Rural-Urban Migrants and Urban Employment in Ghana: A case study of rural migrants from Northern Region to Kumasi.

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ABSTRACT

Studies have shown that rural-urban migrants migrate to search for employment opportunities in urban areas. Despite the prominence of this factor, little is known of how rural-urban migrants jostle for employment in the cities. Using a case study research design and a qualitative research strategy, this study investigates how rural migrants in Ghana jostle for employment in the urban areas. Specifically, the study investigates the factors that influence migrants' decision to migrate to urban areas, their job search strategies, the challenges they face and their coping strategies. Also, the use of the outcomes of their employment activities on their livelihoods are examined. Data were collected from 89 migrants and 16 opinion leaders in Aboabo, a suburb in Kumasi, Ghana, using interviews, focus group discussions and observations. The study draws from the Social Networks Theory and The Sustainable Livelihood Approach to conduct the study. The results show that the reasons for migration are mostly economic and are linked to unemployment, low incomes, lack of rural job opportunities, climate change and worsening living conditions in the rural areas. Migrants mostly engage in informal activities in the city because of their low levels of formal education. The findings reveal that despite being accused as the cause of increasing unemployment in urban Ghana, migrants jostle for employment by engaging in multiple income generating activities, creating their own jobs in the informal sector, employing each other and depending on friends and relatives and using their mobile phones for job-related information. In the process of engaging in their employment activities, they are vulnerable of being victimised, stigmatised, and criminalised and are challenged with physical injuries, indebtedness, and cheating from their customers. These challenges emanate from their relationship with the native residents, city authorities and law enforcement agencies and the migrant's low level of educational attainment, youthful age structure and the nature of their jobs. The migrants cope with these challenges by seeking the help of friends and relatives and ethnic associations in addition to depending on their spiritual and religious belief systems. The migrants use the outcomes of their employment activities to improve their livelihoods through investing in agriculture, building houses, establishing businesses and educating their children.

DEDICATION

To my mother Mma Amina Mahaha for her love and support throughout my education.

To the memory of my late father, Wulana Alhassan Yakubu, may peace and the blessings of Allah be upon your soul.

To all those who give up their comfort to help sustain the livelihoods of their families in rural areas.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DECLARATION

I, Alhassan Yakubu Alhassan, hereby declare that this dissertation **"Rural-urban migrants and urban employment in Ghana: a case study of rural migrants from Northern Region to Kumasi"** is my own work towards the award of MSc Global Development and Planning – Specialisation in Development Management. I further declare that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published by any other person nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree in this University or any other institution, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text and in the reference list.

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Alhassan Yakubu Alhassan

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LISTS OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AfDB	African Development Bank
GLSS	Ghana Living Standard Survey
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
WFP	World Food Programme

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In the wake of globalisation and improvement in transportation over the years, the movement of people within and across international and internal boundaries has increased. This has made migration one of the defining global issues of the twenty-first century and an enduring theme of human history (Awumbila, Manuh, Quartey, Tagoe & Bosiakoh, 2008). An important aspect of movement of people within the boundaries of nations is rural to urban labour migration, which has led to increasing urbanisation around the world, especially in developing countries (UN-HABITAT, 2009; UN DESA, 2014; IOM, 2015). According to IOM (2015), over a third of the population in most cities around the world are migrants and in some cities, migrants account for more than half of the population. Consequently, an estimate of three million people around the world are moving to cities every week (UN-HABITAT, 2009).

If this trend continues, the current urban population of about 3.6 billion as at 2011 is projected to increase by 2.5 billion making the number of people living in urban areas around the world to reach approximately 6.4 billion by the end of 2050 (UN DESA, 2014). In Africa, the UN-HABITAT (2010) showed that the rate of urbanisation soared from 15% in 1960 to 40% in 2010, and is projected to reach 60% by 2050. Similarly, the World Bank estimated that, over the last three decades (1980-2010), Ghana's urban population increased from four million to approximately 14 million people, more than triple the size and outpacing rural population growth (World Bank, 2012). Recently, the UN-HABITAT (2014) found that more than half of Ghana's population live in urban areas, and the urbanisation rate, with its attendant problems is projected to reach 72% by 2035.

However, the rapid urbanisation is said to be resulting in the creation of slums and increasing levels of unemployment in many urban areas of the developing world. Estimates by UN-HABITAT (2010) show that about 70% of all urban residents in sub-Saharan Africa live in slums. Also, according to AfDB, OECD, UNDP & UNECA (2012), in many African countries, the urban unemployment rate is estimated to be more than six times higher than the rate in rural areas. Kingdom and Knight (2004) observed an increase in the probability of an urban dweller becoming unemployed by 8.6 percent more than rural dwellers in South Africa. Similarly, high rates of unemployment have been reported in Ghana, especially in urban areas (Baah-Boateng, 2013). A

report by World Bank (2015) on unemployment in Ghana revealed that about 48 percent of Ghanaians between the ages of 15-24 do not have jobs. The Ghana Living Standards Survey for the year 2012/2013 states that the unemployment rate in the country "is marginally higher for females (2.0%) than males (1.6%) and higher in urban areas (3.5%) than in rural areas (0.8%) (GSS, 2013a:57). This is projected to increase in the future because while the annual population growth rate is projected to remain at 2.2%, its labour force is estimated to increase yearly by 2.9% for the next decade (GSS, 2012).

The unemployment rates in Ghana has effects on both migration and urbanisation. On one hand, unemployment in Ghana has led many, especially the youth, to migrate from rural areas to urban areas in search of employment opportunities. On the other hand, the regular migration of rural folks to the cities leads to higher unemployment rates in the cities than in the rural areas (Honorati & de Silva, 2016). Generally, relative to rural areas, residing in an urban area increases the likelihood of being unemployed in Ghana (Sackey & Osei, 2006). However, since internal migrants are most likely to be left out in census statistics, the unemployment situation may even be higher than estimated among those who migrate.

Although, Ghana has witnessed the emigration of people over the years to other countries, internally, migration of people from Northern to Southern Ghana has been on-going since pre-colonial times (Manuh, 2006). Due to the fluid nature of migration in Ghana, there are limited statistical data that capture the true reflection of the internal migration situation in Ghana. However, available statistics by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) in the 2010 census, revealed that there was at least one internal migrant in more than 43% of all households in Ghana compared to 35% in the year 2000 (GSS, 2012). In the past, these movements were more seasonal in nature and were often made up of male adults who moved either alone or with their relatives to the central and southern parts of the country to enjoy opportunities in the mining and cocoa-growing areas (Awumbila, 2007). In contemporary times, however, the movements are all-year round and have involved all kinds of people including children between the ages of 8 – 17 years old, who migrate independently from the Northern parts of the country to urban areas in the Southern part (Kwankye, 2012).

While rural-urban migration in Ghana is not a new phenomenon, the recent increase in numbers has resulted in increasing pressures on resources such as employment and housing in the urban

areas (Castaldo, Deshingkar & McKay, 2012). Out of the total number of Ghana's total urban population, nearly 37.9% live in slums (UN-HABITAT, 2014). Rural migrants are often physically isolated living in slum areas and are typically seen as creating pressure on urban employment, and infrastructure and often is linked to rising levels of urban poverty (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). This is because, a lot of the rural migrants do not have formal skills that are needed in the formal sector employment and often find themselves unemployed or are working in the informal sector (Kwankye, 2012; Awumbila, 2014). However, the informal sector in Ghana is characterized by underemployment, unfavourable working conditions, uncertain work relationships and low wages (Osei-Boateng &Ampratwum, 2011; Brown & McGranahan, 2016). Many of the workers in the informal sector work long hours in deplorable working conditions, insecure, unsafe, and low-paid jobs and are often exposed to a wide range of hazards because most low-income and informal jobs lack basic infrastructure (Tacoli, McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2015).

In the light of this background, this study investigates how rural migrants manoeuvre for employment activities in urban Ghana using a case study of migrants from rural areas in Northern Ghana to Kumasi. Specifically, the study:

1. explores the factors that influence the decision of migrants to migrate from rural to urban areas.
2. analyses the strategies employed by rural migrants to find jobs in urban areas.
3. examines the challenges rural migrants face in their jobs and strategies used to cope with those challenges.
4. assesses how the migrants use the outcomes of their job activities in their livelihoods.

The study contributes to the debate on migration, urbanisation and development by providing insights into the reasons why the migrants leave the rural areas in search for jobs in the urban areas and their employment activities in the urban areas. It also brings to light the challenges that rural migrants face in their employment activities in urban areas and how they cope with those challenges. Further, how rural migrants use the outcomes of their employment activities in the cities to sustain their livelihoods and that of their families are emphasised. With that knowledge, measures can be taken to improve living standards and to reduce inequalities in the Ghanaian society and in other countries. Policy-wise, an understanding of job-related threats and coping strategies among rural migrants could further facilitate improvement of existing or the formulation

of more effective and appropriate interventions in bolstering the resilience of migrants to coping with job-related threats.

Another reason that makes the rural migrants an important and thought-provoking group to investigate is that they are often left out of official statistics. The study is intended to provide researchers and policy makers with fresh insights into the debate on rural-urban migration and employment among rural migrants in cities. This study will not only add new knowledge to this neglected area, but will also provide information for policy makers to better understand the needs of migrants and urban informal sector workers.

This study recognises migration according to Mabogunje (1970), as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence and rural-urban migration as a sort of internal migration that involves the movement of people from rural to urban areas. "Migrant(s)", "rural migrant(s)" and "rural-urban migrant(s)" are used interchangeably to refer to people who have migrated from rural areas in Northern Region to the study area. "Urban" and "rural" areas are defined according to the Ghana Statistical Service (2012) where localities with 5,000 or more persons are classified as urban while localities with less than 5,000 persons are classified as rural. In this regard, in interviewing migrants, caution was taken to ask first about their places of origin before the interview commences in order not to interview persons from urban areas in the north, since the focus of the thesis is on rural migrants. A job or employment is recognised as any task or piece of work that a person does, in a legal manner, to earn a living (GSS, 2012). A challenge is referred to as any difficulty that has to be resolved or dealt with in order to effectively secure their livelihood while coping is the ability of the individual to minimise or overcome challenges that confront them. Informal sector is referred to as the sector of the economy that is unregulated by the government and it is difficult to determine the number of people employed there at a particular time (GSS, 2012).

1.2 Problem Statement

Rural-urban migration research, particularly with respect to least developed countries, has been an important and growing area of research in development (Hoopengardner, 1974; Harris & Todaro, 1970; Lall, Selod & Shalizi, 2006; Tacoli, McGranahan, & Satterthwaite, 2015). Global and regional discussions about the relationship between migration and development cover a broad range of policy issues such as remittance flows, brain drain, circular migration and gender issues (Durand, et al., 1996; Amoako & Apusigah, 2013; Adaawen & Owusu, 2013; Mountford, 1997).

Strikingly, absent from these discussions is any systematic reflection on how rural migrants negotiate for employment activities in the cities once they get there. Yet, several studies in a range of developing countries have observed an increase in rural-urban migration and lack of jobs in urban areas (Osei-Boateng, & Ampratwum, 2011; Tacoli, McGranahan, & Satterthwaite, 2015; Kwankye, 2012; Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Awumbila, 2014; Awumbila, Owusu, & Teye, 2014). Given the growing and well-known difficulties that face the overall Ghanaian population in finding productive employment (World Bank, 2012; Baah-Boateng, 2013; Honorati & de Silva, 2016; Sackey and Osei, 2006; Kwankye, 2012; Awumbila, 2014; Tacoli, McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2015), it is important to study the job-seeking strategies of rural migrants and their working conditions in the complex urban environment where unemployment is on the increase.

Not surprisingly, there have been much research and policy debates in Ghana on migration and development (see Yeboah, et at., 2015; Agyei, Kumi & Yeboah, 2016; Asante, 2014; Awumbila, 2014; Awumbila, & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Awumbila et al., 2008; Awumbila, Owusu, & Teye, 2014; Amoako & Apusigah, 2013). Several of the studies on rural-urban migration in Ghana agree that one of the strongest factors responsible for the internal migration is the search for better work opportunities in urban areas than those existing in the rural areas. Despite the prominence of this factor, there is limited literature focusing specifically on how migrants get jobs when they get to the cities. Those that do study rural-urban migration and employment in urban areas have been mainly quantitative in nature (Awumbila, Owusu & Teye, 2014; Kwankye, 2012) and often rely on rather old data sets and sometimes produce inconsistent and contradictory results (Kwankye et al., 2009; Kwankye, 2012; Yeboah et al., 2015).

While recent studies have concentred on the general livelihood strategies of migrants in urban areas (Agyei, Kumi & Yeboah, 2016; Adaawen & Owusu, 2014; Awumbila, Owusu, & Teye, 2014; Amoako & Apusigah, 2013), they have not been able to explicitly expose different job-related threats facing the migrants, as well as strategies they employ to cope with such threats.

Generally, there have been extensive literature on migration development nexus, however, what is always left out in the discussion is how migrants jostle for jobs once they arrive to the destination area. This kind of realisation offers a striking justification for this thesis to draw on qualitative methods to gain in-depth understanding of the reasons why migrants leave for work in cities, the

jobs they do, and how they find the jobs, the challenges they face in their jobs and how they cope with those challenges, as well as the extent to which they use their jobs to secure their livelihoods in the city and their families in their places of origin.

Even though it has been the focus of abundant research over the past decades, existing studies on rural-urban migration in developing countries, specifically in Ghana, have generally not exhaustively touched on rural migrants' employment trajectories in the urban areas. In order to contribute to this debate on migration and development issues, this thesis explored how rural migrants get jobs in the cities, the challenges they face in the jobs as well as the coping strategies they adopt to mitigate those challenges. By identifying these issues, policy makers in Ghana and elsewhere would be better informed about the needs of migrant workers and come out with laudable polities to address those issues.

1.3 Research Questions

The main research question is how do rural migrants jostle for employment opportunities in urban areas in Ghana?

To answer this question, the study addresses the following specific questions:

1. Why do rural migrants migrate to the city and how do they arrive at the decision to migrate?
2. How do rural migrants strategize to find jobs in urban areas and why do they use those strategies?
3. What challenges do rural migrants face in their jobs and how do they cope with those challenges?
4. How do rural migrants secure their livelihoods with the outcomes of their employment activities in the city?

1.4 Geographical Context

Having understood the background and the aim of the study, the subject of this study will, in this section, be operationalized in a geographical context. General information about Kumasi and more specific information about Aboabo (the study area) are presented. The aim here is to put the study in context and give essential background information in the light of which the research questions are addressed, and, later, the research results are interpreted and discussed based on the field work. In this study, the focus is on migrants who move from rural areas in the Northern Region to Kumasi. This movement is depicted in figure 1.

1.4.1 Kumasi Metropolis

The Kumasi Metropolis is one of the thirty (30) districts in Ashanti Region. Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti Region is Ghana's second largest city after the national capital, Accra, with a population of 1,730,249, comprising 47.8% males and 52.2% females (GSS, 2014b).

