the country as a field for easy harvest where they can ride on gravy train and swell the number of aristocrats. In fact, some of them, for example, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, current Nigeria's Minister of Finance, did not actually return; they established their families abroad, while Nigeria serves as their place of work, which could be abandoned at the sight of any discomfort (Adepoju and Van der Wiel, 2010; Odebode, 2012). This category of migrants is what Adepoju and Van der Wiel (2010:394) tried to describe with the concept of "hybrid return." There is equally concern about the tendency of this class of returnees to settle in the cities, contributing to overcrowding (Lucas

2005; Massey 1988). On the other hand, many skilled Nigerian professionals abroad do not like to return to the country; among those who return, a sizeable number re-migrate to where they come from, or move to new destinations such as Ghana and South Africa because of the difficult operating environment in Nigeria (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010; Owasanoye 2011). The implication of the foregoing is that Nigeria has continued to be rated as one of the poorest and least developed countries in the world by major global bodies. For instance, in 2011, a report by the UN ranked the country the 156th country out of about 179 countries on the Human Development Index (UN 2011); while the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) revealed that the majority of Nigerians are poor, with about 84.5 percent of the population living on less than two dollars per day (Ekpo 2013; World Bank 2012).

CHALLENGES TO SUCCESSFUL RETURN

In recent history, most migrants who travelled abroad entertain the hope to return to their home country after a period of sojourn, but only few actually return voluntarily with the zeal to contribute to homeland development (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010; De Haas 2010; Hagen-Zanker 2008; IOM 2012; Owasanoye 2011). The question is why do many migrants find it difficult to return voluntarily without compulsion? Adepoju and Van der Wiel (2010) and IOM (2012) reveal that some migrants encounter certain problems which undermine their ability to live a settled life in their host countries, and consequently affect their tendency to return. According to these sources, the first set of problems migrants (especially irregular migrants) face revolves around host countries' immigration policies and the issue of irregular migration. Irregular migrants (also referred to as undocumented migrants) are immigrants without valid documents, who are unregistered and tend to hide from authorities to avoid being identified (Adepoju and Van der Wiel, 2010). Many of them may have entered the destination countries

legally, but overstayed their visas; consequently, their status reversed to irregular migrants. Others involve those who entered the host country clandestinely, through the enterprise of migrants smuggling: a form of 'trade' in migration movements in which smugglers who specialize in transporting migrants surreptitiously, through complex and dangerous routes, convey their clients to destination countries without valid documents (Lucas 2005; Maja-Pearce 2009). Those who make it to Europe (because records indicate that many do not survive, while some in frustration, settle in Maghreb countries) become undocumented migrants, and are incapable of operating freely in their new environment (Maja-Pearce 2009). Thus, many languish for years hoping to regularize their irregular status without which they cannot visit home for fear they will not be able to make it back to their destination countries.

The problem is not limited to Europe, as many migrants are reported to be staying in the United States clandestinely and unable to return. However, unlike Europe where most undocumented migrants arrive through routes across the Maghreb, many undocumented migrants in the USA from Africa entered by pretending to be students, visitors, tourists and business travelers. But as Robert Lucas notes, "the days when the US welcomed the huddled masses are long gone" (Lucas 2005:6). Therefore, like many other developed countries, the US has stepped up efforts to curb undocumented migration. Internal immigration controls are becoming tight and undocumented migrants are deported regularly. Adepoju and Van der Wiel (2010) report that about 250,000 Mexicans were deported as undocumented immigrants in 2008; while about 435 Nigerians were expelled in that same year as undocumented immigrants. These circumstances make life for many irregular migrants in the US somewhat unsettled.

Another challenge to homecoming for many skilled migrants is the condition of origin country. Celik (2011), Owasanoye (2011) and Fix et al (2009) demonstrate that the rate of return

of skilled migrants is positively related to the socioeconomic and political conditions in country of origin. Celik, in particular, argues that the factors influencing return to one's country are the "pulls": things which make home country more appealing (Celik 2011). He notes, for instance, that the return of a large number of Turks in the Netherlands back to Turkey in the last decade is due to the improvement in Turkey. He maintained that the boost in Turkish economy and the prospect of Turkish membership in the EU and its recent economic growth make return migration for many Turks around the world attractive. A similar observation has been made about immigrants from eastern European countries in the UK. According to this report, of the 1.4 million eastern Europeans who had come to the UK between 2004 and 2009, almost half had returned by the end of 2008 as the conditions in their home countries improved (Fix et al, 2009).

Furthermore, Celik (2011) adopted the concept of "myth of return" to demonstrate that not all migrants who talk about their desire to return actually do. Drawing from the experiences of Turks in the Netherlands, the author identified five phases in the development or process of return: (i) the idea to return; (ii) the intention of leaving for country of origin; (iii) the decision to migrate back; (iv) the action of migrating back; and (v) the degree of satisfaction with return migration. Celik argues that thoughts about returning home remain alive among many migrants in their destination countries, but that there is often a big difference between what one desires and what one actually accomplishes. Thus, the desire to leave might appear strong, but the number of people who seriously consider leaving seems to be very low, and many do not return ultimately. In other words, many migrants talk and behave as though they favor return, but the reality of daily life means this step is hardly ever taken.

In Nigeria, there is no sign yet to indicate that the country has started receiving return migration with development implications. Even in the midst of calculated efforts by the

government to encourage skilled migrants to return; as encapsulated in the mandates of NIDO and NNVS, the return rate of professionals and skilled migrants has been dismal. According to reports, the reason for lack of return of many skilled Nigerians in the diaspora is the deplorable condition of living in the country (Adepoju and Van der Wiel, 2010). The agonizing condition back home makes many international migrants to look at homecoming with horror. In particular, Adepoju and Van der Wiel (2010) note that the problems of weak institutions, inept leadership, massive corruption, unprecedented security challenge and fragile political situation make homecoming among many settled, skilled migrants difficult to contemplate.

