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Job Opportunities in the Coastal Regions of Ghana
(The case of Western Region of Ghana)

Master's thesis

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**Declaration** I hereby declare that I Kodzitsey Carruthers Kofi worked on this thesis entitled Job Opportunities in the Coastal regions of Ghana (the case of Western region of Ghana) by myself and I utilized other author's literature resources listed in references. 27<sup>nd</sup> April 2017, Prague

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#### Abstract

Migration has existed over centuries and has been served as an essential part of people expanding their freedom, economics status and opportunities in life. Ghana has not been an exception of it. The study aims at identifying the main drivers of rural-urban migration (push and pull factors), the chances of migrants to obtain jobs and to improve their welfare and the welfare of their families as well as at the strategies their adopted to survive in the "urban" conditions. Poor rural north and promising southern urban areas (particularly the newly booming western part) of Ghana are of special interest of the research. The thesis build on secondary data only, it reviews published research in scientific journals, working papers and research reports on migration in Ghana and in few cases also on Africa in general. Out of 55 gathered empirical studies, 16 were selected for further detailed investigation. The researcher showed that non-existence of technical and inadequate social infrastructure, unemployment, and lack of education opportunities – in general rural poverty are the principal push factors of rural-urban (North-South) migration in the Ghana. The research shows that there is no dominance of papers of one school over the others. Quite intensive effort of authors can be observed to demonstrate beside negative impacts of migration on the increase of urban poverty also the fact that moving to urban centres is migrants' way how to escape from rural poverty. The pluralist literature puts quite an emphasis on survival strategies which demonstrate migrant's capacity for collective action (collective savings, collective health care) and "slum entrepreneurship". Gender is an important subject in most of the investigated studies; the papers confirm that there are gender differences in migration and the welfare effects. Lot of papers emphasize the benefit of women economic independence regardless how miserable their living conditions are.

We can see lasting separation between author adopting econometric analysis in the research and authors relying on qualitative approaches. Despite broadening the perspective of the both groups, still the former incline to stick with the neoclassical paradigm, while the other is reluctant to support their pluralistic position by a rigorous quantitative method.

**Key words**: remittances, household income, economic strategies, migrants' jobs, internal migration, livelihood strategies

## Table of Content

Declaration	i
Acknowledgement	ii
Abstract	iii
List of figures (overall estimated figures)	vii
List of tables	vii
Abbreviations	viii
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Significance of the Study	4
1.3 Limitation and Delimitation of the Study	4
1.4 Scope of Study	5
1.5 Organization of the Thesis	5
1.6 Background of Ghana	6
2.0 Literature Review	8
2.1 Concept of Migration	8
2.2 Migration Theories	9
2.3 Migration and Development	10
2.3.1 Neo-classical optimist approach on migration	11
2.3.2 Pessimist approach to migration	13
2.3.3 Pluralist views on migration and development	15
2.3.4 The linkage between the New Economics of Labour Migration and li-	
2.4 The Ghanaian context of migration	
2.5 Types of migration in Ghana and categories of migrants	
2.6 Dush and Dull Factors	20

	2.7 Past Migration Patterns in Ghana	. 21
	2.8 Migration Patterns in Ghana	. 22
	2.9 Rural-Urban Migration in Ghana (North-South migration) – General Situation	. 23
3	Aim of the Thesis	. 25
	3.1 Main Objectives	. 25
	3.1.1 Specific objectives	. 25
	3.2 Research Questions	. 25
4	Methodology	. 26
	4.1 Review of the Working Papers	. 26
	4.2 Information Sources	. 26
	4.3 Search Strategy	. 27
	4.3.1 Diagram flow of the selection Process	. 28
	4.4 Outcome Procedures of Selected Papers	. 28
	4.4.1 Outcome measures for analyses	. 29
	4.4.2 Information processing and analysis	. 30
5.	Results	. 32
	5.3 Characterisation of the Selected Researches	. 32
	5.3.1 Main characteristics of selected papers	. 32
	5.2.2 Data used in papers	. 32
	5.2.3 Methods used in papers	. 33
	5.2.4 Investigated demographic determinants of migrants (migrating members	
	household)	. 33
	5.2.5 Socioeconomic determinants of migrants	. 34
	5.2.6 Socioeconomic factors / migrants' expectations	. 35
	5.2.7 Economic reasons for migration (benefits of migration)	. 36
	5.2.8 Impact of migration (wellbeing of migrants in urban areas) after migrating	37
6	Discussion	30

6.1 Interpretation of the Desired Strategies of Rural-urban Migration
6.2 Benefits of Migration
6.3 Migrants Livelihood Strategies in the Urban Cities
6.4 Migrants Welfare and Expectations before and after Migration
6.5 Overall Summary of the Review of Papers (Synthesis)
6.6 Recommendation
8 References
8.1 Main key for and the title of Publication of Selected working papers
8.2 References
APPENDICES
Appendix 1
Appendix 2
Appendix 3
Appendix 4
Appendix 5
Appendix 6
Appendix 7
Appendix 8
Appendix 9
Appendix 10
Appendix 11

## **List of figures (overall estimated figures)**

- Figure 1: Map of Ghana showing the Northern plains, Volta basin, Ashanti Kwahu and the Coastal Plain.
- Figure 2: Map of Ghana showing the coastal urban cities
- Figure 3: Route of migrants and female porters, migration and livelihood strategies in Accra
- Figure 4: Screening process of the entire search strategy

## List of tables

- Table 1 Synthesis matrix
- Table 2 Main characteristics of collected papers
- Table 3 Data used in analyses
- Table 4 Methods used in analyses
- Table 5 Investigating demographic determinants of (migrating members of household)
- Table 6 Socio-economic factors supporting/discouraging migration
- Table 7 Socioeconomic factors/migrants 'expectations
- Table 8 Economic reasons for migration
- Table 9 Studied impact of migration on wellbeing of migrants in urban areas
- Table 10 Synthetic matrix (reclassification)

## **Abbreviations**

GDP Gross domestic product

GSS Ghana Statistical Service

NELM New Economics of Labour Migration

USAID United States Agency for International Development

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Projects

UNWPP United Nations World Population Prospects

WB World Bank

#### 1.0 Introduction

## 1.1 Background of the Study

The movement of people has long been the key dynamic to a global change and diversity. The impulse to migrate is inherent in human nature which in the past, migration was susceptible by the search of food, security and economic reasons. Migration has progressed over the years and has recently become a major force in the improvements of people's standard of living and the desire for a better life and greater opportunities (Schumacher et al., 2013).

Ghana's forefront of the demographic transition in Sub-Saharan Africa makes it a particularly valuable place to study migration as it relates to other life cycle processes.

The pattern of the north-south migration particularly has been existing in Ghana for several decades. In developing countries, often the choices to migrate will be measured due to several attributes which includes unemployment, socio-economic amenities, the absence of infrastructures in communities and poverty. Over the years, migration has been able to enhance migrants' livelihood strategies to overcome risk and retorts to market imperfection. This has been able to shape migrants' characteristic in a way that has enhanced their opportunities and choices.

However, environmental factors, historical antecedents and economic factors are all factors that have brought about dimensional disparities in advancement which has contributed to the high concentration of the poor in the northern part of Ghana (GSS, 2007). Boakye-Yiadom (2008), determined the critical contrasts in Ghana's rural and urban divisions, he expressed that there is no surprise that the urban life all around represents the fantasy of formal business and expanded open doors base and less social confinements when contrasted with the rustic regions, which give restricted work without farming, deficient foundation and undependable pay. In Ghana, there is the general perception stating that several reasons have seen both men and women migrating from one place to another.

However, migration has become an essential part of people expanding their freedom and opportunities in life with the potential to get resources and the capabilities to live a better life. AS such Anarfi and Kwarkye (2009) also documented in their works by emphasising on the skilled and unskilled migrants. Where by unskilled migrants with a lower education and very low skills move to the mining and farming areas in the Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo Regions,

while the skilled ones with a relatively elevated level (secondary school certificate) move to (<sup>1</sup>Accra, Kumasi, Sunyani, Sekondi-Takoradi and Koforidua).

However, increasing rural-to-urban migration in recent years, has known the migration routes to have been supplemented by, cities in Ghana, such as Accra and Kumasi, which became magnets for not personal traders, but also young migrants in search of work and educational opportunities (Adepoju 2003, Anarfi et al. 2003).

Migration has existed during the pre-colonial and post-colonial era times until today. Nevertheless, Abdul-Korah (2008) argued that the practice has both being through force as well as by the willingness of the people concerned. This said, history had it that, people from the north were forced down to the southern part of Ghana to work in the mines and on cocoa farms, during the colonial era. Yet this practice continues through the post-colonial era. This been said there has been recent evidence that indicates the increasing growth and willingness of women and adolescent girls going into the urban areas to work as porters in the markets (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

This clearly states that the northern Ghana, thus served as the labour pool for the south.

There have been many studies addressing matters on the rationale for migrating as stated by Sjaastad, (1962); Todaro, (1969); Lucas and Stark (1985), though others indicated migration patterns as documented by Ravenstein, (1885) and Lee (1966) or the determinants of migration (Caldwell, 1968; Hay, 1980). Others, nevertheless, look at the welfare impacts of these population movements (Falaris, 1987; Litchfield and Waddington, 2003).

In the past migration was a male dominated practice, as men were the main breadwinners of the family. Nevertheless, this pattern has long since indicated through suggested evidence recently that clearly states the dominant migration stream from north to south is made up of female youths, moving independently off their families, and mainly towards the cities of Accra and Kumasi, though not always with positive outcomes for the migrants. Recent literature on internal migration stresses the seasonal, temporary or circular movements and increasing children's participation in work as household survival strategies in response to poverty (Litchfield & Waddington, 2003; Whitehead & Hashim ,2005).

The GSS (2007) documented that the increasing poverty is reasonably attributed to net migration of poor migrants to the city. However, since there is a large underestimation of

2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Capital cities (Metropolis) of the main industrial regions in Ghana with an enormous rural urban migration due to the availability of informal labour. The regions are Greater Accra, Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Western and Eastern region respectively.

poverty in large cities in Ghana such as Accra and Kumasi, after the changes that migrants must make in the place of the poverty line in terms of the relation to the cost of utilities are non-compared to the price of housing, transport, water and other non-food consumption which will be paid for by the poor in the urban cities (Owusu and Yankson, 2007).

While there has been recent discussions and suggested evidence on international migration which has received more attention in recent deliberations on migration, internal migration on the other hand has seen far more significant in terms of the statistics of people involved and possibly even the importance of remittances and their poverty reduction potential (UNDP, 2009).

However, there will be countless amount of research studies on rural-urban migration. Nonetheless, most of such studies mainly focused on rural-urban migration of which they further claimed that the rural-urban labour migration occurred because of the economic factors accountable for such migration, of which Anarfi et al. (2003) for instance, find a variety of personal, household, community, and national factors which have influenced rural to urban migration in Ghana.

Nevertheless, researches on migration will be generally categorised into two, namely, those focusing on internal migration, and the set of studies examining migration across national borders, with the latter body of studies somewhat dominating in volume.

The purpose of this study will be on internal migration in Ghana which seek to use a case study of western region. This region boost of abundant natural resources making it possible for a wide variety for labour demand and with the capital (Sekondi-Takoradi) making it a suitable place for migrant's labour work. The investigation will focus on the knowledge of various compilation of empirical researches supporting internal migration in Ghana for the understanding of the factors that motivates migrants from the rural areas to the coastal urban cities (Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, <sup>2</sup>Tema and Cape Coast).

Moreover, this study will further emphasis on the main factors that influence rural urban migration. Also, categorising the various job opportunities that migrants engage into in the urban cities as livelihood strategies and the pessimist and optimist interpretation on the fulfilment of migrants' main expectation on their wellbeing.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is a capital city of Ghana found in the Greater Accra Region, which is also a destination for migrants due to its industrialisation, harbour and availability of both formal and informal labour.

## 1.2 Significance of the Study

The research is mostly concerned with the causes, and consequences of rural urban migration. The study gives a rejoinder to the inquiry related to 'what', 'why', 'who', 'how' about rural – urban migration. The findings of the study will serve as base for other planners, policy makers, and public administers and developmental list in local and regional areas.

Hence to comprehend the forthcoming population shift can speculate where there will be the imminent hot spots to tell government where funds will be diverted to develop infrastructure and accommodate growing population.

The overall consideration of the worth of this research program will be thoroughly debated in the following chapters. Fill the gap in the literature in the areas of rural-urban migration. It will become not a primary but a secondary source of information for researchers, academicians and practitioners. Serve as guiding documents for policy makers for the adaption, formulation and implementation of a genuine rural development strategies, efficient urban management and migration policy. Give insight for the city administrators about the existing and emerging socio-economic challenge of the migrants with respect to living standards and strategies, welfare and their expectations before and after migrating. This will enable the cities administration to develop various strategies to accommodate and reduce the inflow of rural urban migration drift.

## 1.3 Limitation and Delimitation of the Study

The study of migration is an enormous area which involves systematic examination and requires an abundant commitment of time and consideration on getting information.

Many researchers and academicians over the years' endeavours to manage the subject and send their own commitment in fluctuates school of contemplations.

The major limitation in this research was the works done by other authors with precise data and literature which did not focus on western region (Sekondi-Takoradi metropolis).