Figure 1: Map of Ghana Showing migration from Northern Region to Kumasi
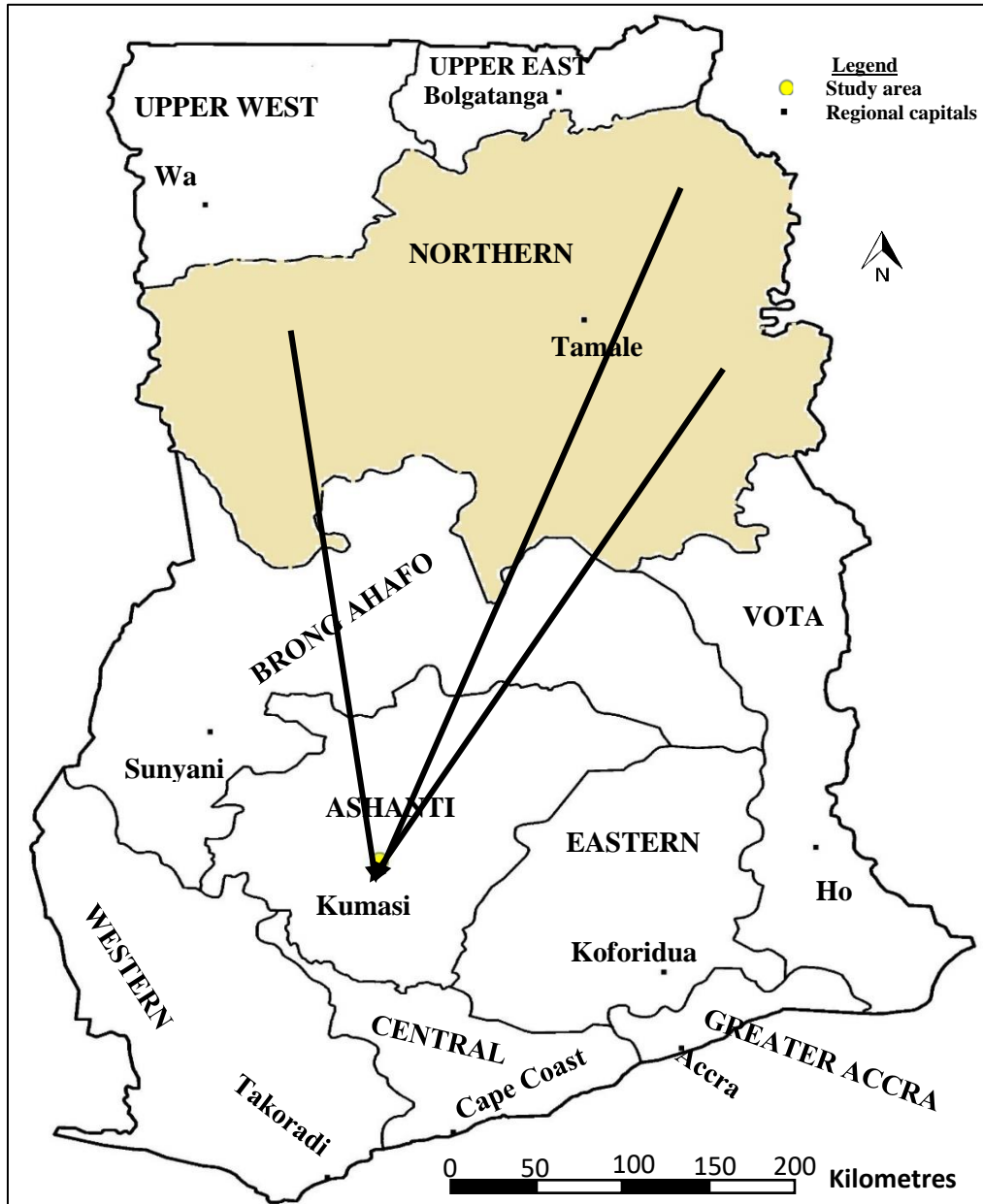
Source: Ghana Statistical Service, (2012)

The Metropolis covers a land area of 214.3 square kilometres, which is 0.9% of the region's land area of 24,389 square kilometres and has a population density of 8,075 persons per square

kilometre. It is located between Latitude 6.35ºN and 6.40ºS and Longitude 1.30ºW and 1.35ºE and approximately 270km north of Accra. Kumasi is endowed with many beautiful flowers and plants which makes it attractive migrants from all regions in Ghana and other neighbouring countries. As a result, it is popularly known as the "Garden City of West Africa". It is highly urbanized with a large migrant population. The 2010 population and housing census (GSS, 2014b) reported that migrants represent 53.7% of the population in Kumasi Metropolis. This means that the current population of Kumasi Metropolis comprises less than half of persons born within the Metropolis.

The potential labour force, aged 15-64 years, is made up of 63% of the population of Metropolis, the dependent population, ages of 65 years and older and persons in the age range of 14 years and less constituted 37% the population (GSS, 2014b). These are slightly different from the national statistics of which 57% of the total population are in the active labour force (15-64 years old) while 43% being in the dependent population (GSS, 2012).

With regards to employment in the metropolis, the data from GSS, (2014b) shows that out of the economically active population, 91.4 percent is employed while 8.6 percent is unemployed. Out of the working population, about 90.5% are working in the private sector while the public sector, on the other hand, employs only 8.6% of the working population in the metropolis. NGOs (local and international) and other international organisations employ less than one percent (0.7%) of the working population. Similarly, the national data reveal the private sector is the largest employer in the country, accounting for 93.1 percent of the economically active persons (GSS, 2012). The public sector, which is the second largest employer, accounts for only 6.3% of the working population in the country. Irrespective of sex and region of residence, the private sector remains the largest employer of the working population.

Data on the mobile phone ownership usage among the population in the Metropolis illustrates that out of a total population of persons aged 12 years and older, 72.4% have mobile phones. This is higher than the national average of 47.8% owning mobile phones. On internet usage, 16.1% were using internet facilities. Compared to a decade ago, (2000 census), only 1.2% of the population own a mobile phone and less than one percent (0.7) were using internet. Nation-wide, urban dwellers are more likely to own mobile phones (63.4%) and use the internet (12.7%) than rural dwellers (29.6% and 2.1% respectively).

The political governance of the Metropolis is vested in Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA). It is mandated to exercise deliberative, legislative, and executive functions within the Metropolis and is responsible for the overall development of the Metropolis. It ensures the preparation of development plans and budgets; formulates and executes plans, programmes, and strategies for effective mobilisation of resources; promotes and supports productive activity and social development as well as initiates programmes for the development of basic infrastructure and provides municipal works and services in the sub-metropolitan areas.

Kumasi was selected as the migrants' receiving area owing to its being a city that has attracted migrants from all over Ghana and other West African countries (GSS, 2014b). Situated in the middle of Ghana, Kumasi has very strong linkages to other parts of the country. Its strategic location, coupled with its status as a commercial hub in Ghana, has made it a destination for both internal and international migrants. The rapid urbanisation process in Kumasi has brought about threats such as higher commodity prices, unemployment, inadequate shelter and increase in crime rates and homicides, which have been worsened by the limited capacities of the government and city authorities to respond to them. As a result, several slums have sprung up in the city to cater for the housing and accommodation needs of the urban poor, especially immigrants. Therefore, it was deemed interesting to explore how rural migrants jostle for employment while residing in urban slums and what specific challenges they encounter since they come from a slightly diverse cultural orientation from that of Kumasi. As a result, the area offers a fantastic environment to study the kind of jobs rural migrants from Northern Ghana do, how they get the jobs, the challenges they face in the jobs as well as the strategies they adopt to cope with those challenges and the extent to which they are capable of coping as well as the use of their activities in their livelihoods in the city and in the rural areas.

1.4.2 Aboabo in Context

This study focused on Aboabo in Kumasi, one of the immigrant destinations in Ghana. Aboabo was chosen because it is a major rural migrant-receiving neighbourhood in Kumasi. It has a projected population of about 43,148 as at 2010 and 6,626 households; occupying an area of about 1.6-kilometers square (GSS, 2014b). It is a poor, slum neighbourhood of Kumasi which emerged in the 1940s, as a melting pot of ethnic groups and nationalities, especially from Northern Ghana

and the West Africa Sahelian countries of Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso. It is located along the abandoned railway line in Kumasi, about 4.5 km east of the Central Business District.

Due to its proximity to the Kumasi Central Market, Aboabo is attractive to migrants in search of greener pastures, whose jobs are located along the railway line. Thus, they find it convenient to live close by their jobs and turning residential areas into places of work. There are several small economic enterprises and services for residents, such as hairdressing, food production and dressmaking. Most of the young men are engaged in the collection and sale of electronic waste materials, popularly known as scrap dealing, while the young girls engage in kayayei[1]. For the scrap dealers, their work places often act as their place of sleep and thus, lowering the cost of living.

Figure 2: Map of Kumasi showing Aboabo
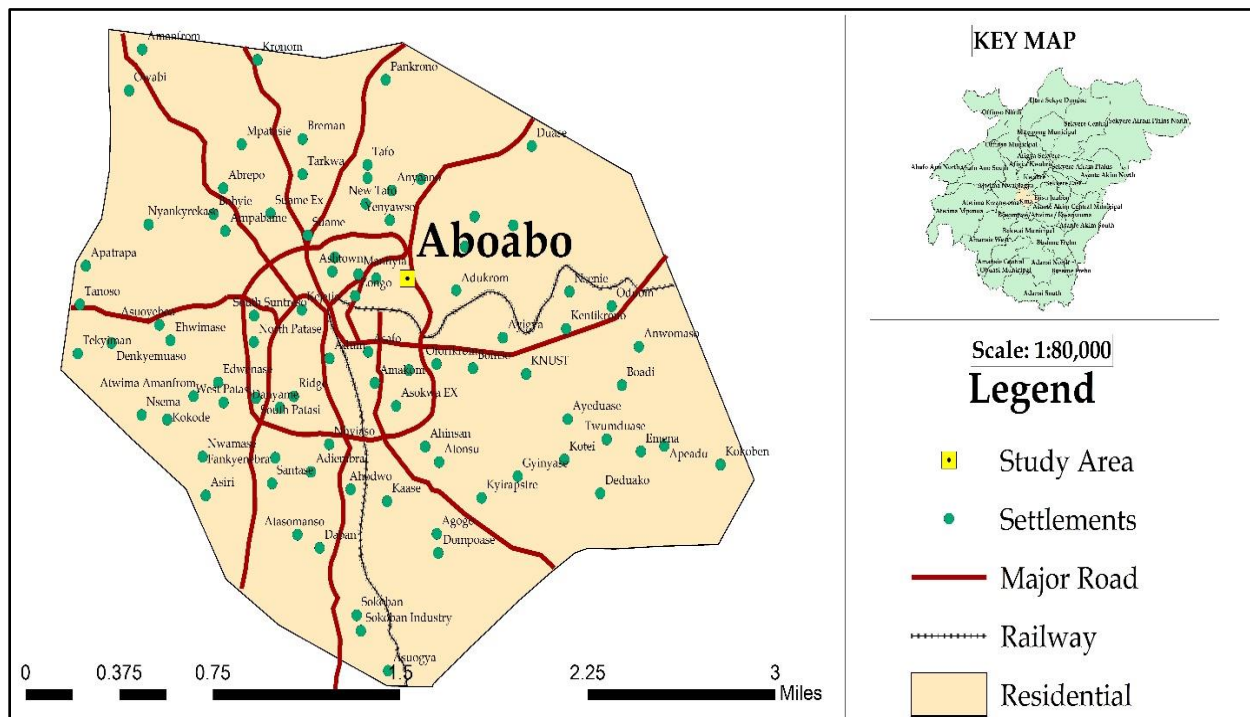
Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2014

The community fits the definition of slum according to Turkstra & Raithelhuber (2004), as a densely populated urban environment which is in a bad state of repairs and has inadequate services including poor sanitation, poor supply of electricity and irregular water supply to support its

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[1] Kayayei is used to denote the migrants who carry loads on their heads for fees. Their services are used by most trader who need help in carting an item from the point of purchase to another point.

inhabitants. It is also characterised by insecure residential status, overcrowding and non-compliance with planning and building regulations, leading to clustered settlement. Its clustered nature is as a result of its status as an old town because the first dwellers built their housing without any defined plans (Amoako & Cobbinah, 2011). Further, there are deplorable living conditions, inadequate social services, high levels of communicable diseases, and exposure to fire outbreaks, floods and violence (Agyarko-Oduro, 2009).

Most of the houses are constructed with wooden structures as a result of the fear of eviction because the dwellers do not enjoy security of land tenure. In other words, the dwellers of Aboabo fear to lose their housing investments in times of demolition exercises or when the railway lines are reactivated, hence prefer to live in the wooden shacks. This confirms the statement that slum areas with no security of land tenure have most houses built with inferior materials hence, poor structural quality of housing (UN-HABITAT, 2006).

Figure 3: Sections of Aboabo that acts as a place of work and residence for the migrants

Source: Author's Field Work, 2017

The households in Aboabo patronise the public toilet (Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit- KVIP), a public toilet facility which provided and managed by the Metropolitan Assembly. The community of about 6,626 households is served with only four public toilet facilities, two of which are in bad shape. The high percentage of the people patronizing the public KVIP is because of the clustered nature of dwellings which makes it difficult for each household to own a private toilet facility. Besides, the location of the settlement hinders them from putting up permanent structures in the

community. Also, due to the clustered and unplanned nature of the community, the dwellers have no access to potable water in their homes (King & Amponsah, 2012)

The choice of Aboabo as the study area is motivated by the fact that it is a typical migrant destination within Kumasi and, despite its deplorable nature, continues to attract migrants. Also, as a slum community, Aboabo provided a good background to understand how migrants jostle for employment activities in this otherwise undesirable area of the city.

1.5 Thesis outline

The study is organized into seven chapters.

Chapter one presents an introduction to the thesis and consists of the background of the study, problem statement, research questions, overview of the study area and the outline.

Chapter two presents a review of empirical literature on rural-urban migration in in the Ghanaian and African context. The chapter concentrates on overview of north-south migration in Ghana, the determinants of migration decisions, characteristics of rural migrants, job search strategies among rural migrants in cities, perceptions towards rural migrants in cities, challenges facing rural migration and the coping strategies they adopt.

Chapter three discusses the theoretical framework that was adopted to conduct the study. It presents a discussion of the rational choice theories, the structural theories, the system approach to migration, the social networks theory, the sustainable livelihood approach and the analytical framework adopted in this thesis.

Chapter four presents the research methods employed in this thesis. The research design, the study population, sources of data, sampling and sampling techniques, methods of data collection, methods of data analysis, validity and reliability of the study, ethical consideration and challenges encountered in the field are presented.

Chapter five presents the actual research results based on the field data. The presentation is based on the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, factors responsible for migration, types of jobs migrants do and their job search strategies, challenges and coping strategies of migrants and the use of the outcomes of the employment activities of the migrants.

Chapter six discusses and analysis the findings in the light of the theoretical framework and the research questions. The factors responsible for migrating and the migration decision making process, the strategies employed by rural migrants to find jobs, the challenges and coping strategies and the usage of the outcomes of the job activities of the migrants are analysed and interpreted.

Finally, chapter seven presents the summary of key findings, limitations and suggestions for future research, policy recommendations and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: MIGRATION IN AFRICA AND GHANA

2.1 Introduction

Based on the research questions, this chapter focuses on drawing from existing migration literature around Africa and in Ghana to identify the research gap to be filled by this thesis. It is also aimed at broadening the scope of the thesis in data collection, analysis, and the discussion of the findings. The reviewed literature thus includes overview of the north-south migration in Ghana, determinants of rural-urban migration decisions, the characteristics of rural migrants, types of jobs and job search strategies among rural migrants, perceptions towards rural migrants, challenges they face as they work in the cities and how they cope with those challenges. Finally, the chapter concludes by elucidating the research gap addressed by this thesis.