CONCLUSION

This paper centered on return migration in Nigeria and its implications for national development. The paper revealed that return migration to developing countries began to attract systematic attention in the 1970s following global economic crisis at the time. As a result, many developing countries looking for how to overcome their economic challenges attempted to exploit the agency of return migration, and that calculation led some countries to introduce measures to encourage the return of their nationals abroad. In Nigeria, such consideration inspired the creation of NIDO and NNVS in 2000 (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010).

Although there is paucity of data on return migration in Nigeria, the little that could be gleaned from existing limited literature suggests that not all forms of return migration have the potential to steer development in the origin country; and the ability of returnees to contribute to homeland development initiatives is circumscribed by migrants' destination country and skills acquired. Those from Europe and North America are more likely to serve as agents of development than their counterparts from Africa; but unfortunately, the preponderance of return

migrants are within the African continent (Adepoju 2010; Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010). Furthermore, records indicate that the size of repatriated returnees and tired migrants is by far greater than the number of skilled and professional returnees (Adepoju Van der Wiel 2010; IOM 2012, 2008). It was also observed that many skilled and professional migrants shun the government's appeals to return because of the unpalatable situation in the country (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010). On the whole, it could be said that return migration is yet to make significant impact in Nigeria's yearning for development, and the idea that the country will overcome its development challenges as a function of return migration will remain a myth, unless concrete steps are taken to tackle the immanent crisis of governance plaguing the nation to restore the hope of Nigerians abroad on their homeland (Ake 1996; Ninalowo 2007).

Candid efforts are required to address the problem of poor political institutions and improve the country's socioeconomic conditions to enable skilled migrants desirous of returning home to come and contribute to national development. Efforts to encourage return migration must go beyond synthetic summits and verbal appeals to patriotism, and face the issue of governance properly to make the socioeconomic and political environments attractive for home coming. That will also have the effect of reducing the tendency of many young people to leave the country by irregular means thereby ending up as undocumented migrants many whom are repatriated.

BIOGRAPHY

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IN THE ABSENCE OF THE CAT…
MAKING NO SENSE OF THE SENSELESS
SITUATION IN NIGERIA

MICHAEL O. AFOLAYAN, PH.D.

NIGERIA: A STATE OF SADNESS, FAILURE, AND DESPONDENCY - A PROLOGUE

The Yoruba saying has it right: "In the absence of the domestic cat, the mice take occupancy of the house; when the cat returns, the mice better take cover." Sad as it may be, the "watchman cat" over Nigeria "has left the building." But unlike Elvis, they are not returning anytime soon, if ever. There seems to be a bevy of mice parading the socio-political landscape of the failed state called Nigeria. If you must know, the invading mice are the politicians in Aso Rock and the do-nothing legislators stealing the nation's treasury silly, and leaving their people high and dry! They compliment and complement the unsavory crop of each other! As far as this Nigerian "leadership" is concerned, in the context of Yoruba rhetoric, "the pickpocket has been crowned the king of the marketplace, and the robbers have been appointed watchmen over the village square." The picture is gloomy!

It is no wonder, then, why on April 14, 2014, a bunch of irresponsible, misguided ragamuffins, men with reprobate minds, dashed into a "guarded" school building leisurely in a Christian community of Chibok and hauled away innocent girls, whose only sins were wanting to go to school, and, for the most part, being Christians or non-militant Muslims. These are our daughters, daughters of those who dared to dream of making a difference in the lives of their

precious babies. Things like this happen quite often but only in a state of anarchy, a perfect

descriptor of the current state of Nigeria.

THE REAL BAD NEWS

I hate to say this, but it is too late for those girls to be normal again - too late for them to believe

one could live in a nation that values life; too late for them to believe in education without a

second thought; too late for them to believe that men could be non-predatory, non-brutish, non-

macho, non-militant, non-kidnappers. With this length of time in captivity, it's too late for them

to live normally; it's too late indeed. Their young and spirited excitement and yearning for

knowledge has been stolen from them, strangled in the cribs; their spirits mutilated without any

consideration for their feelings. The words of the great American educator, Erik Erickson, are

true, here:

Someday, maybe, there will exist a well-informed, well-considered and yet fervent public

conviction that the most deadly of all possible sins is the mutilation of a child's spirit.

And, for this, I am sad! Nothing symbolizes the "mutilation of a child's spirit" better than what

the world is witnessing in today's Nigeria. The innocence of close to 300 girls has been killed

and the butchers are the hooligans parading in the cloak of religion, contradicting themselves in

all spheres of imagination. Their accomplices are those "adults" set as watchmen over the girls'

safety - the so-called government functionaries, who had abandoned them, captains who have

deserted the ship, priests who have desecrated the temple, leaving those girls totally helpless and

vulnerable in the hands of hoodlums, who would not give a damn even if the broad daylight turns into utter darkness. What a betrayal of trust!

A BUNDLE OF CONTRADICTIONS

Imagine the shameless and irrevocably contradictory face of religious hooliganism and fascist stupidity inherent in the reign of terror unleashed by these adherents of the Boko Haram sect! I deliberately refer to this group as a "sect" because it certainly does not represent the religion of Islam that most Nigerians are familiar with even though those thugs give the shout of "Allah Akbar" (Praise be to their god) before bringing down fire and brimstone on the innocent victims. They make Ajagbemokeferi (the notorious Muslim cleric whose name means "He who shouts down and harasses the infidel" a man who terrorized non-Muslims in the City of Ibadan in the seventies and eighties, seem like a mild neighbor. Boko Haram, meaning, "Western Education is Forbidden or is sinful" is a contradiction in terms. The military fatigues in which the Boko Haram thugs robe themselves while unleashing their mayhem are products of the West, ipso facto, of Western education. The guns they brandish, the knives they display, the bullets they wear with pride around their bodies, including those magazines in which the bullets are packed, the bandana in which they groom themselves, the sunglasses they wear to conceal their devilish eyes, the cell phones and the walkie-talkies they use in communicating their mischievous deeds, the shoes they put on their gnomic feet, and even the underpants and singlets (undershirts) they wear in the most private parts of their wretched bodies are all products of western ingenuity; none, not even one, comes from the region of their evil "faith." They should be ashamed of themselves. But I understand. They have no shame; people with reprobate minds have had their consciences snatched away from them and dumped in the sea of forgetfulness.