Moreover, other limitation of the study included lack of precise research and detailed publications published on the study area, lack of financial support to get available primary data. Likewise lack of financial resources to buy research works, authors reluctance to communicate and share their research works and publications and finally, insufficient research and publications on meta-analysis of the related topic.

## 1.4 Scope of Study

The study will be geared to migrants from the rural Upper East, Upper West, Northern region and surrounding regions to the coastal industrial urban cities in the south especially the Sekondi-Takoradi (Western Region) Greater Accra, Kumasi, Cape Coast, Tema and metropolis. This study will investigate "push factors" of rural and surrounding areas in the northern zone of Ghana and "pull factors" of the industrial coastal urban cities. Such factors will be linked with the determinants of migration to investigate the economic and social developments of migrants upon migrating from the rural north to the urban cities. Further investigation and meta-analysis will be done on selected publications by many authors on the same subject.

### 1.5 Organization of the Thesis

This research consists of seven chapters.

Chapter 1 deals with introductory part, significance of the study, limitation of the study, scope of the study, organization of the thesis and the background of the study.

Chapter 2 covers the entire literature review of the study

Chapter 3 includes the aim of the thesis, main objectives, specific objectives and research questions

Chapter 4 methodology, information source, search strategies, diagram flow chat of the selected papers, categorising the working papers, data extraction process and research questions. Also, summaries the analyses of the results of the working paper, quality and data extraction, data analyses and the outcome measures for analyses.

Chapter 5 and 6 covers the meta-analysis on the results and discussion aspect from the selected publications.

Chapter 7 this chapter provides conclusions and references used in the study.

## 1.6 Background of Ghana

The strict importance of the word Ghana is Warrior King after its gained independence from the colonial masters "Great Britain". The Republic of Ghana, is an autonomous state which is positioned towards the west side of Africa. Ghana comprises of ten protective districts, including many islands. The country is bordered by the Ivory Coast to the west, while to its north lies Burkina Faso, east of Ghana situate Togo, while the south is flanked by the Atlantic and the Gulf of Guinea which can be seen in figure 1 (United Nations WPP, 2015).

Kinsmen in Ghana are citizens of Ashanti territories or Ashanti land: 4.7 million in Ashanti, 2.3 million in Brong-Ahafo, 2.2 million living in Central, 2.6 million in Eastern, 2.3 million existing in Western region and 4 million in Greater Accra region. Major ethnic groups in Ghana include: Akan (47.5%), Dagbani (17%), Ewe (14%), Ga-Adangbe (7%), Gurma (6%), Guan (4%), Gurunsi (2.5%), and Bissa (1%). Likewise, 71% of Ghana's are Christian and 17% are Muslim.

Furthermore, there are about 375,000 enumerated legal permanent residents in Ghana as well as foreign workers and students. (United Nations WPP, 2015).

The up-to-date population of Ghana in 2015 is projected to be 27 million, up from the official 2010 census figure of 24.2 million. With a land size, equal to the United Kingdom, Accra is the capital city with Greater Accra Metropolitan having a population of 4 million inhabitants, which makes it the 11th largest metro area in Africa. (United Nations WPP, 2015).

Akan "<sup>3</sup>Twi language" is the most dominant spoken native language with English language as the internationally recognised language. This said, more Ghanaians can speak and write fluently one native language and the English language as well (GSS, 2012).

Geologically, Ghana is the nation which is closer to the focal point of our planet Earth than any country. The southern areas of Ghana are encumbered with fields and shrub lands, alongside woodlands. The backwoods stretch out from the southwest Ghana coast toward the north until they meet the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean. The timber lands reach out toward the east for 270 km. South Ghana has turned into a vital area for extricating mechanical minerals. (United Nations WPP, 2015).

Economically, the country has recorded a significant growth in GDP and four times higher than it was a decade ago. The agriculture sector which employs almost 60% of population generates

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A language of the Akan ethnic group in Ghana which is the most dominant ethnic group. The entire country communicates in this language and along other equally spoken language of any person.

the smallest GDP per capital (WB, 2012). There has been a tremendous increase in services in the past decades all due to migration of people into the urban cities.

The various sectors such as the services (49%), industrial sector (29%) and the agriculture sector (22%) respectively reflects the GDP of the country in recent times (GSS, 2012).

Additionally, with the Greater Accra Metropolitan region of (90%) as the highest population levels of urbanisation variation among the 10 regions of Ghana (53%) of the services provided lives in the urban areas and (47%) in the rural areas. The country's position is 138<sup>th</sup> in the medium human development index by UNDP (2014).

#### 2.0 Literature Review

## 2.1 Concept of Migration

Migration is a difficult concept to define because it includes people who move for several reasons across different spaces. Even though a migrant can be a person who changes to another city or town within a homeland; a refugee who crosses an intercontinental border to escape religious or political oppression; a job seeker who moves to another country for better economic opportunities; a slave who is forcibly moved; or a person displaced by war or natural disaster, demographer lack of a single, working definition for migration because it occurs under different conditions. Migration fundamental part of expanding people's freedom and opportunities, with the potential to bring large gains in capabilities for each migrant and their families.

GSS (2008), defines migration as anyone who has moved and stayed at his/her current place of residence for at least a year. This definition becomes very vital given that most migrants who move from the rural north to the urban coastal cities in Ghana for work and other opportunities often resettle temporary or permanently depending on the means of income and livelihood strategies.

According to Agesa & Agesa, (1999:12) in the last century, migration has been part of livelihood diversification across many developing countries and added that migration is one of the major components of population change of which Ghana is no exception.

Moreover, the urbanisation of a country's migration is due to internal migration and net migration to urban areas. Yet there is an increasing share of population living in urban areas by demographics (Poston and Bouveir, 2010:307-311).

The importance of migration in Ghana is often based on the indigenous social and cultural of an individual. But the diversities, overlapping and often conflicting ways of migration makes it more homogenous process. This said, an individual considered a migrant in one context may not be considered as such in another context.

The Trans-Saharan trade routes saw ethnic enclaves of migrants within West Africa who arrived in present Ghana during the pre-colonial era. The migrant population living in communities in Ghana which are referred to as <sup>4</sup> "Zongo" for instance communities like Nima and old Fadama are home to a wide population of which most of the inhabitants have not lived

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Zongo means "traveller's camp" or "stop-over" in Hausa and was used by British Colonial Officers to define the areas in which Muslims lived. Now it is dominated by almost all forms of foreigners, ethnicity and religion.

anywhere else and even most of them where born there and come from a long generation line of migrants.

White and Lindstrom (2005), described children's education and the struggle in moving the entire households with a larger family can restrict the mobility of people. Yet multiple young children and recent births found across several countries decreased the likely hood of women migrating into the urban cities (Brockerhoff and Eu, 1993). Chattopadley, White and Debpuur (2006) enlightened that research has actualised that in Ghana, migrants had fewer children than non-migrants. Migration can clearly serve as a form of geographic or spatial mobility involving a change of usual residence between defined geographic units.

At a point where farmers cannot realise adequate income at their origin during the agricultural off season they choose another approach to compensate the lack of income thus to migrate to urban areas, either willingly or out of force, to seek for temporary employment until cultivation is possible again (IFAD 2008).

#### 2.2 Migration Theories

A great level of economic school of thoughts laid emphasis on the high population in the rural area and the absence of development and industrialisation which has led to rural urban migration. The migration theory as asserted by Ravenstein (1885;1889) cites economic reasons as the major causes of migration. He also saw migration as an inseparable part of development in his theory of which over the years has been modified.

The mid-twentieth century has witnessed other level-headed discussion on the domain of economic school of thoughts contemplated on the higher population in farmland and non-attendances of industrialization around the local area.

Nonetheless the level of inequality and poverty remaining the same regardless of the rural urban migration considered as one reason for the under development of the rural area.

Todaro (1969) and Harris, Todaro (1970) models justifies that the condition and the level of urban unemployment.

The main concepts of the models are

- Rural-urban migration is related with an economic aspect,
- An increase of job prospects in cities mean the rise of urban unemployment in town and even more reduced national product i.e. Todaro contradiction,

- Migration considered as tuning means of workers in the labour markets in countryside or cities to increase the income,
- Although the actual reason to reach on decision to leave the home of origin by the migrants is the likelihood of unemployment in the destination areas.

The likelihood of acquiring a formal occupation is controlled by the proportion of accessible formal employments to the number of occupation seekers. The gathering of transients that are not ingested into the formal segment attempt their fortunes in the casual area, or if most noticeably awfully end up as unemployed. Hence the movement choice involves abandoning a generally secure work in horticulture to seek after the dangerous and indeterminate journey for formal urban work and higher earnings (Ray,1998).

Differentiating to the Lewis model which show this supposition repudiates the presumption of zero minor profitability, which infers that out-migration from the rural region now may diminish the production generation of produce in the rural part.

In conclusion, the model predicts that rural-urban migration become obvious if the expected real income differential between the two sectors is positive, but opposing to the Lewis model there is no assurance that move will be a success often many migrants end up unemployed or in the informal sector as well as the movement is not guaranteed risk free (Lall et al., 2006).

## 2.3 Migration and Development

Migration process has witnessed people of displacements, refugees and economic migrants to cross the boundaries of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period or even for as permanent residence of such place. The existence of migration over long time due to the forces of globalization and their impacts on movement and as such most migrants commonly moved from resource-poor to resource-rich areas (Zaami, 2010). However, migrants tend to focus on the instrumental value, development goals, opportunities and economic activities that will consider favourable for them in the new destination.

Besides, observed evidence moderately proposes that this relationship is curvilinear and that development at least initially tends to coincide with rapid increases in migration rates because social and economic development aids and encourages people to migrate (De Haas, 2007).

There has been a propensity to study causes and impacts migration and development separately, which constitute largely separate strands of migration literature. This said unfortunate, since the developmental reasons influencing migration decisions are also likely to shape the

developmental outcomes in sending countries (international migration) and communities (internal migration) (Taylor, 1999).

## 2.3.1 Neo-classical optimist approach on migration

The foremost academic influence on migration by Ravenstein (1885,1889) to recognition migration as an inseparable part of development where by the main reasons were economic. However, this has long realised the drive of people to destination with better wages and income as well as better opportunities. The expectations of people for economic reasons has resulted in the leaving behind agricultural labour market force in the rural areas and go to the urban cities with a great demand for labour.

The neo-classical theory is now the dominant theory in explaining causes of migration with its fundamental assumption that migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but also psychological. The elaborated understanding of the rural-urban labour migration by Todaro (1969) and Harris, Todaro (1970) has remained the foundation of neo-classical migration theory contributing to the gradual but continuous transfer of able labour force to the gradual but continuous oriented modern industries in the in urban areas.

The neo-classical theory of migration clearly outlines the macro-level of economic theory in the wage differential to the labour demand and supply in the urban cities with higher income comparing it to that of the rural areas. This said, the specific structure of labour market with a free will and choice which will need specific skill in a micro-level economy, the rational decision by migrants to move on such basis to a place where they can earn more and be more productive. Similarly, the migration optimists are mainly inspired by neo-classical migration economy and developmental innovation theories, which are all associated to the functionalist model in social theory (De Haas, 2010).

The whole development process neo-classical migration saw the rural-urban migration as a constituent part where by surplus labour in the rural sector supplies the workforce for the urban industrial economy. Moreover, augments made by Harris and Todaro (1970) on the understanding of the wage differential approach of which the need to recognise it as main revenue differential methods looking at the rural-urban expected income differential adjusted with the likelihood of the migrants finding a job (Todaro, 1969).

According to De Haas (2010) neo-classical world, the developmental role of migration is entirely realized through reasonable price equalization, common developmental views (which have long predominated post-WWII development policies) expect migration to generate counter flows of capital (remittances and investment) and knowledge, which can be invested and are believed to later stimulate development and modernization.

The assumptions of Todaro (1969) that clearly state the "enticement of higher permanent income will continue to entice a steady flow of rural migrants" so long as migrants are willing to continue the rural-urban income differences which remain the same and keeps attracting migrants who pay no attention to the risk of becoming unemployed in the cities.

However, the human capital theory recognised as a fundamental framework that assumes the personal attributes of migrants such as education, skills and physical capabilities which are a phenomenon resource to enhance economic production. Such human capital has been realized as a critical factor in the progression of economic development in modernizing societies (Becker, 1962; Sjaastad, 1962).

The Harris-Todaro model which was initially developed for internal migration can also be applied to international migration. Thus, the migration journey will explain that it is not the poorest who tend to migrate. However, the expected perception of a better life and opportunity with expected income gains which often migrants realise the opportunities without paying attention to the fact that such wage gains should be balances with the cost incurred in migrating to the new destination, possibility of unemployment and the opportunity cost of traveling.

Furthermore, migrant's abilities to migrate both internally and internationally based on expectations on their "return on investment" explains their motives to migrate. The possibility to explains clearly the theoretical likelihood of migration which decreases with age and higher migration tendencies are exhibited primarily by persons with a higher education level. Also, labour demand and the job specification in the destinations also play a role in the likelihood of an individual been selected for a specific job based on their educational level and skills. This been said the need for researches to take in account the internal structures and segmentation of labour markets as well as the main socio-economic factors and resources in an individual's decision to migrate (Bauer and Zimmermann 1998).

The theories limitation is that, it does not consider the international political and economic environment, as well as the effects of state level economic and political decisions that influence individual decision about migration (Papademetriou and Martin 1991).