2.2 Overview of North - South migration in Ghana

This section presents a brief overview of the North to South migration in Ghana to provide a background on the kind of migrants from whom data was collected for the study and the analysis and interpretation of the results are based upon. According to (Plange, 1979), the North-South migration has been ongoing for a long time, prior to colonialism. This pattern has largely been attributed to environmental causes, coupled with poverty and population growth (Webber, 1996; Rademacher-Schulz, Schraven & Mahama, 2014).

As a result of its location in then semi-arid Savannah Ecological Zone, Northern Ghana is exposed to environmental risks, which makes outmigration one of the means of adaptation (Amoah & Eshun, 2013). Van der Geest (2011), found that there is a significant relationship between less rainfall and poor vegetative cover and outmigration from Northern Ghana to other parts of the country. Economically more than 70% of the active labour force of Northern Ghana is engaged in agricultural activities (GSS, 2012). As a result of environmental changes in the region, there are increasing variability of rainfall patterns which exposed farmers to high risks of crop failure and loss of livestock, resulting in significant loss in productivity (Assan, Caminade & Obeng, 2009; Hesselberg & Yaro, 2006).

These environmental conditions, combined with colonial and post-colonial government policies, have intensified poverty, unemployment, lack of access to facilities, low educational attainment, vulnerability and hardships for majority of people in Northern Ghana (Bhasin & Annim, 2005). A major dimension of poverty in Northern Ghana is the challenge of food security. According to a

study by the World Food Programme (2013), in Ghana a national average of 5% of the population is recorded as food-insecure with about an average 16% of people in Northern Ghana (three times the national average) considered being hungry.

From time immemorial, Northern Ghana has also been plunged into series of conflicts that has devastated the region of its development potentials (Awedoba, 2010; Tonah, 2012). Of relevant to this are the Komkomba and Nanumba conflict, Andani and Abudu conflict in the Dagbon Traditional Area, the Kuasasi-Mampurusi conflict in Bawku (Kusimi et al., (2006). As a result of these and many other conflicts, the southern part is seen as a haven for people to seek refuge, hence, the continued migration of people from the Northern parts of the country to the Southern parts.

Furthermore, post-independence governmental economic policies also lagged greatly in bridging the north-south developmental and poverty gap in the country (Songsore, 2011). As a result of these inequalities there are high levels of unemployment and poor infrastructure in the three regions of the Northern part of Ghana (Arthur, 1991). These brought a trend of unequal regional development between the Northern and Southern parts of the country. To Plange (1979), the high levels of poverty and development gap in post-independence times have abetted to sustain the southward exodus of people from Northern Ghana.

2.3 Determinants of Migration Decision

Throughout human history, migration has been employed as a primary strategy for better opportunities of prosperity and survival. In sub-Saharan Africa, Vargas-Lundius, Basu, and Suttie (2014) argued that important factors compelling rural outmigration are: lack of decent rural employment opportunities, limited or non-existent access to credit, resources and markets, and lack of appeal and viability of traditional agricultural work. The decision to migrate in Ghana is usually a response to a combination of many factors (Awumbila et al., 2011), from economic, social, and political to environmental factors (Dako-Gyeke, 2016). Rural poverty manifested in low agricultural incomes, poor productivity and underemployment are pushing many migrants out of rural areas towards areas with greater (perceived) opportunities (Awumbila, & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). Also, the need to purchase requirements for preparation towards marriage, and socio-cultural factors drive migration in Ghana (Bhasin & Annim, 2005). This line of reasoning has also been empirically captured in sub-Saharan Africa by Skinner (1965) in a study among the

Mossi of Burkina Faso who revealed that the Mossi mostly migrated to work in southern Ghana and the Ivory Coast mainly because of economic reasons.

Another important cause of rural-urban migration is environmental-related factors and particularly climate change, as evidenced in the greater part of Africa (Tacoli 2008; Tacoli 2009). According to a report by Marchiori, Maystadt, and Scumacher, (2010), in the period from 1960 to 2000, variations in climate has been responsible for a displacement of 2.55 million people in Sub-Saharan Africa. The problem is particularly severe for countries, such as Ghana, that depend mostly on the agriculture sector. In East and the Horn of Africa, Mbonile and Iihawa (1996) reported that floods and droughts led to the decline of livestock and agricultural economy, thus exasperating urban migration. In Ghana, Abdul-Korah, (2007) found that lack of adequate rainfall and the consequent difficulties in coping with life and family responsibilities as a major reason why most men left their villages to the cities. Similarly, Van den Berg (2007), contends that the seasonal nature of labour migration- based on alternating slack and busy seasons between Northern and southern Ghana - makes north–south migration appears as a natural adaptation to climate change. In relation to this, the findings of Van der Geest, Vrieling and Dietz (2010) argue that environmental factors play an important role in causing migration from Northern Ghana to Ghana's middle belt, and within southern Ghana to the cocoa frontier settlement.

Though economic reasons are critical factors underpinning movement of rural residents to cities (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 in Ghana. Moreover, research into the decision-making processes behind whether to migrate or not also reflects the importance of societal and cultural factors at play. For instance, Black et al., (2011), identified many macro-level influences on migration decisions, which include societal norms and values about migration, opportunities or constraints and accessibility as well as how people perceive them.

Also, exaggerated expectations of high-quality city life act to pull rural residents out of their locality. A study by Awumbila (2014), depicted that the exaggeration is conveyed especially by returned migrants in Northern Ghana who need to have a positive image about themselves in the minds of others. Similarly, a recent survey on the living standards of Ghanaians revealed that domestic considerations rather than employment needs played a crucial role in the decision to

migrate for majority of people, with about 60% of all migrants having mentioned a marriage-related issue (domestic disputes and family responsibilities) as the basis for migrating (GSS, 2014a). That is, though most people migrate for employment in the urban areas, the goal of the employment is for domestic activities.

While these studies provide vital information on the reasons why people migrate, most exclude the perceptions and experiences of ordinary men and women migrants in shaping these processes, as well as the relationship between household and migrant characteristics in the decision-making process. The reasons why people migrated and continue to migrate are not static but change over time and space. Thus, the existing literature only identified why people decide to move, but they did not explain the reasons for mobility itself. Therefore, this literature enlightens the researcher to explore migration factors and decisions among rural migrants from rural areas of Northern Ghana to cities in southern Ghana since previous researchers produce inconsistent results.

2.4 Characteristics of Rural-Urban Migrants

Literature on the background characteristics of internal migrants in Ghana shows that contemporary north-south migration flow is largely dominated by young girls (Kwankye, 2012; Amoako & Apusigah, 2013) and women in their reproductive years, with many having little or no education (Yeboah et al., 2015; Ackah & Medvedder, 2010; Awumbila & Ardeyfio-Schandorf, 2008). Agyei et al. (2015) demonstrated in their survey that many of the migrants in southern Ghana are in their youthful stages with majority falling within the ages of 12-35years.

With respect to education, a large proportion of migrants had little or no education (Ackah & Medvedder, 2010). While the relevance of school completion has been recognised to be an imperative determinant of future earnings and the returns that individuals derives from education, a record number of studies (Agyei et al., 2015; Anarfi & Kwankye, 2005; Agyei et al., 2015) found that most of the migrants in southern Ghana have not had opportunity to attain formal schooling beyond secondary level. Grant, (2012) in a study of rural-urban migration in Brazil, Egypt, Ghana, and Vietnam found that a major constraint to better employment opportunities among poor youth in urban areas is the low level of formal education achievement. The lack of higher formal educational attainment among the migrant population is largely attributed to lack of financial resources needed to cover school related expenses (Adaween & Owusu, 2013). Unfortunately, the result of this pattern suggests that many of these migrants will struggle to find decent paying job,

or secured, long-term employment prospects (Gbortsu, 1995). Thus, making it difficult to accumulate savings, pay upfront for accommodation, or support extended families in their communities.

While these studies provide information on the characteristic of migrants, they fail to provide adequate evidence on migrants' past experiences with migration and employment on the kind of jobs they do and their choice of job search strategies in the cities. It, however, provides an analytical frame to hinge upon in the collection and analysis of data relating to the kind of people who migrate from rural to urban areas.

2.5 Job search strategies among migrants

Urban areas are characterised by high competition for jobs, where the wealthy tend to work in formal employment while poor residents work in more insecure and very low paying informal sector activities (Grant, 2012). As a result of their backgrounds, most migrants encounter limited opportunities in urban areas and are engaged in a kind of employment, referred to as the "murky sector" by Fields, (1975), because entry into this sector is typically open with little regulation. The nature of the murky sector is such that self-employment, flexible hours, and part-time work are common. Also, most rural migrants are faced with occupational restrictions and discrimination in urban areas (Fan & Stark, 2012), and typically work in jobs that many urban natives find inferior and undesirable (Chen et al., 2011). They usually get much lower payment than urban workers and appear to be more willing than locals to do the so-called "3D jobs (jobs that are dangerous, dirty and demeaning) (Roberts, 2001).

Unstable, low-paid jobs in the informal sector are common among urban poor, but the situation is often exacerbated for recent migrants who lack skills, education and especially the social networks to gain access to better employment. Among rural migrants in Ghana, Asante (2014), discovered that many rural-to-urban migrants were unable to gain employment in the formal sector, and consequently, the informal sector became a haven for them. Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008), assert most migrants from rural areas, especially in the Northern part of Ghana, to urban areas found themselves in informal sector activities such as kayayei, scrap dealing, petty trading, food vending and construction works. Many migrants believe that they could not secure jobs in the formal sector because, being migrants from rural areas, they often do not know 'powerful people' who could link them to employers in both government and formal private firms

(Awumbila, Owusu, & Teye, 2014). Because migrants usually have less access to formal resources for job-hunting, they tend to rely on personal networks, mostly through friends and family connections, as sources of job information. Since these networks are usually made through the place of origin or kin relations, new migrants end up living and working in areas with old migrants of the same origin or ethnicity (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). Although networks are important to finding jobs among rural-urban migrants, a study by Assan, (2014) revealed that some adults have made a profession of arranging and pre-financing the movement of young migrants out of rural areas and organising their jobs in the urban destinations. Non-personal channels such as internet cafés and digital devices have also been found to be popular among migrants in obtaining job information (Cartier, Castells & Qiu, 2005).

Thus, the convergence in the reliance on social networks for job searches among rural migrants has yet to be adequately examined by current research. While most researchers agree that social networks generate valuable resources that have helped people to find employment, little is known about how the dramatic population growth, institutional and technological changes in the past years have influenced the ways rural migrants jostle for employment in urban Ghana.

2.6 Perceptions towards rural migrants in cities

The perception urban residents' have towards rural migrants is likely to influence the type of jobs the migrants do and how they search for such jobs. It has the tendency to influence the challenges rural migrants face and the way they secure their livelihoods in the city (Awumbila, Owusu & Teye, 2014). In most instances, native residents' attitudes toward rural migrants are based on stereotypical assumptions such as poverty, crime, or characteristics such as job-snatchers which affect the interaction and level of trust between rural migrants and urban residents. To Tacoli (2015), migrants are generally viewed and stigmatised as inferior, incapable, cheating, violent, stealing, robbing, killing and lazy. Thomson (2015), in a report on how the world view migration, suggests that public attitudes to migration are more varied than is commonly realized. However, public discussions often focus on the perceived negative effects on the native population. Yet, not only are the contributions of immigrants often ignored, but the prevalent discourse around them is replete with myths and stereotypes which feed a sentiment of opposition among the public.

Although rural migrants play an indispensable role in economic growth in Ghana, they are frequently portrayed negatively (Awumbila, 2015). They are perceived as a threat to social stability

and are often linked to the increase in crime rates in cities. Policy makers in Ghana tend to favour policies that try to reduce poverty in rural areas, while also attempting to prevent rural–urban migration in the hope that this will prevent the transfer of poverty to cities (Owusu, 2008). This is due to the long-held perception that rural-urban migration is the main cause of poverty and inequality in urban areas. This neglects the fact that rural–urban migrants are not a homogenous group. These factors contribute to stigma against rural migrants and decrease the likelihood of finding jobs, especially in the formal sectors of the economy (Awumbila, Owusu & Teye, 2014). This perceptions by policymakers is currently contested as being misguided. This is because, instead of finding ways to mitigate against the negative aspects of rural-urban migration, policy makers see migrants as a bane to urban development in Ghana.

In sum, the available evidence does not answer how the relationship with native residents influence the job choice of migrants and their employment paths. Also, the available literature does not provide ample evidence about how those perceptions present challenges to rural migrant workers in the city.

2.7 Challenges facing rural migrants in cities and coping strategies

Literature on challenges migrants face in their destination area always focus on problems relation to finding jobs, housing, discrimination and problems with law enforcement agencies, health and hygiene concerns. Rigg et al., (2014), found that among rural migrants, labour is often the only source of income, and they often take on informal sector jobs which often involves significant risk. For instance, in the event of illness or accident, migrants are likely to lose a substantial amount of income in addition to expenses for treatment which could force them to sell assets or to become indebted (Tacoli, McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2008).

Another threat facing most rural-urban migrants in sub-Saharan Africa is inadequate shelter, which mainly emanates from financial insufficiency among migrants, as observed among the migrants of Freetown (Pratt, 2010). In Ghana, access to housing is a major concern in urban areas. Among rural migrants, renting a room and sharing facilities is common, especially when incomes are low and shelter is expensive. Kwankye et al., (2007) report low incomes, indecent shelter, exploitation by clients and harassment from city guards and difficult nature of work as the major dimensions of problems associated with the north-south migrant population in urban Ghana.

In sub-Saharan Africa, different forms of threats such as exploitation and oppression low wages, delayed salaries, overworking and segregation, is widely noted among most rural-urban migrants (Waddington, 2003). In Ghana, (Kwankye et al., 2007) found that low payment and the delay of salaries has been commonly found among many rural-urban migrants. Due to lack of formal skills and education, most migrants are incapable of raising sufficient income for their own survival in cities as well as supporting their local households, as observed among the rural-urban migrants in South Africa (Min-Harris, 2010) and East African cities (Kipuri, 2010).

Migrants in cities make use of cultural capital to cope with financial constraints, unemployment and unreliable shelter threats, including engagement in informal sector activities, as evidenced by some unskilled rural migrants in Cape Town city, South Africa (Deumert et al., 2005), who engaged in inferior and degrading activities that did not require higher levels of skills. To cope with financial hardship, migrants generally opt for cheap items, visiting inexpensive and second-hand shopping centres and only spending on basic items such as food, as opposed to luxury items such as fashion (Hossain, 2005). In Ghana, Kenya and Nigeria, (Bah et al., 2003) found that similar coping strategies are also employed by rural migrants in cities. Further, rural migrants also rely on friends and relatives for job seeking and shelter support, particularly during their first days in urban areas as have been observed among rural-urban migrants in South African cities (Deumert et al., 2005) and East African cities (Kipuri, 2010).

The literature reviewed above indicate the problems that rural migrant workers face in urban areas. However, they fail to elucidate how the relationship between migrants and native residents, city authorities, and law enforcement agencies create challenges for the migrants as they go about their employment activities in the cities. The perception that the people have about migrants is key to understanding the challenges they face and the ways they cope with those challenges. But rarely do any of the reviewed literature mention this interface. The literature also fails to give a clear picture of how migrants manage to cope with these challenges in their work setting in the cities.

2.8 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented a critical review of literature pertinent to the context of this study in the light of the research questions and theoretical frameworks guiding this thesis. Extensive review of empirical literature on factors influencing migration were highlighted and discussed. Also, literature on the kind of jobs migrants do, how migrants search for jobs, the challenges migrants

face as well as their coping strategies were reviewed. However, the results in the literature concerning these issues about migrants produce inconsistent results.