 THE GIRLS

Back to those who matter in this whole saga: the girls. I am sorry for these girls. God knows how sorry I am. As a father of three beautiful girls - well nurtured, well educated, articulate and unperturbed in life, I take it personally, and my heart bleeds for the kidnapped victims, our girls of Chibok. I am seriously concerned for them and I have reason to be. Please mark my words, I am not being pessimistic, I am being realistic. Our chances of getting all of those girls back in peace and not in pieces – physically, emotionally, and mentally, are close to zero. The Nigerian "government" has dropped the ball, and the ball has rolled into a fouled corner, settling in the bare bottom of the endless hole. In spite of being warned of the impending danger, no authorities – school, regional, state, federal, or what have you, thought it fit to provide the most basic protection to ward off the uncultured bunch. It makes one long for the tough stance of the former President, Olusegun Obasanjo, who when he was the head of government and a similar "Islamic" sect, called "Mantatsine" wanted to terrorize the nation, ordered a total annihilation of the ruffians, and they were routed out and driven into oblivion. If any of their remnants are left, they are still in hiding. "If you live by the sword, you should also die by the sword."   This is the most sacred and temporal power invested on a true state. Today, we are stateless. Our house has been invaded. Our girls have been stolen – hauled away like cattle being taken to the marketplace, and like sheep being driven to the slaughterhouse. The mice now occupy what we used to know as home, and the cat is still at-large, on a journey to who knows what. For this purpose, I invoke the prophetic curse of William Shakespeare upon the heads of all those who have played any role or failed to play their roles in this tale of woe. Thus, I say:

O, pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth,

That I am meek and gentle with these butchers!

Thou art the ruins of (these) noblest (girls)

That ever lived in the tide of times.

Woe to the hand that shed this costly blood!

Over thy wounds now do I prophesy,

--- Which, like dumb mouths, do ope their ruby lips,

To beg the voice and utterance of my tongue ---

A curse shall light upon the limbs of men;

Domestic fury and fierce civil strife

Shall cumber all the parts of (this unshephered land);

Blood and destruction shall be so in use

And dreadful objects so familiar

That mothers shall but smile when they behold

Their infants quarter'd with the hands of war;

All pity choked with custom of fell deeds:

And (our daughters' spirits), raging for revenge,

With Ate by (their) side come hot from hell,

Shall in these confines with a monarch's voice

Cry 'Havoc,' and let slip the dogs of war;

That this foul deed shall smell above the earth

With carrion men, groaning for burial.

NIGERIA – AN UNMANAGED ORPHANAGE: AN EPILOGUE

Back to my opening aphorism of the cat and the mice: The problem, which is worth lamenting, is the fact that there is no cat to chase or take out the invading mice, and so the house is bewitched, and the habitation has become desolate. Why should I or anyone, care, then, if it's the venomous snake that has come to assure me it would do the work of the runaway cat? Why would I not be on my knees begging the United States, Britain, Israel, France, Canada, Australia, anyone and everyone to please come to the rescue? Please I ask that all so-called "ruthless" civilized world to please come to the rescue. Unlike many others, I am not afraid you are going to colonize Nigeria. In fact, it may not be a bad idea if you do; at least, it guarantees that if you steal our oil money, you may build us some motorable roads – not the death traps that kill dozens in Nigeria everyday; I trust you will give us some schools – decent schools and universities – not shanty houses with clueless "teachers," who spend most of the school time selling peanuts, kolanuts, and dried fish in stalls erected in the back of the school, or the so called "universities" which are in no way as endowed or physically appealing as elementary schools on this side of the great divide; you will give us some drinkable water – not water from shallow wells and filthy creeks, which kill babies, children and pregnant women in scores everyday; and at least you will give us power supplies, which only the rich, and the politicians who could afford their own air-polluting generators are enjoying. Maybe, and just maybe, you may give us life, even if not in abundance, at least so we may also live into our fifties, and possibly sixties or more.

Sorry, it is from outside that I am looking in; but it bothers me gravely when I think of the song of sorrow that my people are singing everyday. I just want them to know that somebody knows the trouble they have seen; somebody knows their sorrow . . .

 Sorry, I just can't make sense of this senseless situation!

ENDNOTES

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[1] Ravenstein, 1885, quoted by George Gmelch. Return Migration. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 9 (1980), pp. 135-159; p. 135

[2] "Afie ni afie" is an Akan Ghanaian word that means home is home—in the contest of this article, it emphasizes how the notion of home is deeply entrenched in the psyche of emancipated Africans and their offspring.

[3] See Slave Voyages Database. http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faceswww.voyage.

[4] Lisa A. Lindsay, "'To Return to the Bosom of their Fatherland': Brazilian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Lagos," *Slavery and Abolition*, Vol. 15, No. 1, April 194, 42.

[5]. Ella Keren, "In the Chains of the Past: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Ghanaian Historiography" in Toyin Falola and Matt Childs (Eds.), *The Changing Worlds of Atlantic Africa: Essays in Honor of Robin Law*, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2009, 268.

[6] Kim D. Butler, "Clio and the Griot: the African Diaspora in the Discipline of History," in Tejumola Olaniyan and James H. Sweet, *The African Diaspora and the Disciplines*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2010, 23.

[7] Ibid, 41.

[8] See the following literature: Solimar Otero, *Afro-Cuban Diasporas in the Atlantic World* , NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010; Kenneth C. Barnes, *Journey of Hope: the Back-to-Africa movement in Arkansas in the late 1800s,* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004; Nemata Amelia Blyden, *West Indians in West Africa, 1808-1880: The African Diaspora in Reverse,* Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2000; Clifford C. Campbell, "Full Circle: The Caribbean Presence in the Making of Ghana, 1843-1966", Ph. D. Dissertation: The University of Ghana, Legon, 2012; and Roquinaldo Ferreira's, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World* , NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

[9] Edmond Abaka, *House of Slaves and "Door of No Return": Gold Coast/Ghana Slave Forts, Castles & Dungeons and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2012, 40.