## 2.3.2 Pessimist approach to migration

The strong ideology of De Haas (2010) that's most migration pessimists draw on structuralist social theory, which encompasses neo-Marxist, dependency, world systems, and, at least to a certain extent, cumulative causation theory. The over-all structuralist methods towards migration and development tend to discuss migration as a negative phenomenon contributing to the more underdevelopment of sending societies.

The pessimist opinion on the economic instability that will soon decrease the human labour force in the rural area. The loss of such knowledge and skill of the human labour force in the rural area causes "brain drain" of educated youth who move to the industrial urban cities in search of a better life and greater opportunities away from their place of origin (De Haas, 2007). Moreover, one can see the positive side of remittances sent by migrants to their families which pessimist points out as not so much convincing enough since remittances were not sent on regular basis thus, migration pessimist views is yet to find out positivity's taken place on receiving households on remittances sent by migrants which tend to be the causes of inequality within rural communities can be traced to remittances sent by migrants to their family (Lipton, 1980).

The historical-structuralist model perceives migration as a "flight from misery" caused by world-wide capitalist growth, which is therefore integrally unable to resolve the structural situations that cause migration. Quite on the contrary, migration is aggravating problems of underdevelopment (De Haas, 2010). The combined influence of a paradigm shift in social and development theory towards historical-structuralist and dependency saw optimistic views increasingly been challenged in the late 1960's (Frank 1966: a,b; 1969). However, such views did not have the support optimistic views as well as empirical studies and policy experiences (Penninx, 1982). Yet, such new views completely changed the neo-classical and developmentally approach in migration which saw migration as increasing (inter-region and international) disparities in the developmental levels.

As Papademetriou (1985) argued, in sending countries, migration would give to "the evolution into an uncontrolled depletion of their already inadequate supplies of skilled workforce – and the most healthy, dynamic, and productive members of their populations."

Migration is expected to undermine regional and national economies as applied by the cumulative causation theory by depriving the rural areas or origins of migrants of their valuable human and material capital resources, which are exploited in need of cheap migrant labour for

the benefit of urban based industrialist capitalist elite groups within developing countries (internal migration) and industrialised countries (international migration). Thus, migration turns to undermines regional and local economies by depriving communities of their most valuable labour force, increasing dependence on core countries (of which remittances are but one manifestation) and stimulating further out-migration from the rural areas to the urban cities and from one country to the other. (De Haas, 2010).

However, in this means, the productive structures at the origin would be gradually undermined, contributing to "asymmetric growth" – as opposed to the neo-classical equilibrium model of factor price equalization. In addition, the growing underdevelopment and reliance of the underdeveloped on the developed essential countries (Almeida, 1973).

Furthermore, the pessimist view-point on the believe causing a lost labour effect which is typically responsible for causing a shortage of agricultural labour (Taylor, 1984), this said migrants who migrate into the urban cities are classified as the most significant agricultural innovators (Lipton, 1980) such movement causes a large-scale departure of able-bodied men and youth from rural areas (Lewis, 1986) through rural-urban (north-south) migration will cause a decreasing productivity in agriculture (Rubenstein, 1992). Likewise, there is the expectation that labour lost effect will affect other traditional economic sectors, such as craft industries. According to De Haas (2010) research, within the pessimist contextual structures such "unproductive" expenses normally thought to debilitate nearby and local economies and step up dependency. However, on the view point of locals, the revelation of the wealth, remittances sent back home by return migrants to make purchase on property, changing urban taste with materials encourages out-migration and discouraging the will for people to live and work in the rural areas.

The key ideas of Kindleberger (1965) on the old optimism of migration between the 1950 and 1960 was on balances of wage differentials, rising wages at source promote innovation, approach leads to 'balanced growth', post-war growth background which drives industrialism and demand for migrant labour. Moreover, the old pessimism era between the 1970 and 1980, important notions on migration which was driven by capitalist exploitation, the 'asymmetric growth': destinations win, but origins and migrants lose to neo-Marxist economic theory background of oil-shocks which reduce demand for migrant labour and ethnic tensions emerge (Papademetriou & Martin ,1991; Castles and Kosack ,1973).

The new optimism between the 1990 and 2000 was with the impression of migration as a general beneficial to all, provided the policies are right and the right policies involve circular

migration and engaging diasporas. Yet, these states the need to cooperate, but unwilling to accept centrally imposed global migration governance.

However, the new migration and development optimism offers states a starting point for cooperation over migration, in lieu of global migration governance the way we think about the impacts of migration is motivated first by social science but by broader historical factors.

Also the neo-Marxist method to development economics is related with dependency and world scheme theories. Here the "exploitation" which defines it as a Marxist approach is an external exploitation rather than the normal "internal" exploitation of orthodox/classical Marxism (Foster-Carter, 1973; John Taylor, 1974).

The approaches of the Neo-Marxism which is a loose stretch for an extend of the Marxism and Marxist theory, usually with elements such as existentialism, psychoanalysis and critical theory traditions.

Numerous studies reference on the lack of creativity and innovation of migrant investors, (usually international or internal migrants) who would render the establishment of typical labour migrant investments such as small shops, small restaurants, and trucks, or "second rank propositions in a congested sector" (Penninx, 1982). Such investments are often seen as a probable future means of livelihood for migrants upon their return home.

Hayes (1991) further placed emphasis on the undermining of their "sociocultural integrity" and the loss of community solidarity and De Haas (1998) also clarified on its breakdown of traditional institutions regulating village life and agriculture.

In conclusion, Lipton (1980) concluded that recipients use remittances first to pay off debts incurred in financing migration or for education of their children. Furthermost consumption performance serves to support status, such as high payments for bride prices, feasts, funerals and the construction of pompous, luxurious houses. Transfers may also be nonstop and used to finance the migration of family members (Van Dalen, Groenewold, and Fokkema, 2005).

## 2.3.3 Pluralist views on migration and development

Although the overall model shift in social theory has also intensely affected the intellectual debate on migration and development over the 1980s and 1990s which has seen the most vital innovation to the debate which came from NELM. However, because of disciplinary divisions which the NELM has the strong conceptual parallels which remains on unobserved with other

"pluralist" strands in development thinking on the so-called livelihood approaches. (De Haas, 2010).

This corresponded with a general paradigm shift in contemporary social theory, away from grand theories towards more pluralist, hybrid approaches, which simultaneously consider agency and structure. Social scientists, influenced by post-modernist thinking.

The results of the structure-actor in a pluralist approach of interactions allow for a greater variety of outcome than would have been allowed from either the group of individual decisions making (Skeldon, 1997).

# 2.3.4 The linkage between the New Economics of Labour Migration and livelihood strategies

The new economics of labour migration emphasis on the decision to allow an individual of the family to migrate to help better the lives of the entire family through remittances. In the works of Massey et al. (1993) new NELM became visible as a critical response to neo-classical migration theory in the 1980 and 1990. It was particularly Stark (1978, 1991) who further argued that the NELM theory which mostly ignore restrictions and figured out the worth, as too stiff/not flexible to deal with the (many kinds of people or things) realities of the moving (from one place to another) and development interactions.

The main proponent by Stark and Taylor (1989) argument of the New Economic of labour migration emphasis that the theory assumes that people act, within households or families, to make best use of anticipated income and to lessen risks by diversifying the distribution of family labour. This said the houses face a diversify risks letting a member of the family to migrate however the long-term reward will be benefited by the household through remittances and even to the entire community if the individual migrated internationally.

Migration is particularly important in the rural areas in Ghana particularly the three northern regions: Upper East, Upper West and the Northern Region of Ghana which has agriculture as the predominant occupation however in times of drought, poor harvest or family crisis there is the likelihood for families to allow a family member to move to the south coastal urban cities in search of work to serve as an alternative means of supporting the family's needs. Based on this De Haas, (2010) claimed that the NELM considers that the migration has the ultimate solution that every household should implement. This has been the strategy for the sustainability of livelihood with negative and positive effects on the analytical approach.

According to Carney (1998) activities which include both material and social resources required as a means of living and assets that serve as capabilities of livelihood. A means of support strategy can then be distinct as a strategic or deliberate choice of a combination of events by households and their personal members to maintain, secure, and improve their livelihoods.

This choice is based on (selective) access to assets, perceptions of opportunities, as well as aspirations of actors. Since these differ from household to household and from individual to individual, livelihood strategies tend to be so heterogeneous (De Haas, 2010).

The household's decision to improve income in absolute terms and to increase income relative to other households in a reference group. In a community, the income of affluent households increases because of migration and remittances support whereas that of poor households remains unchanged the relative deprivation of the latter increases and their incentive to participate in migration rises as well, even if no change in expected wages takes place. As a family, assets are appropriately expanded, for example, work to diminish pay chance of which migration is seen by the new economic of labour migration model as a sharing of risk behaviour of families and households.

Moderately based on actual events of occurrence which suggested that migration is often a deliberate decision to improve livelihoods, enable investments (Bebbington, 1999) and help to reduce instabilities in the family income that often used to be largely dependent on climatic vagaries (McDowell and De Haan, 1997; De Haan et al., 2000). Migration can then be a means to acquire a wider range of assets which insure against future shocks and stresses (De Haan et al., 2000).

Moving (from one place to another) is not only seen as household risk spreading (success plan(s)/way(s) of reaching goals), but also to overcome different market restrictions. The new money flow/money-based studies of labour moving (from one place to another) places the household in (not totally pure/not totally correct) credit (capital) and risk (insurance) markets that win in most developing countries (Stark and Levhari, 1982; Stark and Bloom, 1985, Taylor, 1986; Taylor and Wyatt, 1996; Taylor, 1999).

The neo-classic economic theory of migration and the new economics of migration emphasis that migration is the result of rational choices made by individual or family.

Also, Mincer (1978) considered the main proponent of family migration and selectivity of migration on the movements of complete family and the difference between the individual's and the couple's optimal strategy which will depend on the degree of correlation in the gains from migration of the husband and wife. When there is, perfect correlation does the optimal

strategies of the individual and the married couple coincide. Yet married couples are considered, the selectivity effects weaken because some low-skilled who would not have migrated on their own to a place with an elevated level of income difference may do so if they are wedded to skilled person. The family migration and selectivity of migration with respect to their income inequality which is greater at the destination will encourage people with higher than average skills have an incentive to migrate because they can earn a higher relative wage at the designated areas. This said if the income inequality is greater at place of origin, such person has less incentive to migrate than those with lower skills. Besides in a wider view (related to social pressure, how people act toward each other), there is the big picture and where by an individual think about the family as the most appropriate decision maker in the original position of such a person on where to move, such increases the range of factors other than the individual utility biggest increase as affecting the decision to move from one place to another decision (De Haas, 2010).

Furthermore, the NELM considers remittances as the main motivation for families to migrate of which De Haas (2010) clearly in his work emphasised as within the NELM remittances are perceived as one of the most essential reasons for migration even though it is not considered in the neo-classical theory of migration.

The NELM criticises previous empirical works done. Per Taylor (1999), the criticism was focused on the lack of explanatory thoroughness, the widespread nature of deductive thinking on (based on seeing things) the tests, and the significant methodological faults/problems of many previous (based on seeing things) works. Also, the NELM obviously accounts for migrant remittances, for which the basic neo-classical theoretical approach had no place. In the working paper of Abreu (2010), the NELM is simply "old wine in new bottles", as argued by Fine (2006).

As per the works of De Haas (2010) the emergence of NELM marked a departure from neo- classical and actor-oriented approaches towards a household-level based perspective which explains migration from the organisational constraints and lacking markets within which migration decisions are made. New economics of labour migration adopted a household-oriented approach that was already common in other fields of social science, a fact that was explicitly acknowledged by Lucas and Stark (1985), who stated that economists have begun to address questions of household composition more traditionally posed by anthropologists and sociologists.

The studies available on the NELM faces limitation on its focus on the micro level market analysis with the unit analysis of family on further emphasis on the experience of just a handful of rural communities, which are not selected to be representative of the entire population. There is the need to consider the migration theories and the role of the demographic factors which emphasis on the socio-demographic dynamics of the labour force as a factor shaping demand for migrant labour supply in the 'secondary' labour market provided by specific socio-demographic groups: women (before marriage or first birth), teenagers and rural-urban migrants.

## 2.4 The Ghanaian context of migration

Historically, because of British colonial policy, the north was promoted largely as a labour reserve for the south. Consequently, little investment in infrastructure or services was made in the north, while conscious efforts were made to develop the forest and coastal belts of the south to ease the export of produce such as timber products, minerals, cash crops by the formation of ports and harbours on the coast. The outcome has been high rates of migration from the north to the large towns and the cocoa growing areas of the south (Nabila, 1986; Songsore & Denkabe 1995).

Recent studies estimate that today 10% of the population in the three northern regions is poor, while almost 70% is extremely poor. Other indicators, such as child under-nutrition and adult literacy rates, are the maximum in Ghana and argue to the degree of poverty and underdevelopment in the area (Ghana Statistical Service, 2007). Despite a reduction in national poverty levels from 51.7% to 28.5% in the period between the early 1990s to 2005/2006, there were also rises in poverty and evidence of the escalation of vulnerability and segregation in the rural and urban savannah of the north (Government of Ghana, 2003).