Moreover, it is found that most of the published works on internal migration in Ghana in the last two decades have mostly been quantitative in nature, analysing migration from a statistical perspective. Therefore, the current and past studies suggest that there is a need for further research that examines, in a more critical detail, the employment activities of rural migrants once they arrive in the urban areas. Accordingly, this thesis seeks to address such knowledge gaps with regards to reasons for migration from rural to urban areas, the kind of jobs migrants do in the cities, how they get the jobs, the challenges they face as well as how they cope with them and indeed if they are capable of coping.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the theoretical frameworks underpinning this thesis. It starts by reviewing many migration theories to provide an understanding of rural-urban migration in the light of the research questions. The theories are chosen based on their relevance to the case of developing countries such as Ghana and to the research questions and research strategy adopted in this thesis. Based on the discussed theories, an analytical approach that guides the collection, analysis of data and discussion of the findings in this thesis, is developed. The theories are central to the discussion, interpretation and analysis of the primary data from the field.

In general, theories of migration view the reasons for human migration as either the result of subjective individual action (agency) (De Haas, 2010; Todaro, 1969; Ravenstein, 1889; Lewis, 1954) or due to structural influences or imbalances (structural) (Massey, 1990; Lee, 1996; Stark & Bloom, 1985; Abreu, 2012; Mafukidze, 2006). Other migration theories emphasise the role of both agents and structures in dictating migration (Mabogunje, 1970). Due to the complex nature of migration, determining which of the theories effectively tackles migration patterns and factors reflects a challenge. Therefore, this section reviews a number of migration theories based on the rational choice perspectives (individual agency), the structural perspectives, the system approaches, the Networks and Social Capital theories and the Sustainable Livelihood Approach.

3.2 Rational Choice Theories of migration

The rational choice theories emphasise individual's agency in the decision to migrate (De Haas, 2010). These theories view migration as a rational judgement of the individual migrants in relation to the decision to migrate, reflecting a benefit-cost analysis by the individual migrant.

In relation to the rational choice of the individual migrant, Ravenstein (1885) argues that the demand for labour in centres of commerce and industry were primary causes of migration. That is, people migrate to places where industries are cited in order to enjoy higher incomes. Ravenstein (1889) further contends that migration often occurs in a chain manner where migrants move from a rural area to the nearest small town and subsequently to a larger town. Also, to him as the distance increases, migration declines with people who move over a long distance tending to move to a commercial or industrial centre. Though migration occurs in both directions, it is the rural population that is more eager to move than the urban population (Ravenstein, 1889). In short,

individuals migrate as a result of economic reasons: to earn higher incomes in areas where industries are located. Although Ravenstein's laws were criticized for being too general and did not follow natural laws (Lee, 1996), it provided a good platform for the theorisation of migration over the years. For instance, the 'push-pull' framework of migration by Lee (1966) came into prominence following the laws of migration propounded by Ravenstein.

Todaro's (1969) model of rural–urban migration also explains migration from the point of view of the rational choice approach. The model postulates that workers compare the anticipated incomes in the urban area with the rural agricultural wage rates and migrate if the former exceeds the latter. Thus, migration decision is based on expected income differentials between rural and urban areas rather than just wage differentials. Todaro's initiative was stimulated by his observation that "throughout the developing world, rates of rural–urban migration continue to exceed the rates of job creation and to surpass, greatly, the capacity of both industry and urban social services to effectively absorb this labour". This implies that in a context of high urban unemployment, rural-urban migration can be economically rational if expected urban income exceeds rural income. This is because the decision to migrate is based on a subjective estimate of the probability of upgrading and moving from the informal or traditional sector to obtaining employment in the modern urban area (Todaro, 1969).

Despite its popularity and applicability to explaining some categories of movements, mainly the more permanent rural urban migration, Prothero and Chapman, (1985) argue the model fails to acknowledge and or explain the circulatory migration of laborers within rural areas and between rural and urban areas. Another weakness of the model is its assumption that potential migrants are homogenous in respect of skills and attitudes and have sufficient information to work out the probability of finding a job in the urban modern sector. There are also methodological and conceptual problems of estimating expected incomes and their differentials for the origin and destination areas. It is also criticized for ignoring other forms of migration or mobility, including to-and-fro movement and depending on an assumption that the migrants aspire to become permanent residents in the city. However, the approach offers a plausible explanation of a common paradox observed in cities of many developing countries such as Ghana – continuing mass migration from rural areas despite persisting high unemployment in the cities. This paradox calls

for an investigation as to how rural migrants secure their livelihood and that of their dependents in the midst of high employment rates in the cities.

Emphasising the rational decision-making process of individuals, the Dual Economy Model of migration (Lewis, 1954) maintains that modern (industrial) society attracts workers from traditional society due to attractive wages that guarantee migrants and households a higher quality of life as opposed to remaining in the rural areas. This points to the importance of economic and social factors in determining migration decision of potential migrants. This generates surplus and savings in the sending households while redirecting labour in the urban areas where it is needed (Lewis 1954). As such, this theory offered insights as to how surplus labour of rural migrants are being used in the urban areas at the time they (the labour of the rural migrants) are not useful in the rural areas.

In general, the rational choice theories have been criticized for narrowly considering economic factors and rationality aspects as the only determinants of migration, neglecting other aspects such as the role of institutions, individuals' skills, and aspiration (Haas, 2008). The models fail to acknowledge the social environment of the migrants' origin and unfavourable structural or institutional circumstances (Mafukidze, 2006).

3.3 Structural models of migration

The structural models of migration hold the view that although individuals may consider the cost-benefit implications in deciding to move, however, these considerations are influenced by the structural conditions prevailing at both the source and destination areas (induced by the larger political, social and economic factors), which are sometimes beyond the control of the individual and work to shape the decision to migrate (Massey, 1990).

In connection with the structural models, the push-pull theory (Lee, 1966) argues that structural forces operating in both the places of origin and destination act to influence migration. Lee divided the forces exerting influence on migrants into "push" and "pull" factors. The push factors are "negative" factors tending to force migrants to leave origin areas, while the pull factors are "positive" factors attracting migrants to destination areas in the expectation of improving their conditions. While migration may result from a comparison of factors at origin and destination, Lee hypothesized that factors associated with the area of origin would be more important than those associated with destination areas (Lee, 1966).

In addition to these 'push-pull' forces are sets of 'intervening obstacles' that also influence migration. These obstacles normally confront people in the migration process and may provide resistance to the migration process. The obstacles could be physical distance, transportation costs, unfavourable immigration policies or quotas and language barriers. It is envisaged that the negative and positive forces operating at both the areas of origin and destination will be defined differently according to people's peculiar traits and personality (Lee, 1966:50). Thus, at the micro-level, the individual characteristics of people and how they process the information available about the conditions (especially networks with family, friends, or ethnic members) at the place of destination is vital for actual movement. Hence the decision to migrate is unpredictable and may not be completely rational since potential migrants do not have all the information to inform a rational decision (Lee, 1966:51).

In spite of the simplicity and the insights that Lee's 'push-pull' migration framework provides to the explanation of the migration phenomenon, it has been criticized for being too general. It is also accused of not been able to tell which negative or positive factors operating in both destination and origin areas are the most important to different types of people. Hence it does not give sufficient information for policy formulation in, especially developing countries (Todaro, 1976: 29-30). However, it is relevant to the case of rural-urban migration in Ghana, where the literature shows that migration is stimulated, especially at the macro level, by push factors of rural poverty, unemployment and lack of opportunity, and pull factors of urban employment, higher wages and at least the chance of better social and cultural facilities. By drawing on the assumptions of the theory, it was relevant in providing theoretical evidence as to the reasons why rural people are likely to migrate to urban areas, which is part of the focus of this thesis.

Moreover, the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) theory, views migration as being determined by households and communities, given that these units play an important role in the migration decision-making process (Stark and Bloom, 1985). The theory postulates that remittances lessen production and market constraints faced by households in poor developing countries (Abreu, 2012; Pickbourn, 2011). In this case, migration is not only determined by the desire to maximise benefit but is also catalysed by "needs to minimise risks and loosen constraints threatening individuals, families and communities" (Mafukidze, 2006:7). Though this theory has been criticized as being simplistic, by drawing on the ideas of this theory, it was prudent to

understand how migrants secure their livelihoods in the city and are able to support their families in the rural areas through remittances, especially in times of food shortages.

3.4 The Systems Approach to Rural-Urban Migration

The system approach to rural-urban migration views migration scenario as a system with various interrelating components that influence the environment, as well as being influenced by the environment (Mabogunje, 1970). Many aspects should be considered in exploring migration patterns and factors, including aspects raised by the rationality models (Ravenstein, 1885; Todaro, 1996; Lewis, 1954) and the structural models, such as pull-push factors (Lee, 1966) and the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM). According to this approach, a potential rural-urban migrant's decision to migrate is first influenced by their own aspirations as well as other systems' components, namely rural adjustment and control mechanisms such as households, clans, villages, cooperatives and other institutions and their direct and indirect roles in promoting or limiting migration. However, while rural structures determine who should migrate, when and how to migrate, the urban structures can dictate the extent to which a migrant is accepted and can survive in urban areas. Importantly, the environment affects the entire system, notably socioeconomic, political, market, technological and institutional factors. Through the communication and feedback mechanism, those migrants already settled in the urban areas will share relevant information with other potential migrants in the rural areas, thus likely triggering further migration to urban areas (Mabogunje, 1970). Also, factors related to migrants' consciousness and aspirations, skills, technology and social environment of migrants in both rural and urban areas should be emphasised.

The rational choice theories, the structural theories and the system approach reviewed above provided a theoretical understanding of the factors that are likely to influence the migration decision of migrants. However, these theories are incapable of facilitating a better understanding of the strategies migrants employ to get jobs in the city and the challenges they face as well as the coping strategies they adopt. Also, they did not provide explanation on the impact of the job activities of migrants on their livelihood strategies and that of their families. Therefore, the social networks theory and the sustainable livelihood framework are reviewed in order to tackle these deficiencies.

3.5 Social Networks and Social Capital Theory

There is a consensus among migration researchers that social network is one of the important determinants of migration plans and the choice of destination. Migration networks are the relationships that exist between migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in places of origin and destination through bonds of kinship and friendship (Massey et al., 1993). These networks are embedded in voluntary activities and are governed by norms of reciprocity and trust among members of a society who share similar experiences.

For some, migration networks rank amongst the most important explanatory factors in making the decision to migrate (Arango, 2004). They provide a foundation for the dissemination of information as well as for assistance on opportunities that exist for them (Onyx & Bullen, 2000). Interactions within social networks make migration easier by reducing the costs and risks of moving because they provide information, shelter and introduce newcomers to the labour market and available opportunities (Massey et al., 1993). These networks play a vital role in the absorption of newcomers in the destination areas (Arango, 2004). The absence of networks and contacts in the destination region increases the cost of migration and thus, may affect the decision to migrate.

Granovetter (1973) divided social networks into strong ties and weak ties. Strong ties represent relationships that require a significant amount of time, effort and emotional investment to sustain such as ties with spouses or parents and children relationships. As a result, individuals can expect financial and emotional support from these stable, secure relationships. On the contrary, weak ties are connections to acquaintances or distant relatives which often tend to occupy a less significant place in one's social life. However, Granovetter (1973) emphasized that weak ties are more likely to be the source of fresh information than strong ties. This is because close friends tend to move in the same circles and as such, receive information that often overlaps with what others already know. By contrast, acquaintances know different people and thus are likely to receive novel information. Since information gets channelled through social ties, and social contacts that are not closely linked together tend to possess novel information, individuals who have ties that bridge two otherwise unconnected parts of a social network occupy a connecting position in which they can enjoy the benefits of speedy, novel and non-redundant information (Burt, 1992). This is important for immigrants searching for jobs and opportunities in a new society. Burt (1992) extended and reformulated the "weak ties" argument by stressing that what is important is not the

quality of any particular tie but rather the way different parts of networks are bridged. He highlights the strategic advantage that may be enjoyed by individuals with ties into multiple networks that are largely separated from one another. Following this logic, migrant workers who maintain a loose network structure of different and less connected social contacts can thus benefit from having such information advantages. People need access to employment information networks and need diffuse sets of social ties for the provision of informal insurance mechanisms (Newman & Dale, 2005).

Migration networks, according to (Massey et al., 1993), are considered a form of social capital stretched across migrant space and therefore facilitate the likelihood of movement. Social capital, are the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and society's institutional arrangements, which enables its members to achieve their goals (Narayan & Pritchett, 1997). Migrants draw upon this capital to gain access to employment and other resources (Massey et al., 1993). The capital is derived from the networks and associations that people participate, and from which they can derive support that contributes to their livelihoods. For a social relationship to be termed 'capital' it must be persistent, giving rise to stocks (for example, of trust and knowledge) on which people can draw, even if the social interaction itself is not permanent (Rakodi, 2002).

Putnam (2000) divided the elements of social capital into bonding and bridging ties in a relationship. Bonding ties occur between people who have similar backgrounds. These networks tend to bind migrant categories through ties of friendship, kinship and same community origins they share (Wilpert,1992). These social bonds and the feeling of being part of one community justifies why migrants send money and other goods to family and relative in their places of origin. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, refers to networks among people from socially heterogeneous groups. It links those who are different from each other and allows diverse groups to share and exchange information, ideas and innovation and builds consensus among the groups representing diverse interests (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). This widens social capital by increasing 'radius of trust' (Fukuyama, 2002). Bonding and bridging social capital can co-exist as long as they are in harmony and well-balanced. While bonding is important to cultivate trust, cooperation and collective strength among individuals with shared history, it is important to build bridges and consensus among different groups representing diverse interests for increased collective resource (Putnam, 2000).

Despite the appealing nature of this theory, Klaver (1997) pointed out that the network theory fails to show the internal and external structures that facilitate migration. There is a tendency to give credit to the important facilitating role of migrant networks without looking at their relative weight in relation to other facilitating and constraining factors affecting migration.

However, in this thesis, the theory was useful to unravel the decision-making process of migrants, how migrants get jobs in the urban area and how they cope with challenges they face in their jobs. This is especially useful in the informal sector where there are no unions to regulate the activities of employers and employees. Here, the focus is on the kinds of social capital that migrants have (bonding, bridging; or weak, strong) before, during and after migration and how they utilise the social capital before, during and after migrating to the urban area. The theory was also useful in helping to find out how the social capital of an individual migrant determines the kind of work they do. The specific relevance of the network theory for studies of migration has been emphasized by Faist (1997:193) that human mobility has moved from being "a linear, unidimensional, push-and-pull, cause-effect movement" to "a circular and interdependent" phenomenon which is closely affected by, and in turn affects, a variety of social networks that are embedded in the mobility process.

3.6 Sustainable Livelihood Approach to Migration

Understanding people's livelihoods has become an important focus within development and poverty debates, especially in developing countries. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach seeks to analyse how groups of people pool their resources together to manage risks in their lives (Waddington, 2003). It views the world from the point of view of the individuals, households and social groups who are trying to make a living in volatile conditions and with limited assets. According to Chambers and Conway (1992:6), a livelihood 'comprises the capabilities, assets (resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living'.