[10] De Corse, Christopher R. *An Archaeology of Elmina: Africans and Europeans on the Gold Coast, 14000-1900*, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2001 and compare this with the avalanche of statistics and diagrams in Edmund Abaka, *House of Slaves and "Door of No Return": Gold Coast/Ghana Slave Forts, Castles & Dungeons and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2012.

[11] "Ghana Supreme Court upholds John Mahama's win," http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-23878458.

[12] João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprisings of 1835 in Bahia*, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993, 38-47.

[13] CVA 40/56, Madam Sarah Clegg v. Emmanuel Drissu Cobblah, November 21, 1956.

[14] Muneer Akolade (Brazilian Quarters-Lagos), interview with Kwame Essien, July 3, 2009, 1.

[15] CVA 45/49, 16 July 1947, 9.

[16] Ibid.

[17] PRAAD-Accra, CVA 12/52, Peter Quarshie Fiscian v, Nii Azumah III, 13 March 1953, 42.

[18] CVA 12/52, Peter Quarshie Fiscian and Mary Fiscian v. Nii Azumah III, March 13, 1953, 42.

[19] "Colony or Protectorate?" *The Gold Coast Echo*, March 13, 1889, 3.

[20] Although the British had enormous influence on the Southern Protectorate which included coastal Accra, Ghana was not a British colony until the British defeated the Asante people who were part of the Northern Protectorate (not under British control) in one of the most violent wars in the then Gold Coast. The victory gave the British total control of both the Southern and Northern Protectorate. Albert Adu Boahen and Emmanuel Akyeampong *Yaa Asantewaa and the Asante-British War of 1900-1901*, Sub-Saharan Pub & Traders, 2003. See also Walton W. Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti: From the Earliest times to the Twentieth Century*, NY: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1915, 173-184.

[21] Jeffrey P. Green, "Caribbean Influences in the Gold Coast Administration in the 1900s," *Ghana Studies Bulletin* No. 2, December 1984; Ray Jenkins, " 'West Indian' and 'Brasilian' Influences in the Gold Coast-Ghana, 1807-1914: A Review and Reappraisal of Continuities in the post-Abolition links between West Africa and the Caribbean and Brazil," paper presented to the 12th Annual Conference of the Society for Caribbean Studies, Hoddesdon,

Hertfordshire, U.K., 12-14 July 1988; and Clifford C. Campbell, "Full Circle: The Caribbean Presence in the Making of Ghana, 1843-1966", Ph. D Dissertation: The University of Ghana, Legon, 2012.

[22] CO 97/2, Gold Coast Certified Copies Ordinances 1865 to 1883, April 19, 1876, 1. See also Naaborko Sackeyfio, "The Stool owns the City: Ga Chieftancy and the Politics of Land in Colonial Accra," Ph. D Dissertation: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008.

[23] Clifford C. Campbell, "Full Circle: The Caribbean Presence in the Making of Ghana, 1843-1966" (Ph. D Dissertation: The University of Ghana, Legon, 2012).

[24] Peter Haenger, *Slaves and Slave Holders on the Gold Coast: Towards and Understanding of Social Bondage in West Africa*, Switzerland: P. Schiettwein Publishing, 2000, 71-98.

[25] James Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935-1961*, Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002, 30-51.

[26] Robert Weisbord, *Ebony Kinship: Africa, Africans, and Afro-Americans*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press Inc., 1973, ix.

[27] American Colonization Society Papers, Reel 147, vol. 293. No's. 1-200. See also and Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner and Margaret Hope Bacon (Eds), *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848–1880*, State College, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005 and Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Liberian Dreams Back-to-Africa Narratives from the 1850s,* State College, PA: Penn State University Press, 1998.

[28] Ibrahim Sundiata, *Brothers and Strangers: Black Zion, Black Slavery, 1914-1940*, NC, Durham: Duke University Press, 2003; Claude A. Clegg III, *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia*, Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004. See also James T. Campbell, *Middle Passages: African America Journeys to Africa, 1787-2005*, NY: Penguin Press, 2006; and Kevin K. Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era*, Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

[29] Editorial, "There is no Racism in Ghana," *Daily Graphic*, August 18, 1962, 1.

[30] Darlene Clark Hine et al, (Eds.) *Black Europe and the African Diaspora* , Il: University of Illinois Press, 2009. See chapter on France.

[31] Kwame Essien, "African Americans in Ghana and Their Contributions to 'Nation Building:' 1985 through 2004," in Alusine Jalloh and Toyin Falola (Eds.), *The United States and West Africa: Interactions and Relations*, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008, 147-152.

[32] Kevin K. Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era*, Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006, 6.

[33] Col. A. A. Afrifa with a preface by K.A. Busia an introduction by Tibor Suzamuely, *The Ghana Coup of 24th February, 1966*, UK: Frank Cass and Comp., Ltd., 1967, 31-42; Peter T. Omari, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship*, NY: African Publishing Corporation, 1972, 154-159. See also Kofi Buenor Hadjor, *Nkrumah and Ghana: The Dilema of Post-colonial Power*, London & NY: Kegan Paul International, 1988; David Rooney, Kwame Nkrumah: *Vision and Tragedy* , Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2007 and Ahmad Rahman, *The Regime Change of Kwame Nkrumah: Epic Heroism in Africa and the Diaspora*, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

[34] Daniel J. Wideman, "The Door of No Return?: A Journey through the Legacy of the African Slave Forts an Excerpt, *Callaloo* 21, 1998: 1: 3-8; Brempong Osei-Tutu, B.,2002. The African American Factor in the Commodification of Ghana's Slave Castles. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, New Series 6: 115-133; Obiagele Lake, "Toward a Pan-African Identity: Diaspora African Repatriates in Ghana", *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, 1995, 1: 21-23 and Jennifer Hasty, "Rites of Passage, Routes of Redemption: Emancipation Tourism and the Wealth of Culture," *Africa Today* 49, 2002, 3: 47-76.