Besides, consequence of this irregular development that the north has constituted a major source of labour supply for the industries and agriculture in the south, reflecting the poverty in the north and the comparatively buoyant urban economy in the south. These reasons have contributed to the northern part having the maximum concentrations of the poor in Ghana.

## 2.5 Types of migration in Ghana and categories of migrants

While natural increase still contributes a higher share of urban growth in sub-Saharan Africa, migration to cities remains a major component of urban growth, contributing approximately

40% of all urban growth (Tacoli, 2001). Internal migration refers to a move from one area within the country to an another.

The GLSS5 described in-migrants: people born outside their current living place of residence that have been staying in their current residence for more than a year

Return migrants: persons born their current place of residence but who had moved out and lived outside their localities of birth for more than a year and have stayed in the existing vicinity for more than a year or aim to do so.

Non-migrants: people born at their current place of residence that never have stayed away for a year or more. Seasonal/short term migration is common in Ghana, especially in terms of rural-urban migration. For example: when rural farmers cannot find adequate income at their origin during the agricultural off season they choose another strategy to compensate the lack of income - to migrate to urban areas, either voluntarily or out of force, to seek for temporary employment until cultivation is possible again (IFAD, 2008).

Nonetheless internal migration comprises more than movement from rural to urban areas (Potts, 2009). Recently, more attention has been paid to other types of migration; rural-rural, urban-urban, and urban-rural – the degree of urbaneness of "urban" localities, as well as the usefulness of the rural-urban contradiction in getting knowledge on internal migration (Cohen, 2006; Hugo, Champion, and Lattes, 2003; National Research Council, 2003). In Sub-Saharan Africa, most urban residents live not in megacities, but in small and medium-sized cities (UN-Habitat, 2008; White, Mberu, and Collinson, 2008).

Furthermore, migrants to urban areas maintain ties to their rural communities, and that these ties can be quite resilient, which can in turn lead to chain migration of others from the area (Andersson, 2001).

#### 2.6 Push and Pull Factors

Foremost, the strong north-south migration movements within Ghana reflect both urbanisation patterns and spatial variation as a driver of migration. In return, migration is one of the main contributing reasons to urbanisation in Ghana.

Ewusi (1986) found that depressed social conditions prevailing at the place of origin act as the main push factor while the economic opportunities available in different towns and cities serve as the pull factor attracting migrants to that vicinity. Enormous differences in income and living

standards among places (Awumbila et al. 2011b; Murrugarra et al. 2011), in addition to the general perception that migrant households improved than non-migrant households Clemens and Pritchett (2008); Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2007) act as motivations for others to migrate.

Furthermore, research on urbanisation show that main pull factors of internal migration in Ghana are access to better health care, access to social amenities, income, employment, and other opportunities for personal accomplishment and development in the southern urban centres, all of which are limited in the northern and rural areas (Awumbila et al., 2011b; Black et al., 2006; Kwankye et al., 2009; Mensah-Bonsu, 2003).

Besides, irregular development between rural and urban areas has resulted in large scale movement from rural to urban area. Consequently, it is needed to study the significant pull and push factors of migration to resolve these inequalities.

The push factors are factors that compel a person, due to varied reasons, to leave that place and go to some other place. Also, the common push factors comprise of poor economic conditions, lack of opportunities for advancement, low productivity, unemployment and underdevelopment exhaustion of natural resources and natural tragedies. Yet, the capital-intensive approaches of production into agricultural sector, and mechanization of certain processes reduce labour requirement in rural areas. The non-availability of alternative sources of income in rural area is also important reasons for migration. To conclude, notable pull factors which attract migrants to an area includes opportunities for better employment, better wages, facilities, better working conditions and available and attractive social amenities.

#### 2.7 Past Migration Patterns in Ghana

Migration in Ghana has existed since the colonial era, the northern Ghana was recognised as a labour reserve for the cocoa farm, oil plantations and Gold mines in Kumasi, Obuasi, Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi-Takoradi. This circumstance did not change significantly in the post-independence era and currently continues to be the case in Ghana. In recent times the situation has witnessed people moving from the north to the south willingly and voluntarily. However, per Abdul-Korah (2008) the practice has both being through power also as by the eagerness of the general population concerned to travel.

This has since witnessed an extraordinary record of migrants from the Upper West, Upper East and Northern part of Ghana into the developing industrious southern coastal cities.

The pattern of rural-urban migration has long since been existing in Ghana from the colonial era which deemed as of little economical value and were thus decided to create a labour reserve for the mines and development of the cities in the South (Anarfi et al., 2003). This relocation was a static idea and anticipated to be contrarily identified with separation (Lall et al., 2006). Rural-urban migration is anticipated to proceed until all surplus work is consumed by the present-day segment and financial improvement is seen to continue with the exchange of specialists and agriculture to the cutting-edge division. In this system, rural-urban relocation is alluring to the degree that it guarantees the productive portion of work and goes with development (Lall et al., 2006).

## 2.8 Migration Patterns in Ghana

Although rural-urban migration has been the most prevailing customarily movement stream in Ghana, the pattern has now been turned around and urban-urban movement constitutes the most predominant type of migration.

Ghana keeps on having a very stable populace; somewhat over portion of the populace matured 7 years and more seasoned in Ghana are immigrants. 33 percent are made up of return migrants while 19 percent are in-migrants. By means of regions, the rural areas have the most elevated extent of migrants.

The (<sup>5</sup>GAMA) rural beach front and other urban areas in the coastal regions of Ghana, each of which has more than fifty percent. Then again, the rate for the rural area 43 percent lease. Therefore, the people will migrate much less in the northern than in the southern part of the nation. Contrasts regarding sex are minor except for the rural areas where the extent of female transients is much higher than that of male counterpart (GSS, 2008).

Moreover, with respect to the migration pattern in Accra 90 percent of all migrants are from 31 other urban zones and 7 percent are from the rural areas. This said the rural areas to other urban territories constitute 21.6 percent of all migrants in Accra. See Table underneath for subtle elements.

The family migration literature remains concentrated around the human-capital model of migration, despite the increasing empirical evidence that suggests that family migration

22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Greater Accra Metropolitan Area which includes: Accra Metropolitan Area, Tema Municipal Area as well as the urban areas in the Ga East and Ga West district.

decisions are gendered and contradicts its main hypothesis: that decisions to migrate are egalitarian and symmetrical (i.e. so that both spouses relative and absolute earning power is equally weighted in the migration decision). Women are spending the income on food and education, which results in better human capital among the children.

The fact that most migrants in these slums were from the Northern Region of Ghana, however, does not suggest that people from other regions in Ghana do not migrate. Consistent with the Mobility Transition Theory Skeldon (1997) and Zelinsky (1971) and the Migration Hump Theory (see Martin and Taylor, 1996), which suggest that as regions develop international migration increases, comparatively more developed regions of Southern Ghana tend to produce more international migrants (Litchfield and Waddington, 2003; Mazzucato *et al*, 2008). To conclude, the price of migration from Ghana to Europe or North America is so high that most citizens from the Northern and Volta Regions, who are deprived, are unable to afford it. Thus, people from the Northern and Volta Regions are more expected to migrate to the large towns in Ghana instead.

## 2.9 Rural-Urban Migration in Ghana (North-South migration) – General Situation

Since the pre-colonial and post-colonial era of Ghana there were different studies that have seen work relocation and migration as an immediate consequence of a purposeful pioneer approach to under develop the north which has contributed to the past and present migration from the north to the south of Ghana

Songsore and Denkabe (1995), for instance, discuss that northern Ghana's available underdevelopment is the result of a pilgrim approach to transform the north into a work store to serve the hobbies of southern cocoa grower, mining commercial ventures, and the metropolitan economy. In any case, late studies have stressed the inner flow of Ghanaian social orders in melding the movement marvel and that the reasons why individuals relocated and keep on relocating are not fixed but rather change after some extended period and space.

However, Whitehead & Hashim (2005) and Abdul-Korah (2006) studies on migration should include that men and women migrants in shaping their experience processes in life.

Movement can come about because of destitution, yet it is not generally the poorest who relocate, because the expenses and opportunities included. Indigence might likewise come about because of movement, both for the transients in destination areas and the families left behind, regularly for the most part influencing ladies and kids.

At the same time, female relocation can in a roundabout way lighten destitution by raising the efficiency, instruction and strength of females and their families (World Bank, 2005). Figure 3 shows the migrating pattern and route of northern migrants moving into the coastal urban cities.

#### 3 Aim of the Thesis

The purpose of this master's thesis research is to enhance detail knowledge on rate of rural-urban migration from the rural north of Ghana to the developed coastal urban cities. Also, to comprehend the activities and strategies migrant engage into as a means of their livelihood strategies, welfare to support their lives in the urban cities and find out if their lives have been improved after migration.

## 3.1 Main Objectives

The main aim of the study is to identify the various forms of jobs and social opportunities migrants from the rural north who migrate to the urban industrial coastal regions specifically Western Region. Furthermore, deliberating the relationship on their upgraded household income, standard of living, remittances and their expectations before and after migration in the industrial coastal urban cities.

## 3.1.1 Specific objectives

- To gather "push" and "pull" factors that made individuals and families decide to migrate; and if one dominate over the other.
- To find out the types of jobs migrants indulge in the urban areas
- To learn if the expectations of migrants before migration have been fulfilled
- To find out what are, welfare gains/losses of the migrants and migrant families.

## 3.2 Research Questions

The thesis concentrates on two main research questions

- What are the main demographic and socio-economic factors affecting the decision made by people in the rural areas (particularly in the northern regions) to migrate to urban coastal regions?
- What are the main expectations influencing rural urban migration?
  - a. Migrants expectations before migration
  - b. Fulfilled prospects after migration.

The central hypothesis of the research is that "seemingly conflicting outcomes of various research works on migration in Ghana resulting from different perspectives and concepts adopted by authors provide in fact a coherent broader picture of the complex migration problem".

## 4 Methodology

## 4.1 Review of the Working Papers

A comparison and classification of selected works of various authors is a principal approach adopted in this research. The comparison of included studies leads to finding similarities, differences of adopted theories, methods and reached verdicts of authors on factors and effects of internal (north-south) migration in Ghana. The theoretical review done by de Haas (2010) and the experience gathered in reading the publications (both the background literature and the investigated papers and reports) provide a base for the classification. The classification is embedded in the "pluralist paradigm" and the "NELM and the livelihood strategies" (paragraph 2.3.3 and 2.3.4) and provides a coherent framework for the synthesis of findings (according to our hypothesis). The hypothesis can only be rejected if there are research evidences which do not fit in our framework (cannot be classified).

Further, evaluated studies including data on prevalence rates of migration studies were based on the whys and wherefores that influence the choices made by migrants to migrate and the socio-economic determinants of the migration.

Additionally, relating their standard of living in the urban areas and their livelihood approaches on the relevance of remittances sent back home to better the lives of families back home or to serve as a motivating factor for other family members to migrate.

However, the recognition of research on the policies that are set in place for rural developmental projects and abundant opportunities put in place to curb and discourage the well abled youth in the rural areas from migrating to the urban cities.

#### **4.2 Information Sources**

Analysis is done on fifteen selected works: journal articles, working papers, reports and master's theses from various authors and institutions.

Most of the works were mainly focused on Kumasi and Accra which were traditional destinations of migrants before the discovery of off-shore oil reserves in 2007 in the western region. This has recorded a tremendous growth rate in population in the western region.

Besides, Kumasi and Accra have a significant population of migrants and migrant's activities, very little research has been done on Western region (Sekondi-Takoradi, oil booming areas) so far. However, we believe that similarities of urban agglomerations allow extending our findings also to the western region (Sekondi-Takoradi).

Information sources such as Research gate, Ghana statistical service department, Google scholar, web of science, Scopus, UN reports and web pages, the university's academic library and a whole lot were used for retrieving data. Authors were contacted via email but only few responded.

## 4.3 Search Strategy

The search engine for the various work was not limited to a specific period range and with no limitation to enable me get access to a wide range of works, researches, international reports etc. This was because it was an extremely hard challenge to acquire published researches.

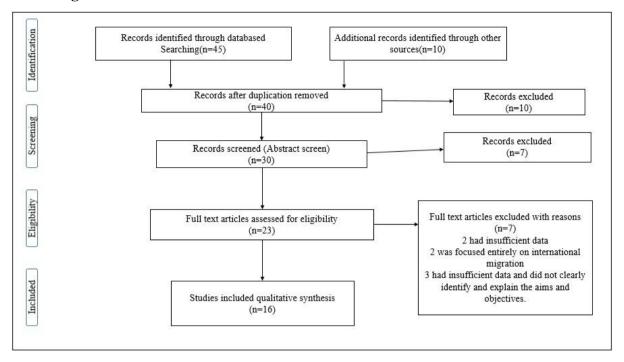
We searched the reference literature and contacted authors of published reports, but we had difficulty in reaching out to authors to provide additional information on the published data. Keywords and terms used for the search included primarily rural-urban migration, remittances, household income, economic strategies, migrant jobs, migration, internal migration, livelihood strategies.

Approximately 16 documents were available after our search, and the titles and abstracts (when available) were examined. Full-text articles of international reports, background papers, published master's theses, research papers, published articles and books were noted.

Refining the selection of studies and obtaining data from many articles as well were taken into consideration but the search was limited to articles published in English. Study selection was performed in two stages.