Livelihood strategies are the range and combination of activities and choices that people use in order to make a living. These strategies are complex and often revolve around incomes, skills and services of all members of the household (Farrington, Ramasut & Walker, 2002). The strategies they adopt are influenced by the context within which they live (Rakodi, 2002). According to Scoones (2009), a household located in a particular context and economy may choose between (or be constrained from choosing) three main clusters of livelihood options – agricultural

intensification, income diversification and migration. In rural areas, the primary source of livelihood is agriculture with wage labour and casual labour being secondary or tertiary. Another of such strategies is to send one of their members to a different area to look for wage employment to supplement the household's income. In urban areas, livelihood strategies centre on income-earning activities in either the formal or informal sectors, as wage employees, unpaid family workers or in self-employment (Rakodi, 2002) with the informal employment (short and long term) being the primary source of livelihood in urban areas. The livelihood of an individual or a group is considered to be sustainable when they can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain their capabilities and assets both now and in the future without undermining environmental resources (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

Although migration is as a result of complex social and economic factors, it is primarily related to the migrants' search for greater wellbeing. In this relation, Black, Kniveton, and Schmidt-Verkerk, (2013), indicate that across West Africa, migration represents an important livelihood strategy where many individuals and families move to other areas in search for land to use for agriculture, or jobs and better economic opportunities. Out-migration represents an important employment and livelihood strategy for poor households seeking to improve their well-being, sources of income and to ensure that members of their household secure a better future (Adger et al., 2002). Migration in Ghana is considered as an important component of people's livelihood strategies and it is often resorted to when people can no longer gain a secured livelihood in their places of origin (Tsegai & Le, 2010). In his review article on the role of migration in livelihoods and poverty, (De Haan,1999) argues that migration between and within urban and rural areas should be seen as a central element in the livelihoods of many households in developing countries.

Many rural areas in developing countries are typically characterized by risky production systems and lack of access to credit and insurance facilities. In such conditions, rural-urban migration works as a risk management strategy and a means to secure their livelihoods (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). Sending out migrants is part of a strategy for households to diversify income sources, obtain capital for local investment and provide insurance against production and income risks for non-migrating household members in the origin. Remittances obtained from migrants help to introduce new production technologies, purchase inputs and boost overall

production (Adaawen & Owusu, 2014). These pave ways to switch from the subsistence system of production to a more commercial system where surplus products can be sold for profit.

This approach is appropriate for the study of migrants because it looks at the diversity of activities that people use in order to reduce risk, the way they co-insure one another, manage investment and distribution of resources to ensure well-being in the present and the future. It also it reflects the communication between migrants and their places of origin. As one of the objectives of this study is to find out how migrants utilise their job activities to sustain their livelihoods, the theory will be useful in providing insights in this regard. Also, it will be useful in understanding how migrants co-insure each other in the urban areas to help cope with challenges they face in their workplaces.

Drawing on the above theoretical discourse, it becomes apparent that, compared to the social networks theory, the sustainable livelihood framework is more analytical in examining the job seeking strategies of migrants, the threats experienced by the rural migrants and proposing ways of coping with such threats

3.7 Analytical framework for this thesis

The theoretical discussions presented above recognises that migration is a complex process influenced by a host of interlinked and complex factors. Each of the theories discussed offer a partial analysis of the phenomenon. In order to effectively answer the research questions and achieve the intended research objectives, the theories and frameworks reviewed above were adopted and variously relied upon in data collection, analysis and discussion of the findings in the context of this thesis.

The first research question concerns the factors that influence the decision of migrants to migrate to the urban areas. Based on the above-reviewed migration models, it has been noted that migration patterns and factors are complex. As a result, the researcher relied on all of the theories by not only considering tangible, rational and economic factors as suggested by the rational choice models but also roles of social structures and institutions. Also, as recommended by the systems approach to rural-urban migration (Mabogunje, 1970), migrants' consciousness and inspirations, technology, and skills, as well as the rural and urban social environments under which rural-urban migration occurs, were critically considered. Taking into consideration the various theoretical perspectives, the migration phenomenon in Northern Ghana is envisioned as being influenced by a multiplicity of complex interrelated factors operating at different scales. Although these factors are complex

and interrelated, they are mostly related to economic (employment, incomes), social (health care, housing education, facilities, war and conflict), cultural (practices, beliefs) and environmental (Famine, drought, natural disasters, agriculture).

The Social Networks theory was used to examine research question two - the strategies migrants use to find jobs in the city. The theory was relevant in understanding the role of friends and relatives in finding a job in the city (Massey et al., 1993). The mechanisms of strong networks (mostly family members) and weak networks (acquaintances and distant relatives) are important analytical concepts here. From strong networks, migrants are able to secure financial and emotional support for their initial travel and settling down in their destination area and through the weak ties, they will get information and access to job opportunities that are available (Granovetter, 1973). Another framework that is useful is the issue of information sharing. Through the communication and feedback mechanisms, those migrants already settled in the urban areas share relevant information with other potential migrants in the rural areas, thus likely triggering further migration to urban areas (Mabogunje, 1970). This is more suited for the study of rural-urban migrants' employment in their destination areas, especially in urban Ghana, which is characterised by high unemployment rates and dominated by informal sector activities.

The social networks theory and the sustainable livelihood approach were relied on to address research questions three. The third research question concerns the challenges migrants face in their jobs and how they cope with those challenges, and whether they are capable of coping with them. In order to tackle the objective, firstly migrants coping strategies were explored. Secondly, the strategies were examined based on the social networks to establish the extent to which the migrants managed to solicit and utilise capitals from different social points. It is envisaged that the mechanisms of social networks such as trust, reciprocity and cooperation among members in a network enable migrants to cope with challenges they face in their destination areas (Arango, 2004). Thus, in order to cope successfully in the new society, the social networks theory envisaged that migrants need to have both strong and weak ties. The strong ties will establish the foundation for the individual to settle while the weak ties will sustain those strategies. Similarly, Putnam (2000), argues that tight knit, inward looking, bonding networks may be important for 'getting by' but outward looking bridging connections are important for 'getting ahead'. The shared social

norms and cooperative spirit from bonding also provide social safety nets to individuals and groups to protect themselves from external invasion.

The fourth research question was tackled by utilising insights from the sustainable livelihood approach. The question investigated how migrants secure their livelihoods and that of their families through the activities they do in the city. From the livelihood approach, the concept of diversification is helpful to assess migrant's activities in their daily life. Migrants engaged in a diverse range of activities, mainly in the informal sector, in order to make their living. These strategies are used, depending on the stock of assets, to achieve livelihood outcomes (such as increased wellbeing and reduced vulnerability) (Ashley & Carney, 1999). Another analytical principle of the livelihood approach, which is relevant to this research question, is the vulnerability context. As a result of their characteristics and the activities they undertake, migrants are affected by a combination of factors that produce a wide range of vulnerabilities. This makes them spend much of their daily lives seeking to mitigate or cope with present or likely future stresses and shocks. Thus, understanding their challenges, how they are responding and why they respond that ways are central issue. As already indicated, sustainable livelihood approach looks at how individuals co-ensure each other against threats. It was thus, useful in understanding how the job activities of the migrants help them to sustain their livelihoods. Here, the emphasis was on how migrants used migration as one of the assets on which they and their households draw from to build their sustenance.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In the light of the theoretical framework and the research questions, this chapter outlines the research methodology that was adopted to carry out the study. Accordingly, the chapter presents the research design and the research strategy, study population, sample size and sampling techniques, sources of data for the study, methods of data collection and methods of data analysis. Also, validity and reliability, ethical considerations and problems encountered during the study as well as how the researcher overcome those problems are highlighted.

4.2 Theory of Science: Philosophical Underpinning

No research is conducted without a philosophical underpinning. The philosophical consideration of a researcher determines the choice of strategy used in the research. Any theoretical position rests ultimately upon two main philosophical paradigms: ontology and epistemology. Ontological consideration in research concerns itself with how reality is conceived (Bryman, 2012). In the realm of research, constructivism and positivism explains different points of views as to how reality is conceived. Constructivism understand reality as dynamic, subjective and socially constructed by the actors involved while objectivism perceive reality as being objective and external, meaning that there is an existing reality which is not being influenced by the entities that make it up (Bryman, 2012). Rather, it is shaping them and their behaviour and is thus static and independent.

On the other hand, epistemological position looks at the perception of how knowledge is generated (Creswell, 2014). The main concern of an epistemological issue is the question of what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline (Bryman, 2012). With regards to how knowledge is generated, positivism and interpretivism proposed different points of views. Positivism acknowledges that human behaviour can be explained against an external reality while interpretivism hold that human behaviour should be understood from the point of view of the actors and entities of study (Creswell, 2014).

Informed by the different perspectives and debates on migration, employment and development, this research is informed by social constructivist and the interpretivist perspectives to understanding the migration phenomena from the viewpoint of migrants themselves.

4.3 Research Design and Strategy

Based on the research questions, the case study research design and the qualitative research strategy were deemed appropriate and were considered for this research. The use of the case study research design was appropriate as it provided detailed and intensive analysis of a single case of which the focus was on rural migrants in Aboabo. The use of the term "case", associate case study with a location such as a community or organisation (Bryman, 2012). This research therefore concentrated on the Aboabo community in the Kumasi metropolis as a case. Further, Yin (2013), argued that when research questions require an intensive and "in-depth" analysis of a social phenomenon, a case study design is relevant.

There are several reasons for employing the qualitative approach in this study. First, the use of the qualitative strategy provided an in-depth understanding of the ways the migrants interpreted and make sense of their own experiences and the world in which they live. In this regard, its findings are normally much more revealing and inspiring as compared to quantitative statistical findings (Bryman, 2012). Secondly, qualitative research recognises that human behaviour is unpredictable and subjective (Creswell, 2014) and as such offers flexibility to modify, when the need be, in order to adequately capture the views, perceptions and emotions of research participants (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). It also allows for the adoption of multiple data collection methods and permitted some freedom to re-formulate questions or the topic depending on the trend of the subject being investigated (Creswell, 2014). From these perspectives, the qualitative approaches to research was considered to provide a good platform for understanding how rural migrants in the study area manoeuvre their employment activities. Finally, the use of the qualitative approach in this study allowed for a combination of the researcher's reflection on both the field data and theories to gain a more meaningful and solid understanding of the phenomenon under study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011).

Taking into account the research questions, a mixture of qualitative and quantitative statistical data collection methods was employed to gain deeper and varied insights into the issue of how rural migrants jostle for employment in the study area. However, the use of quantitative research was limited to understanding the demographic characteristics of the migrants in order to understand the kind of persons migrating from rural areas in the Northern part of the country to the study area.

4.3.1 Study Population

Population simply refers to a larger group of study units that are targeted for a specific study (Bryman, 2012). The targeted population for the study was made up of all persons who migrated from rural parts of the Northern Region to Kumasi and reside in the Aboabo community. However, the migrant should have stayed in Aboabo for at least six months. Migrants' length of stay in the city was critical in order to ensure that they had experience the employment activities in the city and be well vested with the challenges they face in their jobs and how they cope with those challenges. Also, it was necessary to ensure that the migrant has worked and be able to comment on the impact of such activities on their livelihood.

Although Aboabo is among several communities in Kumasi that serve as destination for rural-urban migrants from Northern Ghana, the choice of Aboabo was intended to get an in-depth understanding of the issue at hand following the use of case study research design and qualitative research strategy. Furthermore, by targeting migrants in the Aboabo community, it should be noted that the study did not cover those residents who are regarded as "migrants" but have stayed in Aboabo for the whole of their lives. The focus was on present-day rural migrants; not the more established long-time migrants referred to as second or third generation migrants who have no permanent residences in rural areas in Northern Ghana.

4.3.2 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

As already indicated, survey questionnaire, interviews and focus group discussion were used to collect data for the study. The focus of the research was primarily on rural migrants from Northern Ghana to cities in southern Ghana who reside in Aboabo in Kumasi. However, it was practically impossible to interview all the migrants in the community. In this regard, respondents were carefully sampled for the interviews and survey. Sampling can be understood as a process of selecting a representative set of cases from a much larger set (Bryman, 2012). In this thesis, it was necessary to sample five categories of respondents, namely rural migrants from Northern Ghana, opinion leaders in the Aboabo Community, government officials in the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly, the Ghana Police Service and employers in the Kumasi Central Market. The choice of these group of respondents was informed by the fact that migration involves different actors at different levels of society, and as such, requires different perspectives from the various actors to fully understand the situation Kumasi.

For the survey, only the migrants were targeted to understand their demographic characteristics. As a result, the stratified sampling technique was used to select 210 respondents from the migrant population. Creswell (2014) opine that the use of stratified sampling ensures that the sample reflects the proportion of individuals with different characteristics in the population. Due to the fluid nature of migration, the population of the community was unknown. So, the use of stratified sampling was appropriate in order to gain a representative sample of the population.

For the interviews and Focus Group Discussions with the migrants and the key informants, the purposive sampling technique was adopted to select respondents. This sampling helped to capture the views on how different migrant categories jostle for employment activities in the study area. According to Bryman, (2012), purposive sampling is used to select respondents based on their knowledge and experience with the research questions. Their availability and willingness to participate, and the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner were also considered (Bernard, 2002). Since there are people from other parts of the country, foreigners and even natives of Kumasi who reside in Aboabo, the purposive sampling technique was deemed appropriate in selecting respondents from Northern Region.

Furthermore, this sampling technique was adopted based upon the aim to draw upon a sample of different respondents with different characteristic. Bryman (2012) emphasizes that interviews need to target a diverse range of people who might have different opinions or perceptions based on their own experiences and context. As a result, the sample was strategically selected so as to represent migrants from different age groups, family background, religious backgrounds, different levels of educational attainment and different gender groups in order to avoid bias of interviewing people from only one or few demographic categories.

In the process of interviewing the respondents, emphasis was placed on saturation by obtaining a comprehensive information and continuing to sample until no new substantive information was coming forth. By the time saturation was reached, a total of 55 respondents were purposely selected for in-depth individual interviews and five (5) focus group discussions with 34 respondents conducted among the migrants.

Also, 36 key informants were purposefully selected to participate in the study. They included 16 opinion leaders in Aboabo, 8 local employers, the KMA planning officer, the Visibility Patrol Department of the Ghana Police Service in Kumasi.

4.3.3 Sources of Data

Based on the research objectives and the theoretical frameworks of this thesis, data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected from migrants, and key informants in Aboabo through questionnaire survey, semi-structured interviews, Focus Group Discussions and observations. Secondary data were drawn internet resources, publications from the Ghana Statistical Service and the recent reports from the 2014 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey. In addition, secondary data from published works, statistics and complementary quantitative data from relevant government institutions and NGOs were also accessed and utilised in the analysis of research findings. These methods of data collection are elaborated below.

4.4 Methods of Data Collection

The primary data for the study were collected in two stages. For the first stage, data were collected through a sample survey, with structured questionnaires among 210 respondents in Aboabo. The second part of the data collection involved the use of key informant interviews, informal conversations, observation technique, in-depth interviews mainly with the migrants and Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The choice of these instruments provided an in-depth understanding of issues in relation to the research questions and address the research questions in a flexible and relevant manner (Bryman, 2012).

4.4.1 Survey

The survey was basically intended to help answer the first research question: what are the characteristics of migrants who migrate from rural to urban areas? The information collected included the age of first migrating and age now, gender, marital status, level of education, household size in the place of origin, main occupation of the household in the place of origin, occupation of respondent before and after migrating, religion and length of stay in Kumasi. These questions were meant to understand the characteristics of individuals who migrate from rural areas in Northern Ghana to the study area. Since a high proportion of the target population could not read and write in the English language, the survey questionnaire was administered face-to-face via brief interviews, usually lasting about 20–30 minutes each. Five research assistants, who are master students of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, with considerable experience in research, were recruited to help administer the questionnaire.