[35] See Kwame Essien, "African Americans in Ghana and Their Contributions to 'Nation Building:' 1985 through 2004." In Alusine Jalloh and Toyin Falola (Eds.), *The United States and West Africa: Interactions and Relations*, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008: 161-167.

[36] Samuel Boadi-Siaw, "The Afro-Brazilian Returnees in Ghana" in Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Ed.), *Back to Africa Vol. 1: Afro-Brazilian Returnees and their Communities*, Cape Town, South Africa: CASAS Book Series, 2009, 149-153.

[37] Kwame Essien "A abertura da casa Brasil: A History of the *Tabom* People, Part 1" in Kwesi Kwaa Prah *Back to Africa Vol. 1: Afro-Brazilian Returnees and their Communities*, Cape Town, South Africa: CASAS Book Series, 2009, 183-184.

[38] George Bob-Milliar, "Chieftaincy, Diaspora, and Development: The Institution of *Nkɔsuohene* in Ghana," *African Affairs* 108, 2009: 541–558. See also Susan Benson, "Connecting with the Past, Building the Future: African Americans and Chieftaincy in Southern Ghana," *Ghana Studies* 6, 2003: 109-133.

[39] João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprisings of 1835 in Bahia*, Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1993 and Mieko Nishida, *Slavery and Identity: Ethnicity, Gender and Race in Salvador, Brazil, 1808-1888*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.

[40] See Slave Voyages Database. http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.facemwww.voyage www.voyage.

[41] Lisa A. Lindsay, "'To return to the bosom of their fatherland': Brazilian immigrants in nineteenth century Lagos," *Slavery & Abolition*, 15: 1, 1994, 22- 50. See also Pierre Verger, *Trade Relation between the Bight of Benin and Biafra from the 17th to 19th century*, Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1976.

[42] FO 84/920, Letter from Campbell to Lord Cleroden, May 4, 1854.

[43] Elder George Nii Aruna Nelson, interview with Kwame Essien, August 6, 2008.

[44] Nii Azumah V (current Brazilian-Tabom chief), interview by Kwame Essien, January 10, 2009.

[45] Immigration official at the Immigration and Naturalization Service Headquarters, Accra, interview by Kwame Essien July 15, 2011.

[46] See Kwame Essien, "African Americans in Ghana: Successes and Challenges, 1985 through 2005," MA Thesis, Center for African Studies, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign, 2000, 30; http://books.google.com and http://www.worldcat.org.

[47] Ibid.

[48] There is no single method for providing statistics about the three returnee groups. However, based on the interviews conducted so far, I conclude that the population of the Tabom is about 1.2 million; while the total number of American-Africans is approximately 3,000 and that of the Caribbean population to be about 1,000.

[49] Marriage relations between the *Tabom* and the Gã people for instance gained currency in the early 1900s after the demise of the Brazilian-Africans. On the other hand, marriages between American-African's and Ghanaians and the Caribbean's and Ghanaians have not added substantial value to the identity of returnees as well as the processes of assimilation. Those in this union often keep their distinct identity intact.

[50] Kwame Essien, "The African Diaspora in Reverse: the *Tabom* People in Ghana, 1820s-2009," Ph. D Dissertation: The University of Texas, Austin, 2010, 111.

[51] RG 15/1/56, Yawah per J.M. Ayreequaye v. J.E. Maslino, August 5, 1930, 37.

[52] RG 15/1/56, Yawah per J.M. Ayreequaye v. J.E. Maslino, August 5, 1930, 38.

[53] S.K.B. Asante, *Property Law and Social goals in Ghana, 1844-1966*, (Accra, Ghana: Ghana Universities Press, 1975, 113; 151-154. See also Kwame Essien, "The African Diaspora in Reverse: the *Tabom* People in Ghana, 1820s-2009,"Ph. D Dissertation: The University of Texas, Austin, 2010, 193, 207. See Kwame

[54] Peter Haenger, *Slaves and Slave Holders on the Gold Coast: Towards and Understanding of Social Bondage in West Africa*, Switzerland: P. Schiettwein Publishing, 2000, 136-175. See also Trevor R. Gertz, *Slavery and Reform in West Africa: Toward Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Senegal and the Gold Coast*, Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004, 111-136.

[55] Robin Law, *Francisco de Souza in West Africa, 1820-1849* in Jose C. Curto and Paul Lovejoy (eds.), *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil During the Era of Slavery*, NY: Humanity Books, 2004,189.

[56] Samuel Boadi Siaw, "The Afro-Brazilian Returnees in Ghana," in by Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Ed.), *Back to Africa Vol. 1: Afro-Brazilian Returnees and their Communities*, Cape Town, South Africa: CASAS Book Series, 2009, 154.

[57] Marcos Aurelio Schaumloeffel, *Tabom: The Afro-Brazilian Community in Ghana*, Bridgetown, Barbados: Publishing House Lulu.com, 2008, 42-43.

[58] Governor Carsensten's Diary (1842-1850), Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon January, 1965, 19.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Black Americans' perceptions of Africa have evolved since the nineteenth century. James T. Campbell's *Middle Passages: African America Journeys to Africa, 1787-2005*, 2006 which chronicles over two centuries of black American's interactions with Africa shows the ways in which some Black American missionaries, including Bishop McNeil Turner and William Sheppard became a voice for perpetuating racist notions that Africans were uncivilized and therefore needed Western civilization (155). Turner in particular held that "slavery be reinstated in Africa so that African Americans could hold Africans in bondage" (xvi). Although Sheppard also perpetuated myths that Africans were savages and heathens, he later exposed European's violence and exploitations of Africans (182). See James T. Campbell, *Middle Passages: African America Journeys to Africa, 1787-2005*, NY: Penguin Press, 2006.

[61] James T. Campbell, *Middle Passages: African America Journeys to Africa, 1787-2005*, 2006, xviii.