Besides, comparing the various research results with similarity, the evidence derived from authors research results obtained, related comparison groups and outcomes with a correspondence discussion in the categorised papers selected.

#### 4.3.1 Diagram flow of the selection Process



Source: Author's own compilation, 2016

Figure 4: Showing the entire screening process of the full search strategy

# **4.4 Outcome Procedures of Selected Papers**

The chosen works was collected based on the same socioeconomic motives of migrants, accessibility and availability of informal labour demand in the southern urban cities. Usually the people who live in the urban areas look down upon such labour work but the migrants find it a means of obtaining their livelihood and earnings to survive in the cities and are ever willing to work.

Although, all the articles reported on gender in migration, welfare, job opportunities, livelihood strategies, living standards and poverty, six of the articles were solely based on the gender and related it to the rest of the determinant factors. Out of the six three were research reports. The other research reports were a combination of the internal and international migration of migrants' welfare, living strategies, jobs and other related determinants. However, there was a demographic research, a sole urbanisation report and the rest of the selected articles were based on rural urban migration and the socio-economic determinants in them researches.

However, all the 16 studies were eligible for inclusion because they provided sufficient data to compute effect sizes and employed satisfactory methodology (e.g., North-South migration in Ghana (rural-urban migration), data source with the implementation of primary or secondary

means, gendered poverty, gendered informal sector workers living standards and livelihood strategies, welfare and remittances and outcome measurements). An elevated level of agreement was obtained on the above satisfied determinants by all selected articles.

Authors who applied a distinctive design of the study as already stated above in the categorisation process such as the use of the GLSS, primary and secondary form of data and international and internal research reports based on migration

Sample sizes of the works which was between 30 to 5000 base on various author's choice.

Gender and ethnicity payed a huge part in this area of paper selection as most of the research works clearly distinguish the gap between male and female migrants and even with the sample sizes of authors grouped distinctly. However, regardless of this, both genders relentlessly embark on such journey. Authors argued that young men between the ages of 13 to 25 often migrate while young women between the ages of 13 to 19 also embark on migration.

Although almost all the authors evidently gave an assessment on the age of the migrants as young as 13 years and as old as 25 years of age. All the authors distinguished how and why the youth who are in the prime years of their life are more prone to migrate than the middle aged which is detailed in the work.

#### 4.4.1 Outcome measures for analyses

The key outcomes of interest were based on satisfying the research objectives and questions. The measurements were based on the categorisations of all articles with negative or positive outcomes, which are analysed separately. Although different studies employed different instruments, the measure constructs were similar enough for the categorising the articles based on data synthesis. Positive outcomes included migration having a significant impact on migrants making the process valuable while negative outcomes include the deplorable conditions, hardships, social exclusion, physical and mental situations they endure all in the name of obtaining better opportunities to improve their life.

#### 4.4.2 Information processing and analysis

The selected studies are classified from eight basic perspectives:

- i) Thematic focus/scope of the published research;
- ii) Theory adopted,
- iii) Data used in the analysis: source of data (own survey, national statistical surveys, other sources) and year of data collection;
- iv) Methods used in the analysis: qualitative approaches, econometric modelling and statistical analysis);
- v) Demographic characteristics of migrates (gender, age, marital status);
- vi) Socio-economic determinants of migration: economic reasons (employment opportunities income/wage differential, economic independence, remittances);
- vii) Social reasons (better health care, better access to education, security and better social amenities,);
- viii) Studied impact of migrants living standards and wellbeing of migrants in urban areas.

Outcomes of classifications were tabulated. Frequencies and some other descriptive statistics were derived from them. Based on these perspectives papers were grouped in several categories. Papers could participate in more than one categories.

This can be called re-classification. Paper could participate in more than one category. The reclassification rests in filling a matrix which columns refer to theoretical backgrounds of the investigated selected studies and rows to investigated thematic areas. Each cell (group/class) is divided in three parts (commonly applied method, reference to a study (1-16) and generalised results (Table 1).

Table 1 Synthesis matrix

Theory

Themes		Optimistic (neoclassical)	Extended neoclassical (NELM)	Pesimistic	Pluralist paradigm
identification of	Method				
Pull factors	Refer.				
	Results				
identification of	Method				
Push factors	Refer.				
	Results				
Welfare effects	Method				
	Refer.				
	Results				
Livelihood	Method				
strategies	Refer.				
	Results				

Source: Own design

#### 5. Results

This chapter is categorised based on the outcome measures of the study and analysing the results of the selected papers (see Table 2 to 9 in appendices), followed by the detailed descriptive analysis of the most considered reasons which clearly explains the specific objectives and research questions and central hypothesis.

#### 5.3 Characterisation of the Selected Researches

#### **5.3.1** Main characteristics of selected papers

The selected publications evidently elaborate similarities as well as differences in characteristics and reasons that inspires migrants to migrate into the urban cities. There is however variance of the various reports and journals. We identified articles (1,3,9,15 and 16) as shown in Table 2, which were made up of scientific journal papers. Also, articles (2,4,5,6,7,8,10 and 14) comprised of research papers. However, article (11) was a combination of research paper, based on policy report as well as information report. Article (13) was an international report.

Most of the research papers organised also relates to similar characteristic outlined in Table 1. They all pronounce the most important characteristics: economic reasons, security, job opportunities, education, income differential, migrant's welfare and livelihood strategies, experiencing urban life style, work and the ability to send remittances back home to supports relatives at their place of origin. Authors arrived at a similar conclusion of the main characteristics and reasons of migration as found in Table 2. This said, migrants have a similar ideology when moving to a different place for new opportunities and resources in life regardless of the consequences they are bound to face at their destination.

#### 5.2.2 Data used in papers

The results of this part as shown in (Table 3), which shows the years of publications and data collection between 2000 to 2016. This indicates that there has been an interest on rural-urban migration research. We further identified 4 research's <sup>6</sup>(2,5,12 and 14) which implemented the GLSS as data source with single or multiple assessment. Also 4 of the working papers (3,6,7 and 9) adapted qualitative questionnaire survey in depth interviews whiles 3 (10, 11,13 and 15)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A list of the selected publications used in the thesis with full references numbered from one to 16

was based on secondary data. Article (1,8, and 16) of the working papers was a population and environment survey, compilation and case study respectively. Finally, article 4 was made up of primary and secondary data source. This said 7 covered the entire country, 5 was rural-urban (North-South), 2 case study in the Northern part and 3 of the articles were on Ghana, internal migration and Africa (see Table 3). Authors had different sample sizes ranging from 30 to 5000 depending on the total number of responses and available responses in the research.

The location or coverage of the publications was put into consideration with the different geographical origins of the authors researches and the different approaches adapted in their studies.

## 5.2.3 Methods used in papers

This part describes authors various methods and approaches used to explain their data. Nevertheless, we accessed the percentage of econometric models 31.3%, modelling 18.8%, statistical analysis, 43.8% and Qualitative analysis 68.8%. However, we found that more authors prioritised qualitative synthesis in their research and further supported it with developed econometrics analysis using (Logit, regression and probit) and statistical significance as well (see Table 4). Very little interest was shown in adaption of modelling for their works. Authors, further discussed with secondary data and compilation on related subject matters.

# 5.2.4 Investigated demographic determinants of migrants (migrating members of household)

The research identified that contemporary north-south migration flow is currently dominated by young girls and women in their reproductive years, who result in occupational niches mainly classified as undesirable with numerous having little or no education (Yeboah *et al.*, 2015; Shamsu-Deen and Alhassan, 2014; Awumbila and Ardeyfio-Schandorf, 2008). These young women migrate with the optimist perception of experiencing the urban life with all the opportunities and live a much better life compared to their lives in the origins, only to be disappointed with the severe conditions in the urban cities. Among the sample sizes of the authors, they found migrants age range was 10 to 30 years with majority of them falling within the age bracket of 13 to 25 years (Shamsu-Deen ,2013). They reported Principal focus on female and male migrants of which majority of them were between the ages of 10 to 25 years while fewer were 25 years and above as shown in Table 5.

Although Agyei *et al.* (2015) confirmed in their investigations that several migrants in southern Ghana are in their youthful stages with majority between the age gap of 12-35 years. Indeed, this does not differ from most of the authors findings in this study. However, migration often intensifies with age, though at a declining rate, which highpoints the discernment of population flows on economically active age group (Agyei *et al.*, 2015). Thus, age delivery of north-south migrants backing the claim made by some scholars that migration is essentially positioned in the youthful stages of lifecycles (Huijsmans, 2008). In terms of education, utmost of the migrants in who migrate to southern Ghana have not had opportunity to attain formal schooling past secondary level.

Moreover, while the relevance of school completion has been recognised to be an imperative determinant of future earnings and the returns that the individual derives from education, Extended family networks conventionally have assisted to shoulder the problem, nonetheless migration and urbanization, along with growing diversity of household and family natures, have led to what nearly researchers characterize as a family emergency (Oppong, 1997, Oppong and Wery, 1994). There has been a tremendous increase in the female migrants who are often from small household sizes and they are often the head of the household. Lloyd and Gage-Brandon (1993) argued that there has been an increase of female-headed households in Ghana, and that further added that it is due to widowhood, divorce, or grandmothers caring for their grandchildren than in the past.

## 5.2.5 Socioeconomic determinants of migrants

It can be observed that all authors in their publication clearly explain the availability and access of informal labour market in the urban cities market. However, such pull factors encourage migrant to migrate (see Table 6). However, the perception of availability of employment by migrants turns becomes a fairy tale where by migrants find themselves been self-employed as head porters "<sup>7</sup>kayayei". Most of the migrants work as shop attendants, restaurant cleaners and a whole lot already mentioned in the beginning of the thesis.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The local name for women head porters who carry good in the marts and streets of big cities in Ghana for a negotiable fee.

The men work as night time security which is referred to as "8watchmen" in the Ghanaian slang. Also, the women often work in the local restaurants "9chop bar" washing dishes, cleaning and cooking. The perception of moving into the urban cities for a better life becomes just a dream as compared to the realities that these migrants face in their quest to a better life for them and their entire household. Yet such informal sector with its vast means of absorbing the available informal labour force becomes the means of livelihood strategies for them.

However, upon arriving into the urban cities, all accommodation, housing and utilities becomes a burden and migrants are often found sleeping in the streets, in front of closed shops and supermarkets thus, exposing them to grave danger. Even though there will be available housing, migrants will not be able to afford it. Authors spoke about the extreme chocked nature of the slams of Accra and Kumasi which serves as the first point of destination.

# 5.2.6 Socioeconomic factors / migrants' expectations

Social economic reasons were identified by all authors in the selected publications as the main beneficial reasons of migration. Moreover, the perceived better life becomes the main expectations of migrants thus influences individuals or household's decision to migrate (see Table 7).

A recent survey carried out in two informal settlements in Ghana (Awumbila, Owusu and Teye, 2014) shows that the slums are booming with various forms of entrepreneurial businesses, which are mainly in the informal sector and tend to be gendered. Migrant women work mainly as petty traders, food venders, catering (chop bar) assistants, head porters (kayayei), shop assistants and hairdressers, while migrant men work as artisans, labourers in the construction sector and operators of motorcycle taxis (okada). A sizable proportion of men in Old Fadama are also involved in the collection and sale of scrap metal (that is, the electronic waste, or e-waste, business). In most cases, migrants in urban centres rely on social networks to move to cities and to work in the informal sector. Studies carried out in the slums of Accra show that migrants rely on social capital for their initial accommodation in the urban area, training and work (Awumbila, Owusu and Teye, 2014).

As shown in Table 7 better job opportunities were identified by all selected authors with 3 authors emphasising on the desire of migrants to experience the urban life. However, ten of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The local Ghanaian name for night security guards for bungalows, individual residences, shop owners and organisations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The name for Local Ghanaian restaurants

articles (ie 1,3,5,7,8,10,11,13,14 and 15) did not investigate accessibility of water and sanitation and better access to education respectively as the main socioeconomic factors. We further identified article (16) of the selected paper as the only one which was non-applicable to all the main socioeconomic factors (table 6).

## **5.2.7** Economic reasons for migration (benefits of migration)

Economic reasons which forms one of the back bones of rural urban migration identifies income differential, economic independence, remittances and better wages to migrant's migration decision as revealed in Table 8. This said, often there is a high gap in the demand, availability, and access to informal work and labour market in the urban cities which becomes beneficial with better wages as compared to the income in their respective origins.

Ewusi, (1986) however argued that discouraged social conditions that prevails at migrant's birthplace in the rural areas go about as the primary push component while the financial opportunities accessible in bigger towns and urban cities also contribute as the pull factors drawing in migrants to the urban territories.

Twum-Baah, (2005) and Adepoju, (2005) suggested that the families left behind have become important benefactors of the migration gains. Migrants are said to have become the lifelines of their households and families back home. For many of the economic migrants, remittance is expected any way and refusal or even delay in doing so is queried with serious disappointment. Whichever way that the matter is looked at, the migrant carries a huge burden to remit their home families, friends and communities.

Thus, remittance from migrants becomes a valuable tool for leveraging poverty back home (Oucho, 2010). As discussed by Oucho (2010: 149) "remittances play a positive and effective role in reducing the poverty headcounts and the poverty gap in migrants' countries of origin; they influence poverty reduction, especially in countries of origin with macroeconomic instability, and where households have incomes that are subject to frequent and significant fluctuation.". The Global Commission on International Migration in 2005 also notes that remittances help to lift recipients out of poverty, increase and diversify household incomes, provide an insurance against risk, enable family members to benefit from educational and training opportunities and provide a source of capital for the establishment of small businesses. Not only do remittances increase the consumption levels of recipient families – so that education and health care which are not out of reach.