4.4.2 Interviews

Interviews were the main instrument used to collect data from the informants on individual basis to gain insights on why and how migrants left the rural area to the city, the jobs they do in the city, the challenges they encounter and their coping strategies as well as the use of the outcomes of their employment activities. Interviews were used because it allowed for flexibility, better focus, and the possibility of rich, detail and in-depth information (Bryman, 2012). It also provided an opportunity to probe for further information, observe and evaluate respondent's non-verbal behaviours and habits (Creswell, 2014). A semi-structured interview guide was used as a reference point to make sure that areas of interest of the research were fully covered during the interview process. Although semi-structured interviews often set some order or limits for questioning or discussion, informants normally enjoy some freedom to delve more into the issue under discussion.

In collaboration with the research assistants, key informants were identified and contacted for interviews at specified times. Before the data collection, a pre-test was done using the interview guide and questionnaire to check that the questions worked as intended and were understood by those individuals who are likely to respond to them. The pre-test was done with few potential respondents to check for glitches in the questionnaire and the interview guide in terms of the nature of the questions, the clarity of instruction and the ability to translate the wording to the local language for the understanding of some of the respondents. I interviewed 4 migrants and it was clear that some of the questions were misunderstood by the respondents and created confusion as to what is required from them. The respondents kept on asking for clarifications during the entire interviews. I also conducted interview with an expert in the field of migration who gave relevant feedback in relation to the translation of some of the words from English language to the local language. Based on their combined feedback, a final version of the questionnaire and the interview guide were prepared and used to collect the data for the thesis. Also, the pre-test gave me valuable ideas as to what to probe and what information to look for in order to help answer the research questions.

The participants' consents were sought and the views they expressed during the interaction were recorded (after approval) and later transcribed and organized into themes for analysis. However, there were three (3) instances where the respondents refused to be taped. In that cases, a notebook was carefully filled at each interview. Before each interview, I explained the rights of the

informants, the content and purpose of the study and also practical information about how the interview would go.

The migrants were the main focus of the research and their views were paramount to the research questions. Interviews were therefore conducted with them to understand their working activities in the city and whether they are able to secure their livelihood through the jobs they do. The interviews were administered usually in the evenings after migrants have returned from work and at times, their work places in their free time. The semi-structured interview guide for the migrants was made up of five sections. The first section asked questions pertaining to their demographic characteristics. The second section asked questions relating to why they move to Kumasi for work, how the decision to migrate was made and those who encourage their decision. The third section contain questions relating to the kind of jobs they do in Kumasi, how they find those jobs, the networks they have and the strategies they use in their search for jobs. The fourth section looks at the earnings the migrants get from their work and how they use it to secure their livelihood in the city and in their places of origins and indeed if they are able to do so. The last section included questions relating to the challenges the migrants face in their jobs and how they cope with those challenges.

Apart from the migrants, I conducted interviews with option leaders in Aboabo, employers at the Kumasi Central Market, authorities of the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly and the Ghana Police Service. The purpose of these interviews was to collect information from all those the rural migrants are in contact with in the city. This was necessary to shed more light on the employment activities of the rural migrants in the city. Opinion leaders in Aboabo were selected for the study based on their ability comment on the activities among migrants in the community. They are influential members of the community, to whom others turn for advice in times of need. Of importance here were religious leaders, section chiefs, group chiefs and employers who themselves are migrants (often referred to as "masters").

Religious leaders are mostly the Imams (leaders of Muslims) and Pastors (leaders of Christians), who are respected in the community because they see to the spiritual needs of the people. Aboabo is divided into about six sections with each section making up of members of a particular ethnic group, having their leaders (the chief), who has been in the community for a long time. Also, different small groups sprang up in the community often comprising of members who come from

the same village in the Northern Region which also have leaders. All these leaders have lived in the community for a long time (minimum of six years), are well versed in the activities of the community and are aware of the working conditions of migrants.

The employers in the migrant community are those who are often wealthier and have also lived in worked as migrant for a long time. They employ some of the newcomer migrants, and provide them with starting capital to engage in scrap dealing activities. These people have the knowledge about the history and activities of the community that can help explain the employment activities of the migrants. Therefore, interviews with them asked questions regarding their opinion on the reasons for the migration of the youths from Northern Region to Kumasi, the kind of jobs the migrants do in the city, the challenges they face and how they cope with those challenges. In all, 16 opinion leaders of the Aboabo community were interviewed. This was made up of six (6) of the section leaders (chiefs), four (4) group leaders, two (2) religious leaders and four (4) employers (masters).

In order to get varied perspectives on the situation of the migrants, I also conducted interviews with local employers to understand their perspectives on migrants and how they perceive the problems that the migrants go through as they work in the city. Eight (8) local employers, who mostly employ migrants to work for them were interviewed.

I also conducted interview with the Kumasi Metropolitan Authority (Metropolitan Planning Unit). The Metropolitan Assembly is the immediate government unit that deals with issues pertaining to the management of city. Therefore, it was important to solicit their views regarding rural migrants in the city. The interview was meant to help understand the extent to which Metropolitan Assembly takes migrants into consideration during the planning of the city and their views about the problems migrants encounter in the city.

To understand the relationship between the migrants and the law enforcement service, interview was held with the Ghana Police Service. The Ghana police service is the government agency responsible for maintaining law and order in the country. In the process of interviewing the migrants, one impression was that they had challenges with regards to their relationship with the law informant agency in terms of general criminalisation of all migrants and unnecessary victimisation. As a result, it was deemed necessary to understand the perspectives of the police service with regards to their relationship with migrants in the city.

After the interviews, requests were made for respondents to ask the researcher questions and or add any other issue for discussion. Interviews time ranged from 46 minutes to 1 and half hours.

4.4.3 Focus Group Discussions

In addition, Focus Group Discussions were conducted to gain insights into a wide variety of different views and identify joint construction of meaning made by the respondents in relation to their working activities in the city. With the help of the contact person, focus group interviews were organised to gather information from five different groups and sections of the target population in the study area. The FGDs were organized based on demographic characteristics of the respondents so as to enable different groups to express their feelings freely without being inhibited by the presence of the other group.

At the end of the data collection, five (5) Focus Groups were conducted at different locations within the community. As with the interview, the FGDs were mostly carried out in the evenings when respondents had come back from work. The first group was made up of five (5) female respondents only, with ages ranging from 8 to 25 years old, and the second group was also made up of seven (7) female respondents only aged 26years and above. Two focus groups were also conducted with male only respondents, with the first group comprising of six (6) with ages ranging from 8-25 years old while the second group was made up of seven (7) respondents with ages ranging from 26-50 years old. The last group comprised of nine respondents, including 5 females and 4 males with ages ranging from 8-37 years old. The groups were constituted based on gender dimensions because of the culture of male domination among the people of Northern Ghana were women are mostly silenced in discussions with men due to the patriarchal nature of the society. Therefore, males were separated from females so as to ensure that both groups had the freedom to express their opinions, perceptions and experiences on the research topic.

Although there were certain times of the interviews when some members were more vocal and domineering in the discussions, conscious efforts were made, in subtle ways, to allow all members with different opinions to feel free to say them.

In the process of conducting the group discussion, it was deemed important to collect demographic information from participants. As in the interviews, a short form was designed and administered to participants to collect data on their demographic characteristics before starting the group discussions. The discussions provided valuable information to complement the data collected

through interviews and observation. In the course of the discussions, it was realised that the participants were able to stimulate each other's responses through their contributions towards the discussion which were not able to come out of individual interviews. Each of the discussions lasted from a minimum of 1 hour 45 minutes to a maximum of 2 hours 30 minutes.

4.4.4 Field Observation

Non-participant observation was employed to complement the data gathered from the respondents through the interviews and FGDs. During observation, efforts were normally made to establish a good rapport with the informants and to be careful as to the kind of information to record. During the field observation, I went out to the Kumasi Central Market where many of the migrants carry out their business. Because of the head pans, the tricycles (popularly known as "motorkings[2]"), the trucks they use and the clothes they wear, migrant workers from Northern Ghana are easy to be identified from the crowds in the market.

The criteria for observation was mainly based on the conditions under which the migrants work, how they manoeuvre their way through the crowds, the relationship between them and their customers. By observing their activities, interactions and events and by interacting with them, I gained insights in both the explicit and tacit aspects of their working routines. By these observations, I was able to get an understanding of the daily routines of the migrants and the social dynamics among them and their employment activities.

4.4.5 Secondary data (Document Analysis)

To complement primary data gathered through FGDs, semi-structured interviews and participant observation, document reviews was employed as secondary source of data. This was used basically in the literature review and helped to provide an introduction and form the theoretical background of the study. Secondary data also served as a basis for comparative analysis as well as buttressing findings from the data collected (Johnston, 2014). Secondary data for the study were obtained from published statistical data and information from other studies on the subject matter. I also used information from the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), published books, journals and online sources on rural-urban migration to throw more light on the findings.

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[2] A tricycle with a truck at the back for carrying goods, introduced in Ghana by Motorking Ltd, hence, the name "motorking".

4.5 Methods of Data Analysis

The recorded data from the field were stored in audio media for safe keeping and analysis. All in-depth interviews and FGDs were transcribed and qualitatively analysed using the thematic approach. This is appropriate for the study because it enabled the researcher to capture and identify implicit and explicit ideas within the data. The transcripts and field notes were manually sorted and coded into themes for interpretation. The themes were identified and categorised according to their relationship with the research questions. The interpretation of the data was then done in relation to the objectives, theory and concepts of the study. In the process of the analysis, issues such as variations among different groups of migrants, in relation to gender, educational background, household structure, religious background, age range and marital status were compared. This is important to understand how these differences influence the employment activities of migrants in the city.

4.6 Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability are two criteria that are often used to evaluate the quality of piece of research. Validity is concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research (Noble & Smith, 2015). Validity is important because it helps determine what types of tests to use, and help to make sure researchers are using methods that are not only ethical, and cost-effective, but also a method that truly measures the idea or construct in question. Reliability, on the other hand, is concerned with the question of whether the results of a study are repeatable. That is, the study should as much as possible be consistent when the process is repeated and indeed reflect the study or concept it seeks to measure (Bryman, 2012).

In relation to these concerns, Lincoln and Guba (1985:277) came out with four criteria in order to establish rigor and ensure trustworthiness in qualitative research. These criteria included credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. To them, **credibility** is about the authentic representation of the real lived experiences of the respondents from whom data is collected and reported. Further, Lincoln and Guba (1985) were of the view that the **transferability** criterion has to do with how the qualitative research findings fit outside of the specific study situation, as similar to the quantitative research notion of generalizability. **Dependability** referred to the minimisation of personal ideas and perceptions in the interpretation of data which is also similar to reliability or replicability in quantitative research. **Confirmability** on the other hand was

conceptualized as how the level of bias and interests of the researcher in fact influence interpretations which is translated as objectivity in research.

In this research, different data collection methods were used and prolonged engagement in data collection and analysis was done to ensure reliability and validity. Before the data collection, the instruments were pre-tested to ensure that respondents understood it as intended in order to answer the research questions. Survey, interviews, focus group discussion and observation were used to collect the primary data. The use of these methods allowed for a better appreciation of the subject matter from different standpoints (Creswell, 2014).

Also, respondents were carefully chosen across all sections of the targeted sample population to get a balanced and comprehensive understanding of the situation of migrants from a diverse range of respondents. Hence, informants across different social backgrounds from the Northern Region in the study area were included to grasp the different perspectives about their employment activities in the city. Although it is acknowledged that the sample population is small and may raise issues about representativeness of the population of the study area, the complementary methods used allowed for diverse and in-depth approach to data.

4.7 Challenges encountered in the field

During the data collection, several challenges were encountered in the field. A major problem was that the questions asked in the interviews and FGDs were memory questions where the respondent must think before answering. As a result, there were problems with respondents rewinding and remembering their life activities. However, I gave them much time to think and went back and forth to enable the respondents answer questions that were not previously remembered.

Additionally, it was relatively difficult to get informants to conduct interviews. As the research was with migrants and others in a busy city, most of them were very much engaged on their activities. As a result, many of the interviews were conducted in the evening when the respondents had come back from work or at the work places under shades when informants were on short breaks in the day time. Also, most of the informants were tired after work, so interviews were sometimes postponed.

Another problem encountered was respondent fatigue. Many of them lamented that they had been interviewed many times by researchers in the area and yet did not see how beneficial the

participation had been to them over the years. They were often made to believe that they were going to get some support for their activities, especially those engaged in self-employment, but never heard from these persons again. These frustrations were justified in the sense that so much research have been done in the area with people often having the hope that some sort of support will be brought to them. In order to minimise this problem and conduct the research ethically, the purpose of the research was often patiently explained to them. Normally, I made it clear to them that I was not promising them any form of support. However, I was rather coming to learn from them and through the publication of research findings it might bring to the public domain, their challenges, which may attract some support.

4.8 Ethical considerations

Since the study was with human participants, dealing with their personal lives and issues and making them public, as such it is important to be cautious so as not to cause damage to them. In line with maintaining moral principles during the research process, several ethical measures were observed in the conduct of this study. These measures include informed consent (where respondents voluntarily consent to be interviewed and participate in the research based on adequate information made available to them), eschewing acts of deception, ensuring privacy and confidentiality by protecting the identities of subjects, and making accurate reports of research findings (Creswell, 2014)

Since the research was probing into sensitive issues, efforts were made to clearly explain the purpose and objective of the study to the informants and their consent sought before the commencement of any interview (Bryman, 2012). The researcher provided the participants with a detailed explanation of the purpose of the research and the research process in a clear and concise manner. The participants were informed of their liberty to withdraw from the research at any time if deemed appropriate for them or choose not to answer any question they deemed uncomfortable.

The respondents were further assured that the information they provided will be used only for academic purpose and will not be disclosed to any third party apart from the supervisor and the examination body, if required. As such, in reporting the findings, the ages and sex of the respondents are reported and where needed, name-codes are used rather than real names in this thesis to protect informants' anonymity and confidentiality.

While assuring informants of their anonymity and the confidentiality of their information, their consent was always also sought before recording interviews. In cases where they refused to be recorded, an appeal was often made to allow for the writing down of ideas from the discussion. These measures that were taken helped cater for the ethical aspect of the research.

4.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the research methods that was employed to conduct this study based on the research questions and the theoretical framework. The chapter firstly presented the research design and strategy and their relevance to this thesis were concisely highlighted. The population of the study and the sources of data for the study were briefly described and the reasons for their choice were established. Subsequently, procedures for sampling the informants, techniques of data collection and analysis were elaborated. Moreover, the issue of reliability and validity and the challenges encountered in the field as well as the role of the researcher in overcoming them were intensely discussed. Finally, the ethical considerations are elaborated.

CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION OF DATA

5.1 Introduction

The main research question of the thesis is: how do rural migrants jostle for employment opportunities in urban areas in Ghana? To answer this question, data were collected from key informants using surveys, interviews, and focus group discussions. The survey was intended to find out the categories of people who migrate from rural to urban areas for work. A total of 110 respondents, including 89 migrants, 16 opinion leaders in Aboabo, the Kumasi metropolitan Planner and the Chief inspector of the Ghana police service were purposively selected for interviews and focus group discussions.

This chapter presents a description of the data collected in the field. The data presented in this chapter are based on the interviews with the 89 migrants captured through in-depth interviews and focus group discussion. The demographic characteristics of respondents, the factors responsible for migration, the employment activities of migrants, the challenges they face and their coping strategies and the use of the outcomes of their employment activities are presented.