62 The concept of right of abode under Immigration Law is that person having the right of abode" shall be free to live and to come and go into and from the country without let or hindrance"

Section 17(1) of the Immigration Act 2000, Act 573 provides that subject to this section the Minister may on an application and with the approval of the president grant the status of right of abode to any of the following persons.

A.) A Ghanaian by birth, adoption, registration or naturalization within the meaning of the citizenship Act who by reason of this acquisition of foreign nationality has loss his Ghanaian citizenship and

B.) A person of African descent in the Diaspora

2) A Ghanaian citizen to whom paragraph: a) of subsection (1) applies shall produce to the Minister such document and other evidence that the Minister may require testifying to the loss of his Ghanaian citizenship by reason of having acquired another citizenship

3) A person of African descent in the Diaspora to be considered for the status of right of abode if he satisfies the Minister that he

A.) Is of good character as attested to by two Ghanaian who are notaries public, lawyers, senior public officers or other class of person approved of by the Ministers.

B) Has not been convicted of any criminal offence and been sentenced to imprisonment for a term of twelve (12) months or more

C) Is of independent means

D) Is in the opinion of the Minister capable of making a substantial contribution to the development of Ghana and

E) Has attained the age of eighteen (18) years.

A Ghanaian national who by the acquisition of another nationality cannot hold a Ghanaian nationality because of the Laws governing

The acquired nationality and who wishes to be granted right of abode shall not be required to produce documentary evidence of financial standing.

The applicant for right of abode shall submit the application in person for the purpose of verification the applicant must have resided in the country

A.) Throughout the period of twenty four (24) months immediately proceeding the date of application.

B) During the seven (7) years immediately proceeding the period twenty four (24) months referred to the paragraph (a) for a period amounting in the aggregate to not less than five years

ADVANTAGES TO BE DERIVED ON THE GRANT OF INDEFINITE RESIDENCE STATUS AND RIGHT OF ABODE STATUS

Section 18 (1) provides that:

A person with indefinite residence status or person with right of abode status is

a) Entitled to remain indefinite in Ghana.

b) Entitled to enter Ghana without a Visa.

c) Entitled to work in Ghana either a self-employed or as an employee with a work permit.

d) Subject to the laws of Ghana.

Notwithstanding the benefits that holders of indefinite residence status and right of abode will enjoy as stated supra, their dependants are exempted and this is specially stated in section 18 subsection (2) the Immigration Act, 2000, Act 573. It states:

Africans in Diaspora: Other details about the Right of Abode.

(a) Applicant should attain a ten year period of stay before applying.

(b) Letter of sponsorship from Company of Ghanaian associate.

(c) Completed application form.

(d) Attestation in writing form two Ghanaians of repute.

(e) Evidence of financial standing

(f) Evidence of contribution to Ghanaian economic development in terms of monetary value of shares, bank statement, audited accounts, provision of employment to Ghanaian etc.

(g) Police report from country of origin and medical report from Ghana

(3) CONSEQUENCES OF RIGHT OF ABODE

(i). A person who is granted right of abode status is;

(a). Entitled to remain indefinitely in Ghana .

(b). Entitled to enter Ghana without a visa

(c). Entitled to work in Ghana either as a self-employed or as an employee without work permit.

(d). Subject to the laws of Ghana .

(ii). A non-Ghanaian child or other non-Ghanaian dependants of a person who is granted right of abode, is eligible for a dependency permit. See information by the Ghana Immigration Services: http://www.ghanaimmigration.org/HYPER%20right_abode.htm

[63] Seestah Imahkus, *Returning Home Ain't Easy but it sure is a Blessing*, Cape Coast, Ghana: One Africa Tours and Specialty Ltd., 1999, 275.

[64] Janet Butler, Interview by Kwame Essien, 12 June 2004, 1.

[65] Stephen Buckley, "U.S., African Blacks Differ on Turning Slave Dungeons into Tourist Attractions," *The Washington Post,* April, 1995, A1-2.

[66] Seestah Imahkus Njinga, ABABIO: A 21st Century Anthology of African Diaspora Returnees to Ghana, Cape Coast, Ghana: One Africa Tours and Specialty Ltd., 2009.

[67] These are not the only forms of reverse migrations that have been placed on the margins of reverse migration studies. There are multiple reverse migrations I characterize as 'Z-paths' across the Atlantic geography. 'Z-paths' basically refers to involuntary and unending voluntary migrations from Africa to the New World, back to Africa, and later to the New World by liberated Africans and their offspring in search of a home elsewhere. The different trajectories of travels were based on memory and yearning for a homeland, hope, and curiosity about a known and unknown home elsewhere.

[68] Parker, John. *Making the Town: Ga State and Society in Early Colonial Accra*, Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000, 99.

[69] Jemima Pierre, *The Predicament of Blackness: Postcolonial Ghana and the Politics of Race*, Il: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

[70] Foot-run is a play on Citroen, by Nigerians. The phrase indicates a person's car-less situation.

[71] Agbada is a flowing gown, part of a three-piece ensemble worn by men.

[72] A long piece of cloth that can be wrapped around the waist to form a skirt-like garb; around the chest to form an attire that looks like a shoulder-less long gown; and may, when desired, be wrapped around the head like a huge headscarf or stylish hat.

[73] undershirt

[74] A version of this paper was first presented at the 56th UN Conference on the Status of Women, New York, USA March 3, 2012.

[75] http://www.pearsonhighered.com/assets/hip/us/hip_us_pearsonhighered/samplechapter/0205835473.pdf, 340-350.

[76] Economic Community of West African States.

[77] Southern Africa Development Community.

[78] WASH is defined here as all works related to water, sanitation, and hygiene, including the provision of safe and affordable access to a clean water supply and methods of disposing of waste; this involves the provision of services and training on how to manage them.