Anarfi and Kwankye (2009) further explained that despite the difficulty migrant face in the southern part of Ghana, many prefer to stay and work in the south rather to stay in their areas of origin in the northern part of Ghana. The reason being that they can make some money enough to remit home for the upkeep of their families. Although migrants live below the lower income in the urban cites they can live an independent life and can remit home to the house hold in the village or other towns. Such remittances sent home will be used to support the living expenses of the day to day activities and livelihood strategies of themselves and of family back home.

# 5.2.8 Impact of migration (wellbeing of migrants in urban areas) after migrating

In compiling the various study on the subject matter of migration it was discovered that the optimist ideology of better opportunities, health, housing, Job opportunities, access to better and available utilities, education and experiencing the urban life becomes a myth for migrants. As migrants migrate they are hopeful and confident about the prospects in the urban cities and getting access to the better infrastructure and the desires and expectations only to be disappointed. As seen in Table 9 this stresses the pessimist view that migrants are often not leaving a luxurious life in the urban cities and

However, it was revealed in all the working papers excepts articles (1,5 and 16) which does not impact on the wellbeing of migrants as shown in Table 9. Migrants find themselves living in the slums of the urban cities which then becomes the only means of housing for them. The pessimist ideology on the hardship life and deteriorated conditions often becomes unbearable for most of the migrants. One can bear with me on the living standards and means of support approaches in the slums of cities around the world of which the cities of Ghana (Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, Cape coast and Tema) are no exceptions to the deplorable and appalling conditions that migrants live in there. In addition, these slums boast of the worst living conditions, deplorable access to heath, no welfare, extremely poor utilities and no educational facilities (see Table 9). The migrants often have shanty forms of self-built apartments with wood and no toilet facility. The Pessimist view on the urban livelihood and the dream of a better future becomes shuttered after facing the realities of the urban life. Pessimist are also of the opinion that the elevated expectations of migrants which are not meet and often most of them turn to face even much harder conditions in the urban cities still does not deter the ruralurban migration since both welfare and living standards are enhanced using electricity, available job opportunities, accessible sanitation and a whole lot and thus the high demand for

labour market and available social amenities in the urban cities will continue to serve as the main motive for the high rural urban migration rate in the country.

#### 6 Discussion

This finding is consistent with our earlier result suggesting that rural-urban migration is, on average, very beneficial for migrants. Thus, migration as a response to poverty can improve or worsen the position of both men and women, as the determinants, processes and impacts of migration are gendered and poverty can play a role in each of these stages of migration. The implications are that poverty reduction strategies and the ability to enhance the welfare of migrants must be based on an understanding of the gendered nature of the push and pull factors associated with the north-south migration in Ghana the available market labour and to enhance the expected benefit and verify their welfare gains and losses of migrants. Authors who used econometrical and regression models specified there are also challenges in the income differentials approach to migration and thus suggest that there are other factors beyond the rationale for rural-urban migration in Ghana than higher incomes.

It is reasonable to believe that rural-urban migration is not only fuelled by income maximization, but also an act to compensate for these missing markets and reduce poverty. Higher incomes per se are thus not always the intention by the migrants as the pessimist view clearly differs from but rather an alleviation of constraints. Regarding motives as cited by the migrants themselves which we considered in the selected works.

## 6.1 Interpretation of the Desired Strategies of Rural-urban Migration

Foremost, the choices made by individuals to embark on the north-south migration as shown in Table did not identify all the essential socioeconomic factors of migrants' expectations to be the main motive for the pull factors motivating migrants to move to the urban cities. Moreover, the job opportunity which entice such movement thus displays a characteristic of the neoclassical theoretic framework where labour movement is in response to differences in income between locations (de Haas, 2010). Nevertheless, economic reasons are the most important factors which supports this movement (Anarfi, 1993; Arthur, 1991, Awumbila *et al.*, 2008), the search for better social services such as good drinking water, electricity, hospitals and educational facilities also influence this drift (Awumbila *et al.*, 2008; Caldwell, 1968). The absence of Job and alternative means of income will automatically result in the depriving of numerous social amenities which are meant to enhance and better the lives of migrants living in the urban areas as seen in (Table 8 and Table 9). Therefore, this brings the debate the fact that although there is no assurance of job opportunity and a luxurious life in the urban areas pull factors (Better job opportunities) dominate over the push factors thus the deplorable

conditions and hardships facing migrants in the urban cities will always be over looked on with the better job opportunities been a main motive for the rural-urban drift.

Based on the selected works on Shamsu-Deen (2013), who argued that the background characteristics of internal migrants in Ghana shows that current north-south migration flow is largely dominated by young girls of the age range of 10 to 30 years with a great number of them falling within the age bracket of 13 to 25 years and women in their reproductive years (Table 4), who find themselves in occupational niches largely classified as undesirable with many having little or no education (Yeboah *et al.*, 2015; Shamsu-Deen and Alhassan, 2014; Awumbila and Ardeyfio-Schandorf, 2008). and then result to working in the street and living in deplorable conditions.

By implication, it could be argued that even if the north-south migration may have some benefits for some migrants, it may not be beneficial to the large numbers of young people trouping into the southern part of the country, a condition which is indicative of the fallacy of composition. The saturation of the market for porters and the resultant competition of female porter in Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf's (2008) making it hard for the porters to make earns needs.

### **6.2 Benefits of Migration**

The benefits and expectations of migration by far was identified by the selected working papers has been fulfilled with the availability of informal jobs due to the labour demand in the urban areas. To begin with, critics of the pessimist view point on remittances not been a huge factor in poverty alleviation. Remittances from the available jobs of migrants in the urban areas to the three northern regions are woefully inadequate to achieve any meaningful impact on households (Adams, 2006). Contributing only 11% to family income (Ackah and Medvedev, 2010), the perceived role of remittances in weakening poverty may not be enough to have a change in the household expenses.

The north-south movement may rather threaten food security in these regions with a substantial number of abled youth migrating into the cities. Having looked at benefits for migrants' origins, the work try to find the success of the north-south movement in improving migrants' lives (Arthur, 1991).

Caldwell (1968) in an early study of the dynamics of internal migration in Ghana argued that migrants, upon settling in Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi can access social services that may be unavailable in their localities. Good drinking water, electricity, education and access

to health centres are cited as range of social services migrants enjoy which in the long run improve their welfare. However, we identified that migrants are deprived from these social amenities in the urban cities since they often live in slums, poor and appalling communities. Thus, migration may be a way of compensating for their neglect in the provision of such social amenities and national privileged.

## 6.3 Migrants Livelihood Strategies in the Urban Cities

Although migrant's expectations of a better job and better income with available infrastructure become available in the urban areas to improve their lives. However, their expectations have been fulfilled even though their living conditions and livelihood strategies are deplorable. Accordingly, Songsore and MacGranahan (1993) identified malaria to be the most extremely recorded disease at health centres located in these areas exposing migrants to severe health risks. The sporadic outbreak of diseases such as cholera in these areas pays tribute to the countless health problems facing migrants in these communities. For those unable to rent rooms sleeping in open spaces, at bus stops and on pavements becomes the norm (Nukunu, 2013; Anarfi and Kwankye, 2005) exposing them to physical and sexual harassment. This condition is revealed by no better assertion than the following evident in Awumbila and Ardeyfio-Schandorf's study in Accra (2008:178) from empirical evidence.

There are evidences from the selected authors work which suggest that the so-called better living conditions may be unfulfilled realities. Consequently, conflicting to the assertion that migration is a first step towards livelihood diversification (Yeboah, 2008; Ellis, 2000). The evidence presented in the preceding sections of which the Pessimist theory argued that it may not always result in such pleasant outcomes as migrants strive to live in congested rooms with poor access to essential services and lower incomes, this may not be indicative of excellent quality life. However, the argument that the basic assumption of the neoclassical model is rigid and less likely to address the complexity of factors characterising the migration and development nexus. Through placing distinct help in a wider sociocultural context and seeing the household as a vital unit of analysis (de Haas, 2010), NELM showed that the decision to migrate falls outside the realm of individual decision making.

These so-called negative perspectives on the role of migration as de Haas (2010) indicated it as "migrant's syndrome", a process which depleted rural areas of valuable and priceless human capital resources needed for development which logically suggest that a continuous movement

of labour from rural (peripheral) to urban (core) areas which has the potency to worsen the misery and condemn migrant origins to perpetual deprivation.

Under normal circumstances, migrants' families may receive remittances irregularly which may insignificantly improve living standards. This perhaps supports Ackah and Medvedev's (2010) claim that irregular remittances worsen living standards of dependent households. Thus, considering the resources that may have been pushed into sponsoring migrants *visa-vis* the outcome, the north-south movement may end up being a bad investment in the long run.

It is encouraging to say female migrants seem to do better than male migrants in Ghana. The reasons why migration has become much more dominated by females are their decision to adapt very well in the informal sector and the willingness to do all means to survive and support their household.

# 6.4 Migrants Welfare and Expectations before and after Migration

Therefore, the outcome of the move may not be as successful as the migrants had hoped for due to the elevated levels of risk and urban rural disparities outlined (Table 8). Essential to the poverty circumstances facing migrants is the lack of decent accommodation (Yiran *et al.*, 2014). Baah-Ennumh *et al.* (2012) revealed that 49% of migrants were living in wooden shacks, shops and verandas and in slums with average room occupancy rate of 4-5 persons. Which is no different from the selected works. All in all, difficulties associated with working conditions, housing and lack of access to existing social services are key dimensions of poverty experienced by north-south migrants in the urban cities (Table 8).

Although the insufficient incomes, migrants' access to most social services may severely be curtailed. In migrant communities for example, due to the inability to rent descent accommodation migrants settle in make shift structures where a room which can also serve as storage places for personal possessions such as cookware and other form of utensils. Often accommodate between six to ten people (Yeboah, 2008). Such settlement and slums which Nukunu (2013) described as shanty areas, which have gained notoriety for insanitary conditions, higher crime rates, poor social services and drainage systems which put migrants' well-being at risk.

These Migrants find themselves getting access to the urban labour market (Table 5) of which their expectation of a better life becomes a fairy tale and they find themselves in the informal economy sector which becomes their major employer, where they engage in menial jobs

such as 'chop bar' (local restaurant) attendants, shop assistants, Head porters, street vendors, and heavy load carriers (Awumbila et al.,2008). Clearly their lives have not changed and most of them would have been better off in the rural areas of which the pessimist view point on rural urban migration depleting the rural sector of its able men and women.

According to Hesselberg and Yaro (2006), uncertainties such as difficulty in securing jobs and exploitation bedevilling the north-south movement affect the frequency with which remittances may be sent home. Most migrants find it difficult securing jobs and even when they do, their meagre incomes make it difficult to remit their families regularly, Moreover, turn to send part of their hard-earned income to household back home (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). The clearly of the view point of the neo-classical theory and the NELM theory on the household dependence on the individual in the urban city.

Junior High School education. Several studies have also recorded low levels of education among north-south migrants in Ghana (Agyei *et al.*, 2015; Anarfi and Kwankye, 2005; Opare, 2003). The absence of higher formal educational attainment among the migrant population is mainly credited to lack of financial resources needed to cover school related expenses. Similarly, Quaicoe (2005) further argued on poor housing facilities, poor health care, inadequate sanitation facilities and sexual harassment as the major dimensions of poverty among female migrants in Ghana.

# **6.5** Overall Summary of the Review of Papers (Synthesis)

As it is seen from the table below there is no dominance of paper of one school over the others. We can also observe quite intensive effort of authors to see beside negative impacts of migration on migrants and on the increase of urban poverty also the fact that moving to urban centres is migrants' way how to escape from rural poverty. This "escape" is another term for push-pull factors view. We can say that studying welfare gains of migration has its place in the context of escape from poverty, although one must accept that living conditions are critically bad and vulnerability of migrants is high. The pluralist literature put quite an emphasis on survival strategies which demonstrate migrants' capacity for collective action (collective savings, collective health care) and "slum entrepreneurship".

Another observation from our review is that gender is an important subject in most of the investigated studies; the papers confirm that there are gender differences in the nature of migration and the welfare effects. Lot of papers emphasize that migration brings women economic independence regardless how miserable their living conditions are.

We can see lasting separation between author adopting econometric analysis in the research and authors relying on qualitative approaches. Despite broadening the perspective of the both groups, still the former incline to stick with the neoclassical paradigm, while the other is reluctant to support their pluralistic position by a rigorous quantitative method.