5.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The background characteristics of the sampled migrants in the study (89 cases) are given in Table 5.1 and their family backgrounds is presented in Table 5.2. It needs to be re-emphasized here that the group of migrants who participated in the research were of rural origins who are resident in Aboabo (a slum neighbourhood) and working in Kumasi. They are but one (albeit the most numerous) set of migrants from rural areas in Northern Ghana. Therefore, the analysis (and, later, conclusions), need to be understood around this specific category of rural migrants in the study area. The study did not directly interview or analyse rural-to-urban migrants who were drawn from wealthy families of rural society and who were moving to Kumasi for professional, business, or other reasons and are likely not to stay in the Aboabo community. The specific nature of the sample and their living arrangements must be constantly held in mind in the analysis that follows, and later in the discussion of the findings and the conclusions drawn.

The information on the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents is necessary to understand of the kind of respondents that participated in the study because people with distinct characteristics may respond to situations differently and with varied reasons. Thus, the reasons for migration, the kind of jobs they do and the strategies they use to search for jobs could be influenced

by their characteristics. Further, the socio-demographic characteristics could provide insights to understanding the challenges they face and the coping strategies adopted.

Table 1: Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Variable	Categories	Frequency N=89	Percentage 100%
Gender	Male	38	42.7
	Female	51	57.3
Age at first migration	20 years or less	58	65.2
	21-30 years	31	34.8
Current Age	20 years or less	27	30.3
	21-30 years	48	53.9
	31-40 years	10	11.3
	41 years and above	4	4.5
Level of Education	No education	53	59.6
	Basic education	22	24.7
	Secondary	8	9.0
	Tertiary	6	6.7
Religion	Muslims	67	75.3
	Christians	15	16.9
	Traditional believers	5	5.6
	Prefer not to say	2	2.2
Marital status	Single	34	38.2
	Cohabitating	35	39.3
	Married	11	12.4
	Divorce/separated	5	5.6
	Widow	4	4.5
Occupation of respondent before migrating	Farming	55	61.8
	Petty Trading	3	3.4
	Schooling	26	29.2
	Others	5	5.6
Ethnicity	Mamprusi	17	19.1
	Dagomba	34	38.2
	Gonja	26	29.2
	Konkomba	9	10.1
	Other Ethnic groups	3	3.4
Length of stay in Kumasi	Up to 6 months	27	30.3
	7-10 months	10	11.3
	1 – 2 years	48	53.9
	More than 2 years	4	4.5

Source: Author's Field Data, 2017

Gender of respondents

Gender of a migrant could determine the kind of jobs they do and the strategies they adopt to search for jobs. This is because in the Ghanaian cultural setting, being a man or a woman is very important in determining the kind of jobs one can do and the kind of relationships people form. The data gathered shows that female respondents (57.3%) were more than male (42.7%) respondents in the survey. This might be attributed to the fact that more females than males were available and willing to participate in the survey. It could also be because of the nature of the jobs of the male migrants which involves moving to other nearby communities to look for scrap metals, which could have made unavailable for interviews. However, the finding is contrary to the historical trend where migration from Northern Ghana to southern Ghana was dominated by men while women migrated only as accompanying spouses during the precolonial and the immediate post-colonial times (Awumbila, 2007).

Age categories of respondents

With regards to age structure, most of the respondents in Aboabo were relatively young, with their ages ranging between 8 and 30 years at the time of their first migration to the city. More than half (65.2%) of them migrated when they were 20 years old or less. At the time of the interviews, up to 30.3% aged less than 20 years, and 4.5% aged 41 years old or more. The highest concentration of migrants is found in the age group 21–40 years old:65.2% of the surveyed population. It is quite clear that in the young people tend to embark on rural–urban migration to the study area more than old people. This might be because elderly people sometimes feel they have the responsibility to stay home and take care of the family. It could also that they are not physically fit to do the kind of jobs available to migrants in the cities, hence, their reluctance to move. They will rather send their children to go and work to supplement the family's income. This reflects aspects of the sustainable livelihood theory where it is assumed that families use migration as a livelihood alternative. The results are consistent with the findings of Anarfi et al (2006); Tanle, (2003); Songsore (2003); Awumbila (2007); Awumbila, (2014); Yeboah (2008) and Baah-Ennumh et al (2012), who found similar age characteristics among migrants in the north-south migration in Ghana. It also confirms the observation that children are increasingly migrating to work independently of their parents, contrary to earlier notions that children migrate with their parents (Whitehead & Hashim, 2005).

Respondents' Levels of Education

The most striking social characteristic of the migrants is that most of them had no formal education. A total of 59.6% did not have any formal education, 24.7% had primary education and only 9% had reached secondary school level. The conclusion to be drawn here is that, amongst the rural–urban labour migrants who move from Northern Ghana to Kumasi, those with lower educational standards and aptitudes constitute the overwhelming majority. Only 6.7% of the migrants are tertiary education holders. However, this does not imply that tertiary graduates comprise a tiny minority of migrants to Kumasi. As already indicated, the sample was drawn exclusively from a class of migrants interviewed in ways and in settings where migrants with high level of education might not be found. The low educational attainment may also be attributed to school drop outs mostly after writing the Basic Education Certificate examination and failing to obtain passing grades to move to the next level of education. Of those who had some formal education, most blamed the lack of financial resources and poverty as the reasons they had dropped out of school, during the interviews. The low educational background of respondents could potentially influence their decision to migrate down south. The broad implication of the results is that the migrants will likely face several issues because they will not be able to secure jobs in formal settings. Also, they are not likely to be well informed about the labour market activities in the city.

Religion of respondents

Religion constitutes a set of beliefs and that could influence the decision of an individual in many ways. Thus, it was deemed important to understand the religious backgrounds of respondents who participated in the interviews. The high number of Muslims (75.3%) among the sampled respondents is a reflection of the fact Islam is the dominant religion in the Northern Region of Ghana, with 56.1% of the population professing Islam as their religion (GSS, 2012) This finding may also be due to the fact that Aboabo is a Muslim dominated community. As such, other religious adherents may find it difficult to stay there. An assessment of the religious belief system of the migrants is necessary to gain an insight into how their religious beliefs can influence the jobs they do and why they do it. Religion could also be pivotal in understanding the coping strategy (spiritual support, prayers, group solidarity) when migrants are faced with challenges.

Marital statuses of respondents

In Ghana, especially in rural areas, marriage is an expectation and nearly seen as a universal activity. Married life is important to many Ghanaians because it is the basis for assigning reproductive, economic, and non-economic roles to individual. As a result, it was deemed prudent to analyse the marital status of respondents as part of efforts to understand the characteristics of migrants from rural Northern Ghana to urban Ghana. From the data, the young age structure of migrants might have an effect on their marital status, where it is found that most of them are either single (38.2%) or cohabitating (39.3%), while 12.4% are married. The marital status of the respondents in the study area might also mean that those who are married and have families to care for may not be able to migrate to the city and leave their families behind, they would rather choose one of the family members to migrate.

Occupation of respondent before migrating

The employment situation of migrants prior to migration was necessary to gain insights into the employment choices of migrants in the city and their job search strategies. The employment classifications of the respondents before migrating as shown in table 5.1 show that most (61.8%) of the respondents were engaged in helping their families in the farm. Few (29.2%) were attending school at the time of migration and only 3.4% were engaged in petty trading. The rest (5.6%) of the respondents engage in other forms of activities such as carpentry, barbering, dressmaking, tailoring and construction works.

This data confirms reports from the Ghana Statistical Service (2012), where agriculture accounts for the employment of about 60% of the economically active population of the Northern Region. This means that the dominant occupation of the sample of migrants from Northern Ghana in Aboabo before migrating is reflective of the dominant occupation in the Northern Region of Ghana. This further implies that they were self-employed which partly explains why they could easily choose to move easily.

Ethnic backgrounds of respondents

Northern Ghana is made up of several ethnic groups comprising of Dagomba, Gonja, Konkomba, Mamprusi and other smaller ethnic groups. Northern ethnic group associations in the South date back to the colonial days when Northern people migrated to the South to work in the mines, harbours and cocoa plantations. Migrants defined their own boundaries of ethnic communities

53

along the lines of common language and origin (Lentz 2006:139). These ethnic boundaries could be used in assisting each other in terms of getting a job or access to accommodation, providing aid in times of sickness and death of a member. In line with the use of the social networks theory, it was deemed prudent to find out the ethnic backgrounds of respondents to understand how they draw from these ethnic associations in their employment activities. In the process of interviewing the migrants, a balance was made among the different ethnic groups in order to get comprehensive understanding of their migration experiences. As a result, among those who took part in the interviews and FGDs, Dagombas form the majority representing 38.2% followed by Gonjas (29.2%), Mamprusi (19.1%) and Konkomba (10.1%). Few (3.4%) of them are from other ethnic groups such as Bimoba and Fulani.

Respondents' Length of stay in Kumasi

The period the informants have been in Kumasi varies from up to six (6) months to two years or more. However, it should be noted that some of the migrants have been in Kumasi or other southern cities before. Therefore, the time they have stayed in Kumasi might not be that long, but in some cases, it is not the first-time they had migrated to the city. It should also be noted that the length of stay does not mean that the respondent had stayed in the city during the entire period. There may be times where they move back and forth between the city and the place of origin. This is particularly helpful to the researcher and the research findings because many of them can relate experiences over time with respect to the working situation in the city. The length of stay could also be useful in terms of challenges facing migrants overtime in Aboabo as well as the coping mechanisms adopted.

Family background of respondents at places of origin

At the centre of Ghanaian society is the institution of family. Sustained through a series of kinship networks and marriages, the family is acknowledged as the bedrock of all social life. In most instances, especially in rural areas, the family dictates everything that the members do. As a result, family background is one of the important characteristics that determine the migration decision of rural residents. According to Abdul-Korah (2007), the larger the family, the probability of migrating. Families with large members are likely to send some members out as a form of livelihood strategy.

Table 2:Family background of respondents at places of origin

Variable	Response	Frequency N=89	Percentage 100%
Main economic activities of respondent household at the place of origin	Farming	47	52.8
	Petty Trading	29	32.6
	Others	13	14.6
Number of people in household	Less than 5 members	6	6.7
	Between 6 – 10 members	22	24.7
	11- 15 members	8	9.0
	15 and above members	53	59.6

Source: Author's Field Data, 2017

Among the sampled migrants, farming constitutes the main economic activity of their households in the places of origin. This is in line with the fact that in Ghana, about 60% of the people are engaged in farming as a source of their livelihood (GSS, 2012). This is especially true in rural areas where almost all the populace is engaged in some sort of farming for their livelihood. This implies that, in the event of crop failure, the livelihoods of the farmers will be deteriorated and without any means of improving the situation, they will resort to migrate to the city.

Among the migrants interviewed, it was found that only 6.7% of them live in families with less than five (5) members, while majority of them live in families with 15 or more members. In Northern Ghana, most people ascribe to the extended family system where two or more households live together in the same house. This is an indication of the extended nature of families' migrants come from. Demographically, the survey respondents originated from household sizes which are larger than the national average for Ghana. The increased number of siblings in rural households undoubtedly means that there is increased competition for the available resources, thus, the inclination for some of the members to migrate to reduce the struggle. The larger family sizes also imply that the members have access to a wide range of social networks that they can draw upon to facilitate their movement. This agrees with that of Abdul-Korah, (2007), the larger the family, the probability of migrating. Families with large members are likely to send some members out as a form of livelihood strategy.

The categories of persons involved in migration from rural areas to the study area are similar to the observations of migration dynamics often associated with rural-urban migrants in developing countries. The migrants included in the sample in Aboabo are mostly female, young, rather poorly

educated, and from poor socio-economic backgrounds. This is similar to the findings of Awumbila, (2014) who found similar characteristics among migrations in Accra.

5.3 Factors Responsible for migration

In order to understand the choice of employment and job search process among rural migrants, it is important to understand their reasons for migrating and their migration process. The data indicate that migrants travel from the Northern Region to the study area for several complex and interrelated reasons. However, these reasons can be grouped into four categories: economic, environmental, social and cultural.

Economic factors: poverty and lack of jobs

Many of the responses showed that migrants took the decision to migrate in order to improve their economic conditions. One reason that the respondents gave for migrating to the study area was the need to find employment opportunities. One respondent in an interview summed up the situation regarding rural jobs as follows:

 "*the only thing we do in the village is farming. There is nothing more. Here, one can engage in different kind of jobs that will pay better than farming in the village. It is much better to work here than my hometown*" (male respondent, aged 22).

This means that work is an important determinant of the decision to migrate because of lack of rural job opportunities. Apart from the need to search for jobs in the urban areas, some of the migrants also migrated due to the perception of higher income that they are likely to get as compared to working in the village. In this regard, one of the respondents lamented the income situation in the rural areas that:

"I had a job as a teacher where I was paid GH¢700[3] a month, but because I had been here and enjoyed huge sums of money, it looked very little to me. I know some of my friends who earn that amount and are able to live with it, but for me it is not enough, I need more". (Male, aged 29, who migrated at the age of 25)

Though there are income earning activities in the rural areas, some of the respondents migrated to enjoy higher wages. There were also those respondents who migrated because there was no labour

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[3] At the time of the interviews USD 1= GH¢4.52.

market for their profession in the village. Thus, they migrate to Kumasi to find employment that matches their skills and to enjoy higher incomes.

Environmental factors: decline in agricultural activities

Also, connected to the economic factor is the environmental issues which manifests itself in climate change resulting in declining agricultural activities. The decline of agricultural activities and subsequent unemployment and poverty situations thus pushed the youth in Northern Ghana towards urban areas to search for wage labour to alleviate household poverty.

A male migrant reflected that in his opinion, "*the main reason why many of the youth in rural areas migrate to Kumasi is as a result of declining agricultural activities. The problem is that agriculture is the only thing we do in the north, but now, there is nothing. You can cultivate for a whole season and not be able to reap enough to feed your family and be able to sell*". (Male, 30 years old)

The decline of agriculture rendered the presence of the youth irrelevant in their villages and thus they opted for rural-urban migration mainly for wage labour as a livelihood coping strategy.

Conflict and insecurity

Conflict and insecurity were also cited by the respondents as a reason for their exodus from rural areas to the study area. Most societies in Northern Ghana have been confronted with many conflicts and insecurity situations, mainly based on land resources and chieftaincy titles. Indeed, this has contributed to the rural-urban migration of the people as attested by a migrant below:

"I left my village because of the Dagbon conflicts. After about 15 years now, I have not gone back to my village for fears that I might be killed. Some of my brothers are Accra and others too in other places in the north, but not in our village" (Male, 41 years old).

Conflicts in the Northern part of the country fuels the migration of the youth to urban areas in order to stay safe. The conflicts in the past have rendered people insecure and therefore the only way they will feel safe is to relocate to a different place. Conflicts could also affect livelihood and food security of individuals and households, thus pushing most of the rural folks out of their places.

Lack of Social amenities in the rural areas

Furthermore, the colonial administration in Ghana (1471-1957) set the precedence for a massive gap in infrastructural development between southern and Northern Ghana. Attempts by post-

colonial governments at bridging this gap have lagged greatly. In consequence, southern Ghana has become a source of social amenities, infrastructural development and all things associated with modernity. Thus, people who want to enjoy these amenities are predisposed to migrate or relocate to southern Ghana as expressed by a migrant in one of the interviews:

"I heard a lot about Kumasi before coming here. A lot of people from my village came to Kumasi before and when they come home we go to them and listen to stories about what they have been doing here. So, I already knew a lot before coming here. When they come back home, they come with lots of clothes and cooking utensils. So, I always wanted to come and also get those things". (Female, aged 29, who migrated at the age of 24).