[79] The challenges of using the concept of gender as a primary analytical category in Africa have been well espoused by Oyeronke Oyewumi (ed.), "Conceptualizing Gender: The Eurocentric Foundations of Feminist Concepts and the Challenge of African Epistemologies" In *Jenda: A Journal of Culture And African Women Studie*s, 2002, Issue 2, and her edited book, *African Gender Studies: A Reader*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

[80] Robina Wahaj, "Gender and Water: Securing Water For Improved Rural Livelihoods: The Multiple-Uses System Approach." The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), 2, December 2007.

[81] P.H. Gleick. 1993a. "Water and conflict: Fresh water resources and international security." *International Security*, 18 (1): 99-104. See also S. Yoffe and K. Larson, Basins at Risk: Water Event Database Methodology. Department of Geography, Oregon State University, Corvallis, USA., 2001; and M. Zeitoun, "Hydro-hegemony theory – a framework for analysis of water-related conflicts." First International Workshop on Hydro-hegemony, King's College, London, 21-22 May 2005.

[82] UNEP Africa Water Atlas found here: http://na.unep.net/atlas/africaWater/downloads/Africa_Water_Atlas_Executive_Summary.pdf; last accessed 1.8.13.

[83] The U.N. has declared 2013 as the International Year of Water Cooperation to highlight global cooperation of nations around water resources and to advocate against growing concerns of conflict. See: http://www.unwater.org/statistics_trans.html and http://webworld.unesco.org/water/wwap/facts_figures/sharing_waters.shtml; last accessed on February 13, 2013.

[84] This view is most clearly articulated in the work of Carolyn Merchant who states that "for the past three hundred years, western mechanistic science and capitalism have viewed the earth as dead and inert, manipulable from outside, and exploitable for profits. The death of nature legitimated its domination. Colonial extractions of resources combined with industrial pollution and depletion have today pushed the whole earth to the brink of ecological destruction." See Carolyn Merchant, "Science and Worldviews," in *Radical Ecology: The Search for a Livable World,* New York: Routledge, 1992:41-60.

[85] See A. Adepoju, "Migration in West Africa" *Development* 46(3), 2003: 37-41, and J. Anarfi, S. Kwankye, et.al., Migration from and to Ghana: A background paper. Brighton, UK: Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation, and Poverty, University of Sussex (Working Paper C4), 2003, 3.

[86] Ibid. Also see K. Konadu-Agyemang, "The Best of Times and the Worst of Times: Structural Adjustment Programs and Uneven Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana." *The Professional Geographer*, 52, 2000: 469–483.

[87] "Mariama Awumbila, Takyiwaa Manuh, et. al. Ghana Migration Country Paper. Legon: Centre For Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. Pp. 5-6. Reference is made to the works of Wyllie 1977, Boahen 1975, Addae-Mensah 1983,1985; and Hill 1963.

[88] Ibid., 6.

[89] See for example, O. Lake, "Toward a Pan-African Identity: Diaspora African Repatriates in Ghana." Anthropological Quarterly 68(1), 1995: 21-36; Kevin Gaines, American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates And the Civil Rights Era, NC: UNC Press, 2006, among other resources.

[90] Holly Reed et. al., makes this point in "Gender, Family, and Migration between Urban and Rural Areas in Coastal Ghana: An Event History Analysis." *Demographic Research*, 22(25), 30 April, 2010:771-812. The trends are still the same in 2010 census data, but it is always seen as a plus for neo-Mathusian proponents when African countries on the path of 'western development' have declining population growth. See also the work of Ibid., Awumbila.

[91] See: http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=196857 ; accessed on Feb 7, 2012.

[92] K. Konadu-Agyemang, "The Best of Times and the Worst of Times: Structural Adjustment Programs and Uneven Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana" *The Professional Geographer*, 53 (3), 2000:469-483, cited in Muriel A. Yeboah, Gender and Livelihoods: Mapping the Economic Strategies of Porters in Accra, Ghana. Dissertation for Department of Geology and Geography Morgantown, West Virginia, 2008: 82-84, 192. In general, many women porters live in slum areas with poor sewage and sanitary conditions and struggle to access clean, safe water. See pp. 181 -194 for pictures of the stark realities and deplorable conditions.

[93] http://www.gfmag.com/sources-for-country-economic-reports-and-gdp-data.html#47 ; there are an estimated 7 million citizens in dire poverty, and distribution of income and wealth is extremely unequal between nor northern and southern Ghana.

[94] Zongo is a word which originates from the Sahel region of the north and means 'caravan' and was once used to describe the areas where trans-Saharan traders would rest their loaded camels as they stopped on the fringes of towns and settlements in the south to barter cattle and cloth for salt and Ashanti gold. In Ghana, it is used broadly to refer to a stranger community specifically created and inhabited by northern migrants. The Zongo is characterized by overcrowding, inadequate sanitation and dilapidated buildings.

[95] Ibid., Reed, 10.

[96] B. Cohen, "Urbanization in developing countries: Current trends, future projections, and key challenges for sustainability" *Technology in Society* 28, 2006: 63-80.

[97] M.J. White, and D.P. Lindstrom, "Internal migration" In: D.L. Poston, and M. Micklin (eds.), *Handbook of population*. New York: Kluwer Press, 2005. Cited in Ibid., Reed, 8.

[98] Ibid, Reed, Tables 1-5.

[99] Niara Sudarkasa, "Migrants and Women Who Wait: Women and Migration in Contemporary West Africa " *Signs* 3(1). Issue Title: Women and National Development: The Complexities of Change). 1977: 178-189.

[100] Ibid, Reed, "Gender, Family and Migration Between Urban and Rural Areas in Coastal Ghana: An Event History Analysis" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Dallas.

[101] The term autonomy was not defined, but I would infer from the research that autonomy is not entirely based on economic factors.

[102] Ibid., Reed, 27-47.

[103] C. Z. Guilmoto, "Institutions and migrations: Short-term versus long-term moves in rural West Africa" Population Studies 52(1), 1998: 85-103.

[104] A. Rogers, Migration, urbanization, and spatial population dynamics. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984, pp 20-35.

[105] See the report here on the internet: SIWI 2005, p.25 . Last accessed Jan 18, 2013.