Table 9: Synthetic matrix (reclassification)

# Theory

Themes		Optimistic (neoclassical)	Extended neoclassical (NELM)	Pessimistic	Pluralist paradigm
identification of	Method	econometric	Econometric		statistical (quest.), qualitative
Pull factors	Refer.	1, 2,	12		6, 8, 9
	Results	income differential, welfare gains over migration costs	income differential		job opportunities
identification of	Method	econometric, qualitative			qualitative
Push factors	Refer.	1,		4,	3, 9
	Results	living conditions in rural villages		lack of job opportunities in rural areas	escaping from poverty in rural areas
Welfare effects	Method	econometric, statistical and qualitative	Econometric	qualitative, statistical (description)	statistical (quest.), qualitative
	Refer.	2, 14, 13	12, 5	3, 4, 7, 15	6, 8, 9, 11, 16
	Results	welfare gains (families receiving remittances) - gender plays role, education increases probability or amount of remittances	welfare gains (incl. families receiving remittances), however these gains depend on the adopted models and the treatment of selection bias. Gender and education play a role.	poor living conditions of female migrants, often very young, low income; negative impact on rural communities (young people leaving)	poor living conditions, but some improved standard of liv. (the way how to escape rural poverty)
Livelihood	Method	statistical and qualitative		qualitative, compilation of empirical studies	statistical (quest.), qualitative
strategies	Refer.	13,		3, 15	6, 11, 16
	Results	women economic independence contributes to their equalisation		survival strategies like sleeping in open space, collective savings, but migrants do not have always capacity to cope with the conditions	survival strategies: accumulating some assets, slum entrepreneurship, etc.

Source: Authors own compilation

#### 6.6 Recommendation

Internal migration in Ghana continued during and after colonial rule but have been influenced by the nature of development policies. This work will add up to the substantial number of research programs and international and internal reports and policies on the internal migration in Ghana. The biased favour of the urban and southern Ghana has had development and industrial progress unlike the rural areas in the northern parts consisting of Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions of the country (Arthur, 1991). For example, argued that 80% of all development initiatives (infrastructure and industry) are in and around Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi (cities in southern Ghana). Developmental project industrial and commercial centres should be nationwide to reduce rural- urban drift since more jobs and basic amenities will be provided in the rural areas. Moreover, encourage and promote more small and medium scale enterprises to enhance diversification of sources of revenue in the rural areas in the absence of the farming season. To conclude, support and sponsor locally made products which will supplement the foreign products imported into the country and help the growth and sustainability of small scale local businesses. Manufacturing industries could help create the wanted jobs and income, investment in infrastructure and support for livelihood systems to enhance and build the productive capacity of the inhabitants of northern Ghana. This will support and decrease the recent wave of the north-south migration while at the same time reducing poverty in a sustainable manner.

#### 7 Conclusion

This thesis work has examined the north and south migration drift between rural and urban sectors, and has identified the push and pull factors with the conclusion that regardless of what the situation might be in the urban areas the pull factors of better job opportunity and better developmental infrastructure dominate over the push factors of security and the others as seen in the Tables 1 to 9.

This suggests to us that the story of inter-regional migration in Ghana may be less about experiencing urban life and more about economic opportunity as indicated by the neo-classical theory and human capital resources available to an individual than conventional wisdom may surmise.

Moreover, migrants' welfare uses data from Ghana's Living Standards Survey and secondary data from various authors and authors who implemented qualitative and quantitative data sources in their research program. Employing meta-analysis on selected research programs and

reports of migrants' livelihood, highlighted factors influencing migration decisions, livelihood strategies, expected benefits and livelihood strategies between Ghana's rural and urban areas. Our findings underscore the importance of rural-urban migration, the benefits of migration, anticipated welfare gains, losses related to personal attributes in migration decisions, the optimist and pessimist view point on the migrants expected benefits and the reality that they are bound to face. In addition, the estimate of migration gains suggests that although some migrants incur welfare losses, migration enhances on average an economic improvement in their live and income of which the neo-classical theory emphasis on. The pessimist side of the view is that the welfare of migrants' is reduced. Moreover, migrants live in deplorable conditions and they turn out to be worse than non-migrants however migrants are still able to remit their home origins. Finally, the average welfare increment derived by rural-urban migrants is proportionately much higher than their rural counterparts. It was observed during the research that unless the government provides the necessities of life to the rural areas and provide the productive youth in the with employment opportunities, the youth will continuously migrate from the rural areas to the urban areas. Thus, depleting the youthful exuberant age with great agriculture knowledge, their capability to work on the farms and also the loss of excellent agricultural knowledge due to the absence of the youth who rather prefer to go to the urban centres or areas where they will get jobs than to learn from their predecessors.

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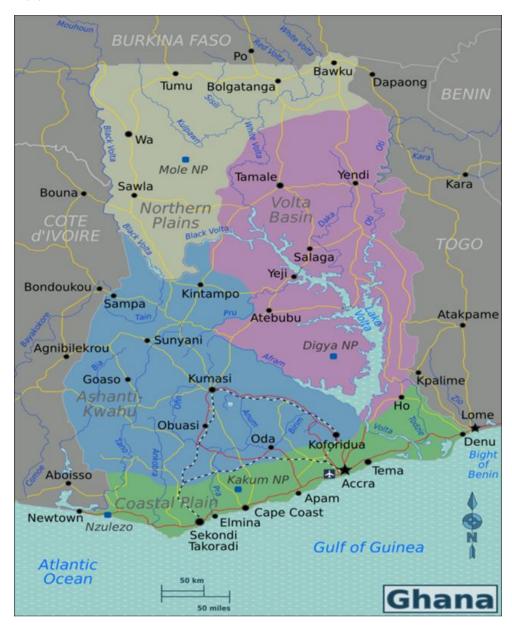
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# **APPENDICES**

Contents Appendix 1	2
Appendix 2	3
Appendix 3	4
Appendix 4	5
Appendix 5	12
Appendix 6	15
Appendix 7	16
Appendix 8	20
Appendix 9	21
Appendix 10	22
Appendix 11	23

# Appendix 1



Source: Ghana web, 2016

Figure 1: Map of Ghana showing the Northern plains, Volta basin, Ashanti Kwahu and the Coastal Plain.

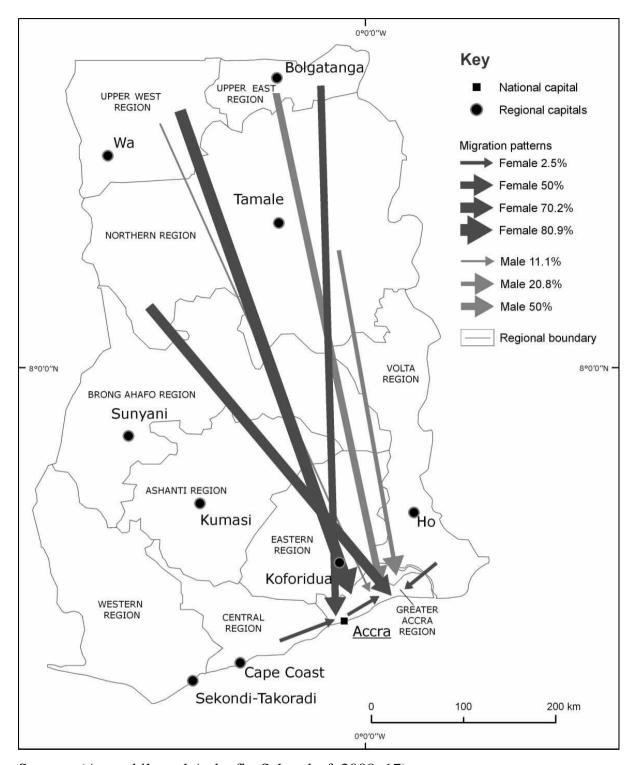
# Appendix 2



Source: Authors own modification from Ghana web, 2016

Figure 2: Map of Ghana showing the coastal urban cities.

# Appendix 3



Source: (Awumbila and Ardeyfio-Schandorf, 2008: 17)

Figure 3 Map of Ghana showing the North-South movement

#### Table 2 Basic characteristics of collected papers

No.	Authors	Characterisation of the paper	Type*
1	Holly E. Reed, Catherine S. Andrzejewski	The paper focuses on the four types of migration rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-	SP
	& Michael J. White. (2010) Men's and	urban, and urban-rural to examine the inter-regional migration of men and women.	
	women's migration in coastal Ghana: An	Socio-economic analysis of factors affecting migration with a particular focus on	
	event history analysis. Vol. 22, article 25,	gender and the cross effects with other determinants.	
	771-812	Principally neoclassical model focussing on push factors.	
		Key words: demographic characteristics, gender, socioeconomic push factors, logit	
		model	
2	Louis Boakye-Yiadom Andrew McKay	The impact on welfare of migrants upon migration between rural-urban migration	RP
	February (2006) Migration Between	(and urban-rural and urban-urban) deploying a consumption measure of welfare	
	Ghanas Rural and Urban Areas: The Impact	and a model that corrects for selectivity bias. The analysis also captures factors	
	on Migrants Welfare	influencing migration decisions	
		Positive welfare gains for rural-urban migrants.	
		Key words: rural-to-urban and urban-to-rural migrations, welfare, selectivity bias	

3	Mariama Awumbila and Elizabeth	Gender parities, poverty and vulnerability of female migrants from the north to the	SP	
	Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) Gendered	south of Ghana are subject of this article. Females migrants work as head porters		
	poverty, migration and livelihood strategies	for a negotiable fee to escape from the poverty and to gain economic independence.		
	of female porters in Accra, Ghana. Norsk	It also addresses some of the poor living conditions, physical and health risk they		
	Geografisk TidsskriftNorwegian Journal of	face. Livelihood strategies are discussed.		
	Geography Vol. 62, 171179.	Keywords: gender, livelihoods, migration, poverty, vulnerability		
4	Agyemang I. and Abu Salia Raqib (2013)	The paper focus on the socio-economic, cultural causes and the socio-economic	RP	
	Rural-urban migration and rural	cultural implications of rural-urban migration in a community. A special attention		
	community development: A case of Kpongu	is paid to the coping strategies adopted by the community members with the aim of		
	community of Upper West Region of	discouraging rural urban migration,		
	Ghana. African Journal of History and	Keywords: Rural-urban migration, rural community development, socioeconomic		
	Culture. Vol. 5(4), pp. 72-77	implications		
5	Haar, C. (2009) Rural-Urban migration,	MSc thesis on Rural-urban migration in Ghana focuses gender differences in	RP	
	gender and welfare in Ghana; who gains	respect to welfare effects. It is showed that results are strongly dependent on the		
	and who does not?, MSc thesis. University	applied model. The determinants of migration (and their gender nature) are		
	of Goetenburg, pp. 57	investigated too. The research refers to NELM as the underlying theoretical		
		concept.		
		Key words; rural-urban migration, gender of migrants, welfare of migrant families,		

6	Awumbila, M., Owusu G.,	The paper investigates the socio-economic and other reasons and the socio-	RP
	Teye, J. K. (2013) Can Rural-Urban	economic implications of rural-urban migration. Various strategies that the	
	Migration into Slums Reduce Poverty?	migrants in the study area (two destination areas of approx. 80000 inhabitants.	
	Evidence from Ghana. Migration out of	each) adopted to achieve bearable or even improved situation (wellbeing) are	
	Poverty Research Programme Consortium,	presented and discussed. The paper shows that urban slums are not just places of	
	Working Paper 13	despair and misery, but places where migrants are optimistically activating the most	
		of their capabilities to move out of poverty, despite the obvious difficulties.	
		Keywords: socioeconomic reasons for migration, slums, mobilisation of capacities,	
		survival.	
7	Owusu Amponsah The Living Conditions of	The paper examines the reasons for their continuous migration of girls and young	RP
	Female Head Porters in	women to the Kumasi Metropolis and the conditions under which they live and	
	the Kumasi Metropolis, Ghana . Journal of	work. The own survey of the authors reveal that most of the head porters are	
	Social and Development Sciences, Vol. 3,	children (under age 18) living in harsh and hazardous conditions which include	
	No. 7, pp. 229-244	poor housing, health care delivery, nutrition, and water and sanitation. Survival is	
		strengthening by collective action of migrants.	
		Keywords: migration of underage female, vulnerability of young migrant	

8	Anarfi J., Kwankye, S. Abaio, O-M, and	This discussion paper reviews principle determinants of internal and international	RP
	Tiemoko, R. (2003) Migration from and to	migration in Ghana and the gradual involvement of children in the migration	
	Ghana: A Background Paper. Working	process. Apparently, internal migration is only a partial issue in the paper.	
	Paper C4, Development Research Centre on	Keywords: internal and external migration, migration of underage female,	
	Migration, Globalisation and Poverty,	vulnerability of young migrants	
	University of Sussex		
9	Yeboah, T., Owusu, L., Arhin, A. A, Kumi,	This paper reports the gendered aspects of poverty and the surviving	SP
	E., (2015) Fighting Poverty from the Street:	strategies of young women on urban streets. The paper shows that hawking and	
	Perspectives of Some Female Informal	head portering provide important income for upkeep of young women and their	
	Sector Workers on Gendered Poverty and	families by meeting consumption and other needs. However, vulnerabilities in	
	Livelihood Portfolios in Southern Ghana.	respect to unfavourable weather, street dangers and exploitation from employers	
	Journal of Economic and Social Studies.	and customers are the other side of the coin.	
	Vol. 5(1), 239-267	Keywords: Hawking, gender poverty, informal sector, saving strategies.	
10	Cecilia Tacoli, Gordon McGranahan and	Migrants specific vulnerabilities, urban poverty and exposure to risk.	RP
	David Satterthwaite (2015) Urbanisation,	Migrations effect on urbanisation economic growth, urban capacities and risk of	
	rural-urban migration and urban poverty.	exclusion	
	Working paper. IIED London	Migrations contribution to urban population growth.	
		Welfare, livings strategies and standard of living	
		Keywords: Urbanisation, rural-urban linkages, urban poverty, migration	

11	Awumbila, M. (2014) Linkages between	The paper discusses literature and policies on Africa's urbanisation transition in	IR, RP,	
	Urbanization, Rural–Urban Migration and	association with migration. The author points out that the influx of young people	PR	
	Poverty Outcomes in Africa. Background	from rural to urban areas has mostly been largely leading to an increase in urban		
	paper of WORLD MIGRATION REPORT	poverty. Consequently, development and government policies have generally		
	2015. International Organization for	focused on discouraging people from moving from rural to urban areas. But these		
	Migration (IOM)	viewpoints can be problematic as they are often based on a very crude method of		
		measuring poverty. The paper shows that urbanization can be seen as is a key		
		variable in social and economic change and for the emergence of innovations in		
		social life.		
12	Ackah, C. and Medvedev D. (2012) Internal	cah, C. and Medvedev D. (2012) Internal The paper estimates demographic, economic and socio-geographical determinants		
	migration in Ghana:	of the individual's likelihood to be an internal migrant and the respective welfare		
	determinants and welfare impacts. IJSE	effects on the families of migrants. The research builds on NELM.		
	Vol. 39 No. 10, pp. 764-784.	The paper is based on a World Bank study.		
		Key words: Rural Urban migration, welfare, and remittances, probit model		
13	Amoako, E. E. Apusigah, A.A. (2013)	The paper aims at gender parities in internal and international migration of	IR,	
	Gender, Migration and Remittances in	Ghanaians. It particularly investigates the importance and provision of remittances		
	Ghana	It argues that female migration is a process of women equalisation in terms of		
		economic independency.		
		Keywords: gender parities, migration, economic independence		

14	Peter Quartey (2006) The impact of migrant	This study uses the official GLSS to investigate whether migrant remittances	RP
	remittances on household	significantly affect household poverty (welfare). The findings suggest that	
	welfare in Ghana. AERC Research Paper	remittances do improve household welfare and help to minimize the effects of	
	158, African Economic Research	economic shocks to household welfare (although not entirely).	
	Consortium, Nairobi., pp 31.	Keywords: migration, remittances, household welfare, regression model	
15	Serbeh, R., Osei-Wusu Adjei, P., Yeboah,	This paper critically examines the extent to which internal migration could acts as	SP
	T. (2016) Internal Migration and Poverty	an important route out of poverty in areas where conventional poverty reduction	
	Reduction: Rethinking the Debate on the	policies have failed. However, authors argue that migration may not be sufficient	
	North-South Movement in Ghana. Journal	and right solution – drawing on the empirical literature on the north-south	
	of Social Sciences 2016, 12 (1): 42.54	movement in Ghana. First, migrants may not always be able to improve upon their	
	livelihood and earn sufficient income and the impact of remittar		
		straightforward. Second, due to the institutional and market failures in the place of	
		the origin migrants are not shaped to cope with the conditions at the place of	
		destination.	
		Keywords: migration, poverty, remittances, policy failure	

16	Lobnibe, I. (2008) Between Aspirations and	The paper examines the circumstances and reasons behind women's participation in	SP
	Realities: Northern Ghanaian Migrant	a seasonal migration usually undertaken by young men. Drawing on three women's	
	Women and the Dilemma of Household	stories to the author argue that most migrant women must balance their husbands'	
	(Re)production in Southern Ghana. Africa	projects of accumulation and survival in the south with their own desire to return to	
	today 55(2), 54-74 their home region in the north.		
	Keywords: seasonal migration, women position, welfare effects		

Note: Type: (PR) policy report, (SP) Scientific journal paper, (IR) information report, Research Program (RP)

#### Table 3 Data used in analyses

No.	Year of publication	Year of data (period)	Source of data (Primary or Secondary)	Coverage
1	2010	2002	Population and Environment (P&E) Survey of	Part of the country (The central region
			the Central Region in Ghana.	of Ghana)
2	2006	1991/92, 1998/99	Ghana Living Standards Surveys (GLSS);	Entire country
			Ghana statistical services	
3	2008.	2004 and 2005.	1.first part, the data were collected through a	Capital (Accra), Tema Station, and
			sample survey, with structured questionnaires.	Novotel-Tudu area and Rawlings
			2. The qualitative assessment build on 10 key	Park, all within the Accra central
			informant interviews, 10 case studies and life	business district.
			histories, 3 focus group discussions, and	
			participant observation of female and male	
			porters in the markets, as well interviews of	
			non-governmental organizations working on	
			this issue. Open form of questionnaires was	
			used	

4	2013	2010	The research made use of primary sources of	Kpongu in the Wa Municipal
			data triangulated with	Assembly in the upper west region of
			secondary data sources from Wa Municipal	Ghana
			Assembly and Ghana	
			Statistical Service.	
			Open and close-ended questions.	
5	2009	2005/2006	Fifth Round of the Surveys, GLSS5	Entire country
6	2014	Population and housing	Questionnaire survey. In depth interviews,	The capital Accra, mainly old Fadama
		censuses conducted in		and Nima communities (each about 80
		2000 (2005a, 2005b		thousand inhab.).
		and 2010 (GSS 2012)		
7	2012	2011	Questionnaire survey	Upper west region of Ghana.
8	2010 -2013	December 2014	Compilation of data and the research results of	Ghana and Africa.
			the others.	
9	2007	2002 – 2006	Qualitative – questionnaire survey.	Eastern western and Ashanti regions of
				Ghana
10	2015	Individual country's	Secondary data	Various developing countries
		economic survey in		
		2014		

11	2014	2001-2013	Secondary data: national statistical offices (in	Ghana and other African countries
			Africa) and published research results of the	
			others.	
12	2012	2010 – 2011	GLSS	Entire country
13	2015	2015	Secondary data from published research	Entire country
14	2006	2006	GLSS data 1-4 from the 1987/88, 198/89,	Entire country
			1991/92 and 1998/99 respectively	
15	2016	2015	Secondary (literature review)	Entire country
16	2008	2007	Case studies	Selected North-south migrants, Ghana

Table 4 Method used in the investigated researches

#	Econometrics	Modelling	Statistical	Qualitative
			analysis	
1	✓ Logit	✓		✓
2	✓ Lin.	✓		
	Regr.			
3				✓
4				✓
5	✓		_	
6			✓	✓
7			✓	✓
8				✓
9			✓	✓
10				
11			✓	✓
12	✓ Probit		✓	
13			✓	✓
14	✓ Regr	$\checkmark$		
15			✓	✓
16				✓
Total	5	3	7	11
%	31	19	44	69

#### Table 5 Investigated demographic determinants of migrants (migrating members of household)

No.	Gender	Age	Education	Marital status	Head of	Religious status	Size of
	focus				household		household
1	Male and	15 years	Primary and	Single and married	Males		3-6 members
	female	and above	secondary				of household
		(*)	(*)				(*)
2	Male and	15 years	Primary	Married	Males		2-6 members
	female	and above					of household
	(*)						
3	Female*	13years and	No Education /	Single	Mostly females	Muslims (^)	3 and above
		above	Primary				
4	Male and	young	Skilled or skill				
	female	people	seeking tend to				
			migrate.				
5	Male and	13 years	Primary,	Single	Male/Female		2-6
	female	and above	secondary school				
	(*)		level				

6	Male and	13 years	No Education/		Male	
	female	and above	Primary level			
7	Female	10 - 24	No Education/	Single		
		years	Primary level			
			and secondary			
8	Male and	15 years	Primary	Never	Male	3-6
	Female	and above	level/Secondary	married/Divorced/teena		
			level	ge mothers		
9	Male	15 years	No Education/	Married/Divorced	Male	3-7
		and above	Primary level and			
			secondary			
10	Male and	13 years	No education	Married/Divorced	Male	2-8
	Female	and above	/Primary level			
11	Male and	15 years'	No	Married/Divorced	Male and female	3-10
	Female	above	Education/Primar			
			y level and			
			secondary			
12	Male and	Adult	Considered and		Male /female	2-7
	female		significant factor			

13	Female	Adult	Little or no	considered	Female	2-8
	and male		education			

14	Female	15 years	No	Single, married or	Male/Female	2-5
	and male	and above	Education/Primar	divorced		
			y level and			
			secondary			
15	Female	13 years	No or little	Pre-teen, Teenagers,	Male and female	considered
	and male	and above	education	Teenage mothers,		
			background	Single parents, Married		
				or divorced		
16	Female	15 years		Married	Male	considered
		and above				

Source: Authors own compilation

(^) This study was bot cantered to a particular ethnic group in Ghana. This is because the northern part of Ghana is predominantly Muslim dominated with a few who are catholic Christians.

Table 6 Socio-economic factors supporting/ discouraging migration

No.	Self employed	Employee	Access to urban	Access to
			labour market	housing and
				utilities
1	✓	+*	✓	
2	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
3			$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
4	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
5	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
6	✓		✓	✓
7	✓		✓	✓
8	✓	✓	✓	
9			$\checkmark$	✓
10	✓	✓	✓	
11	✓	✓	✓	
12	✓	✓	✓	
13	✓	✓	✓	
14		✓	✓	
15		$\checkmark$		
16				✓

<sup>✓</sup> considered in the research, \* identified as significant,

<sup>+</sup> encouraging - discouraging migration

Appendix 9

Table 7 Socioeconomic factors / migrants' expectations

No.	Better job	Better	Better	Better	Security	Cultural
	opportunities	health	access to	access to	purpose	/Experiencing
		care	education	water and		the urban life
				sanitation		
1	✓					
2	✓			✓		
3	<b>√</b> ^					
4	<b>√</b> ^					✓
5	✓					
6	<b>√</b> ^		$\checkmark$			
7	<b>√</b> ∧					
8	✓					
9	<b>√</b> ∧					✓
10	✓					
11	✓					
12	✓					✓
13	✓					
14	✓					
15	✓					
16						

Note: ^ poverty escape

Appendix 10

Table 8 Economic reasons for migration

No.	Income differential	Economic	Remittances
		independence	
1	✓		✓
2	$\checkmark$		✓
3	$\checkmark$	✓	
4	✓		✓
5	✓	✓	✓
6	✓		✓
7	✓	✓	✓
8	✓		✓
9	$\checkmark$	✓	✓
10	✓	✓	✓
11	$\checkmark$	✓	✓
12	$\checkmark$		✓
13	✓	$\checkmark$	✓
14	✓		✓
15	✓	$\checkmark$	✓
16	✓ (husband)	✓	

Table 9 Studied impact of migration on wellbeing of migrants in urban areas

No.	Urban area	Access to housing	Access to water	Access to utilities	Employment	Subjective view	Education/ skill
		Housing				on urban	acquirement
						livelihood/wellbei	
						ng	
1	Accra Capecoast						
	and Sekondi						
	Takoradi						
2	The whole		considred as	considred as	considred as factor		Factor affecting
	country but		factor affecting	factor affecting	affecting consuption		welfare
	centred in Accra		consuption	consuption			
2			D. I	A1 1	E 1 D /	T '((1	N. C. 1 1
3	Accra	Open spaces or	Bad	Abysmal	Female Porters,	Little earning, but	No formal work
		very small rented			helping in Markets	some welfare	experience or
		apartment				gains	qualification
							gains

4	Upper west region		Deplorable	Poor	Market porters,	Poor	Little opporunity
					shop helper and		for obtaining
					vendors		qualification
5	whole country but						More qualified
	centered in Accra,						and capable
	Kumasi, Cape-						leave the
	coast						community
6	Accra	Shanty forms of	Deprived	Deprived	Manual porter	Even in slums	Disadvantaged
	(Ghana)	self-built			works and self	some	with no formal
		apartment with			employed	opportunities for	education
		wood				improvement	
7	Mainly Kumasi,	In Slums, basic	Poor	Poor	Female porters	Capacity for	No formal
	Accra Capecoast	(no toilets)				collective action	qualification
						makes life better	
8	Entire country but	Small apartments	Underprivileged	intolerable	Self-employed	Upgrading	Unqualified for
	centered on	and overcrowded			(informal labour;		formal work
	Accra,kumasi and	slums			Market head		
	Takoradi				porters)		

9	Kmasi, and Accra.	Slams and self-	Bearable	Unfortunate yet	Manual work and	Improvement	Unqualified for
		built apartments		endurable by	street hawkers		formal work
		with wood.		people			

10	Sub-Saharan	Slums of urban	Poor	Poor	Employees, often	Improvement	No certificate to
	Africa and the	cities			manual jobs		work in formal
	world						sector
11	Ghana	City slums and	Good	Good	Often Employees	Possible Progress	Locals with no
		cheap apartment			(Working manually)		certificate and
							those abroad
							have some
							qualifications
12	Accra and Kumasi	Overcrowded	Poor	Poor	Manual works or	Development	No qualification
	(Ghana)	residences and			porter	over years	
		slums					
13	Entire country	Overcrowded	Poor	Poor	Manual work and	Future progress	Little or no
		residences and			street hawkers		education
		slums					background
14	Whole country	Overcrowded	Very poor	poor	Manual work and		No education
		residences and			street hawkers		background
		slums					

15	Northern part and	Slams and self-	Very poor	Very poor	Self-employed,	No qualification
	southern part	built apartments			Manual work and	
		with wood			street hawkers	
16	Northern part and	On farm			Manual work on	
	southern part				farm	