[106] Frederick A. Armah, et.al., "Impact of Floods on Livelihoods and Vulnerability of Natural Resource Dependent Communities in Northern Ghana" *Water* 2, 2010:130-133.

[107] For a comprehensive expose on endogenous development see David Millar, Agnes A. Apusigah, and Claire Boonzaaijer (eds) Endogenous Development in Africa**:** Towards a Systematization of Experiences, Tamale: University for Development Studies (UDS), Ghana & COMPAS, 2008.

[108] Femi Olokesusi, *Survey of Indigenous Water Management and Coping Mechanisms in Africa: Implications for Knowledge and Technology Policy.* ATPS SPECIAL PAPER SERIES No. 25, African Technology Policy Studies Network: Nairobi, Kenya, 2006, p 22.

[109] S. Lonergan and M.J. Parnwell. "Environmental degradation and population movement" *Environment and Security* 3, 1998:63-83, cited in Matthew Sanderson, "Globalization and the Environment: Implications for Human Migration." *Human Ecology Review* 16(1), 2009: 93-94. Lonergan and Parnwell tend to support an indirect and causal relationship between environment, population and out migration.

[110] Matthew Sanderson, "Globalization and the Environment: Implications for Human Migration." *Human Ecology Review* 16(1), 2009. The points raised in this article bring the stark and harsh realities of the poor in Ghana who are pulled into the global capitalist control of the mining industries in Africa and participate in practices that destroy the environment, especially ground water. The economic benefits are little to these workers, but profitable to the mining company who until recently, paid little to no remittances to the government of Ghana.

[111] G.M. Hilson, N. Yakovleva, and S.M. Banchirigah "To move or not to move: Reflections on the resettlement of artisanal miners in the western region of Ghana." *African Affairs* 104, . 2007:413-436. The authors argue convincingly that economic growth in the mining industries in Ghana as a process of globalization has had negative impact on environment and population, and especially women.

[112] According to the Water Resources Commission (2013) in South Africa, the average time women in developing countries spend collecting water every week is 15 hours.

[113] A.J. Dietz, et al. (eds).*"* The Impact of Climate Change on Drylands: With a Focus on West-Africa*", Ch. 12 in* Climate And Livelihood Change In North East Ghana, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publisher, 2004:149–172.

[114] Ibid, 167.

[115] UN MDG Fact Sheet No. 7, September 2010.

[116] World Health Organization and UNICEF Joint Monitoring Report, March 2010, "Progress on Sanitation and Drinking-water: 2010 Update", Pg. 29, www.unicef.org/wash/files/JMP_report_2010.pdf.

[117] For more analysis of the challenges to addressing WASH crisis, see the WaterAid 2011 report "*"Off-Track, off-Target: why investment in water and sanitation is not reaching those who need it most"* published by WaterAid, London: UK.

[118] WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply and Sanitation, Progress on Drinking Water and Sanitation: 2012 Update and Government of Ghana, Ministry of Water Resources Works and Housing, Water and Sanitation Sector Performance Report, 2009.

[119] Government of Ghana. Budget Statements and Economic Policy, 2009.

[120] Government of Ghana, Ministry of Water Resources Works and Housing, Water and Sanitation Sector Performance Report, 2009, 15.

[121] Emmanuel Akpabio and V.S. Saravanan, "Water Supply and Sanitation Practices in Nigeria: Applying Local Ecological Knowledge to Understand Complexity," ZEF Working Paper Series, May 2012:1.

[122] Ibid., 5. Other relevant work cited in this article include Jewitt, 2011; Banda et al, 2007; McFarlane, 2008; Black and Fawcett, 2008; Odumosu, 2010 who have argued for approaches in WASH, particularly sanitation behavior change efforts, that take account various socio-economic, cultural, political and physical/ecological environments rather than a focus on pure physical infrastructures and "assumptions of ignorance" of intended beneficiaries.

[123] By 2015 WaterAid plans to be in 30 countries in Africa. I have intentionally focused on the positive aspect of the INGOs work, though am quite cognizant of the challenges of INGOs and the negative role they can play in Africa's development.

[124] I have argued elsewhere that Africans have their own concepts of rights, rooted in each locality's culture and corresponding socio-political evolution and structures. For cultural-relativist of notions of human rights see the work of Appiagyei-Atua and Afia S. Zakiya, "Culture, Rites and Rights in African Indigenous Societies: Unraveling Symbolic Meaning, Myths and Gendered Practices in Transition Rituals of Death and Reincorporation"

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in Tunde Babawale, Akin Alao and Tony Onwumah (eds), New Frontiers in the Teaching of African And Diaspora History and Culture, CBAAC: Lagos, Nigeria, 2010:46-119, especially p. 53-55.

[125] Most significant is the work of CIKOD for fuller understanding of endogenous development's cultural approach: www.CIKOD.org ; and also that of COMPAS network: www.compasnet.org Personal conversation with D. Millar and B. Guri, September 2011.

[126] Ibid.

[127] While not addressed in this paper, the quality and content of schooling in Africa is of major concern. For a discussion of the relevant issues on education and socialization for nationbuilding and the need for African centered indigenous knowledge at each level of schooling from primary to higher education, see Tunde Babawale, Akin Alao and Tony Onwumah (eds), New Frontiers in the Teaching of African and Diaspora History and Culture, Lagos, Nigeria: CBAAC, 2010; George J. Sefa Dei. "Education and Socialization in Ghana" in **Creative Education** 2, 2 2011:96-105; L. M. Semali and J. L. Kincheloe , (Eds.) What is indigenous knowledge? Voices from the academy. New York, NY: Falmer Press, 1999; Kwame Akoto, *Nationbuilding: Theory and Practice in African Centered Education.* Washington, DC: Pan- Afrikan World Institute, 1992 and the classic work of Joseph Ki-Zerbo, *Educate or Perish: Africa's Impasse and Prospects*. Paris: UNESCO, 1990.

[128] For more see WaterAid Ghana's full case study of this successful WASH change story in *Dawuro,* September 2011.