Another reason connected to the lack of social amenities is the lack of proper decentralisation. The issue is that most relevant offices (including administrative and government institutions) in the country are concentrated in the urban areas especially in the south.

For instance, in an interview with one of the migrants it was revealed that: *"the reason why I left the village to Accra in the first place was that I wanted a visa to travel to the united states, so I have to go to Accra for that because there is none in Tamale not to talk of my village. If there such an office, I would not have gone to Accra in the first place"* (Male, 27 years old).

Thus, the need to acquire services that are not existing in the rural areas attract some of the migrants to the urban areas.

Unfavourable Socio-cultural factors

In addition, some of the respondents migrated as a result of socio-cultural reasons; to prepare themselves for marriage, to protect themselves from witchcraft[4] and to wean themselves from the control of elders.

Young people from rural areas migrate to southern Ghana with the hope of securing a job to work and accumulate money and resources to prepare themselves for marriage. This was especially the case for females who are mostly involved in the exodus to accumulate money to buy utensils, cloths and other crockery to get married. Though, their parents help them in preparation for

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[4] Witchcraft is a belief in magical abilities that are able to be exercised by individuals to derail the success of others or even kill others

marriage, the amount of resources required needs the support of the person involved. One of the respondents in an interview reflected that:

"I live with my auntie who is supposed to take care of my needs, but for marriage, I will need a lot of items, so I have to come here to look for money. My auntie takes care of six of us, so we cannot sit down and wait for her to give us money to buy our cooking utensils for marriage, we have to work and get it on our own". (Female, 22 years old).

The acquisition of these items makes them good candidates for male suitors in the community. The cultural significance of the acquisition of these items is in tandem with the quest for economic empowerment via waged labour seems to legitimise female migration and hence the increasing migration of the youth to the study area.

Furthermore, the fear of witchcraft, which is very common in most communities of Northern Ghana, is also driving migration to the study area. As in many traditional African societies, the belief system and worldview of the people have been greatly influenced by the traditional ancestor worship, which is common among rural folks.

One migrant lamented: *"One day, I wake up at dawn to go to toilet and unfortunately I met a witch who was coming from her operations. In my community, it is very bad to see a witch in that state. If you want to survive, you must leave the village until you hear that the witch is dead before you can return. If you return, before the witch dies, then you will die. So, I left the village on that same day before daybreak in order to avoid been killed. I know other people who left our village because of the same reason".* (Male, 32 years old).

Some informants warned that the situation can be serious to the extent that even close family relations who are jealous of one's progress in life could bewitch or kill such a person. Many migrants often resolve to stay longer or permanently in the south to avoid these calamities.

Another reason that emanated from the data was inadequate parental care and upbringing, especially towards foster children. In Northern Ghana, it is common and sometimes a cultural requirement, to find parents sending their children to a relative to cater for them. This might also be due partly to the level of poverty and the number of children that many families have to cater for. As a result, some portents are forced to give their children to others to raise them. However,

some of these foster parents treat and cater for the foster children in bad manner as illustrated by a migrant below:

"I lived with my uncle who had no children. I worked in the farm every day from morning to evening sometimes without food. One day, I could not go to the farm because I was sick. My uncle beat me severely. After I became well, one I saw some cargo truck passing by and I entered it illegally to Kumasi. That was how I migrated, I did not have any plans at all". (Male, 29, who migrated at the age of 18).

This lack of freedom of the part of most children under foster care, force them to exude the village to the cities. Thus, they travel to the south to relieve themselves of the control from elders and parents in the villages. Beside these maltreatment, being a young person in Northern Ghana sometimes implies that your views are not considered very much in major decisions concerning the family. Thus, for some of the migrants who wish to enjoy some freedom and be independent, migration is often an option.

Summary of the factors responsible for migration

The empirical data presented on the reasons for migration indicate that the factors responsible for the migration from Northern Ghana to the study area are lack of employment opportunities, declining agricultural production due to climate variability, conflict and insecurity, lack of social amenities in the rural areas, unfavourable socio-cultural practice and inadequate decentralisation.

5.4 Migration Decision Making Process

From the data presented, migration from rural areas in the Northern Region to the south is influenced by economic, environmental, social and cultural factors. However, these factors are often idle until they are triggered by other factors that prompt an individual to migrate.

In relation to the decision-making processes of migrants, most of them made the decision to migrate on their own with the consent of their parents before migration and in some cases parents even encourage their children to migrate and sometimes help fund the transportation cost of migrants. Essentially, around 78.7%(n=89) of the interviewed migrants reported to have informed or discussed their decision to migrate to urban areas with their household members, especially, parents and guardians, and in many cases, were allowed to migrate.

One key informant in Aboabo summarises the role of parents in the migration process as follows:

"many parents in the villages encourage their children to migrate to the cities to look for money. For instance, some parents tell their children, look at your age mates, they haven't you seen how they are now after going to the city, you should also go and look for money. This encourage the youth to migrate to the cities". (male, 35 years old)

This means that the decision to migrate is often made or encouraged by the family (mostly by the parents). This is especially the case when migration from the village is primarily motivated by the need to ensure the survival of the rural household.

By contrast, around 21.3% of the interviewed migrants did not inform or discuss with their households or relatives concerning their decision to migrate. They sometimes dodge or escape against the will of their parents. For those who cannot or are unable to fund their travel, they sometimes steal or borrow monies from friends or sell available livestock in the house to fund their trips. For instance, during an interview with one of the migrants, she acknowledged that:

"My mother went out to the farm and I took the opportunity to go and collect money from a groundnut seller and told her to that my mother sent me for it so she can come for her groundnuts later. In our village, you can go to a seller and collect money for goods in advance and bring the goods later. It was easy for the groundnut seller to trust me and give me the money because she knows my mother". (female, 23, migrated at the age of 17).

Even though, their parents are against their exodus, they still migrate to the cities. However, after their parents find out, they usually advise them not to follow bad company and to work hard.

Migrants' expectations at destination areas also influenced their decision to migrate. Interaction with the migrants proved that prior to migration, majority of them [92% (n=89)] had positive expectations concerning the city. Migrants hoped to succeed in various ways, which reflected one of their motivations to migrate. They specifically hoped to secure better jobs and to be supported by their friends and relatives in settling in the city. They preferred Kumasi due to easy access to transportation, social networks, and support from ethnic group members.

5.5 Employment activities of migrants

This section presents the data on the kind of jobs migrants do in the city and how they find those jobs and their working activities in the city.

5.5.1 Kind of jobs migrants do

Among the migrants interviewed, it was discovered that they engage in many different job activities mainly in the informal sector. The reasons for this is that their main aim is to make money and as such will engage in any meaningful activity that will bring income. However, the most common jobs among them were dealing in scrap metals (popularly known as "condemn") and load carrying for fees (also known as kayayei). These two jobs are "default" for all the migrants interviewed where a migrant start working in the city. This is because due to their lack of formal education and professional skills that would avail them to more formal and higher paying jobs, working as a kayayei or a scrap dealer emerged as the closest job option for them. The employment paths are to some extent gendered among them, where men engage mostly in dealing in scrap metals while women mostly deal in kayayei. However, some men engage in carrying loads and few women are also into the scrap business.

A female migrant explains the job situation in the city as follows:

"Since I came to Kumasi, I have worked in many jobs. At first, I worked with a food vendor and got money to buy my pan for load carrying. Currently, I work as a kayayei and sell cosmetics and shoes by carrying around the residences of mainly the kayayei people here. I am also learning how to make soap so that when my husband decides we should go home to the village, I will have something doing". (Female, 32 years old who migrated at the age of 18).

In addition, it was noted that around 84.3% (n=89) of the migrants engaged in more than one livelihood activities. One common way of engaging in multiple income earning activities was through carrying out the scrap work or kayayei during the day and the other activity at night. Some of them also work on-call basis where they will be called to come and work at any time as attested below:

"I work as a kayayei, but during my free time in the afternoon, I also do hairdressing. I also sell cosmetics to the members of the community. Sometimes, some of my customers call me to get them the kind of cosmetic they want or to come and braid their hair for them. I have to do all these in order to survive in the city". (a female Male migrant, 29 years old, who migrated at the age of 17 years)

In such cases, some migrants simultaneously engaged in working as scrap dealers or kayayei and involve in other activities including but not limited to working as security guards, hair dressing, food vending, electricians, plumbers, petty trading, carpentry, construction and entrepreneurship such as keeping shops.

5.5.2 Job search mechanisms among migrants

Almost all the migrants found jobs through their friends and relatives, but "relatives" here means migrants who work in Kumasi, not permanent resident relatives. Especially for their first jobs, migrants mostly depend on friends and/or relatives who are already familiar with the working situation in Kumasi. A migrant explains how social network helps migrants to secure jobs in the city: *"I work as a scrap dealer. Here it is difficult to find jobs in other areas. That is all of us are dealing in the scraps and load carrying. It is easy to get there. You just have to get someone you know, then that person can train you and link you up with others"*. (Male, 28 years old).

Through social connections, migrants in cities helped those newly arriving to settle down by offering them accommodation, food and assistance in their search for jobs. Thus, as a result of the help they receive, they are also eager to help new arrivals and the trend continues as long as there are new migrants.

5.5.3 Working activities of migrants

The working activities of the migrants involve some dynamics that often ensue between themselves, the authorities, the public and their customers. Regardless of the kind of job a migrant is engaged in, their daily activities involve moving around and bargaining for better prices.

Those involved in load carrying normally operate within areas where they can get customers to facilitate their activities. Notably, areas such lorry parks, *trotro*[5] stations and areas around open market spaces attract many of the migrants. These areas are beset with intense vehicular and human congestion. They move around and look for customers with goods to carry. Some of them also sit in front of shops and wait for customers to come and buy goods so that they could carry.

The activity of load carrying for fees is highly gendered with male porters transporting the more heavier loads of large-scale traders and over greater distances using trolleys, locally made hand

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[5] A local public transport system in Ghana that mainly work within shorter distances in the cities

trucks and motor kings, while female porters carry smaller loads of petty traders and travellers in pans on their heads.

Figure 4:Male truck pushers carrying loads on truck and a female carrying load on her head

Source: Author's Field Data, 2017

In their working activities, the migrants normally have some form of cooperation amongst themselves. For those who carry the loads on their heads, in a situation where a migrant cannot carry a load alone, they call on their fellow migrant to help. They also normally work in groups for fears that they might get missing in the crowds, especially the newly arrived migrants.

For the truck pushers, one is in front of the truck leading the way while the other one or two people push from behind to facilitate the movement. They carry loads on the trucks and push their way through the crowds (see figure 4) to the destination of the customer. Some of them have regular customers with established relationships. In that cases migrants are often seen sitting in front of stores waiting for their customers to come and buy the goods and they will carry for them.

Negotiating the fee of a load to be carried is normally done at the place where the migrant carries the good. The first deal is usually made by the migrant who often quotes a high amount and the owner of the goods may also bargain till a consensus is reached. However, migrants with established relationship with customers do not need to renegotiate the fees for similar goods, since they are aware of the amount expected. One of the respondents revealed: "*when you are about the carry a customer's good, you first ask to find out the destination, then you try lifting it to determine the weight. Based on the distance and the weight, you quote price and sometimes, the customer may bargain it down or agree to pay the exact amount. When you all agree on the price, then you carry it*". (Female, 28 years old who has been in the city for 7 years).

This means that their ability to earn in their jobs depends on their negotiation skills and the mercy of the customer. There is no standard pricing for their services, because of the ways they determine the prices of the goods to carry.

With regards to the scrap dealers, it was revealed that their activities involve moving from one place to another to look for scraps. The daily activities of the scrap dealers involve the process of collecting, crushing of fridges, old television sets; sorting out metals, aluminium and copper wires, loading scraps into trucks, and sale of scraps to the factories for recycling. The real work of a scrap dealer is grounded in his or her ability to acquire or gather scraps and can to bargain for a price in his or her favour. As in the case of the load carriers, the scrap dealers also relied solely on their negotiation abilities to keep the price of scraps in their favour. Factors they consider in their negotiations included cost of transporting scraps to point of sale and cost of buying scraps from scrap owners.

Most of them walk through the nooks and corners of the industrial areas, mechanic workshops, and residential areas, in search of scrap metals – a very scarce commodity in the metropolis. The search for scraps by scrap dealers takes different forms and timelines for the different actors. However, it can be established that most scrap dealers begin their day literally when they rise from bed and work till sunset as attested by one of them below:

"I wake up early in the morning and go around the area to find out if the people have some scraps to sell. I go there early because they might leave home for work. Some of us carry sacs, wheelbarrow, motorbikes to go and look for the scraps. In instances where the goods are too heavy for you, you hire a taxi or call for help from other workers". (Male, 24)

They are ready to respond to calls from their clients at any time of the day to buy scraps. Some of them use motorbikes for their rounds while others walk or hire a taxi in the case they are called to far places or for an urgent deal.

The scraps collected are then transported to the trading centres where sorting and dismantling of large sized- scraps were done to group the scraps into the various types and quality. Often cars, motor bikes and refrigerators were reduced in size through dismantling. Simple tools like the hammers and chisel were employed in this exercise.

Figure 5:Scrap dealers at work

Source: Author's Field Data, 2017

In their working activities, both the scrap dealers and the load carriers have no defined time and most work from dawn to dusk with little breaks during the day. This is because their job activities have no fixed times and are based on one's ability to struggle to get more customers or more goods to carry.

A migrant who engages in load carrying reflected on her working as a kayayei that:

"I start work as early as 5 am. I start by going for prayers in the mosque. After prayers, I bath and then take my pan to the market by 7am. I go early so that I could get more customers to work with. At the market, I go to sit in front of a shop waiting for customers. I usually come back around 6pm. After, that I take my items out for sale until 9 or 10 in the night" (female, 19).

Normally, the activities of the migrants have no defined breaks because it is irregular and does not involve working all the time. They work only when they get customers or when they are called to buy scraps.

One important and cross-cutting aspect of the working activities of the migrants was the use of mobile phones, which helped migrants to communicate with customers and seek employment. A migrant who use mobile phone in her kayayei business pointed out how he uses a mobile phone to conduct his business:

"I rent a motorbike to carry goods and I have to go out and look for customers to carry their goods for them. My mobile phone helps me a lot in looking for customers. Most of the customers I have

ever worked with have my number. People always call me when they need my service". (Male, 21).

Almost all the migrants interviewed, indicated their use of mobile phones in search for goods to carry or in search of scrap metals. Though most of them are uneducated, they manage to use mobile phones to conduct their businesses by making and receiving simple calls.

5.5.4 Summary of the employment activities among migrants

The kinds of jobs migrants do, as revealed by the empirical data, indicate that migrants in the study area mainly engage in one or two kinds of jobs: load carrying and scrap dealing. There were also cases of migrants being engaged in other jobs such as street vending, labourers, construction workers, carpenters, bartenders and artisans, and in trading/selling. However, these jobs were often done alongside either load carrying or scrap dealing. Migrants engage in these kinds of jobs because they are the closest job choice for them since they lack formal education and the skills required to enter more formal employment activities. Also, most of the people that the migrants are in contact with before migrating to the city engage in those kinds of jobs. The choice of a job type depends mostly on the gender and age of the individual but these considerations are not mutually exhaustive. Upon arrival in the study area, migrants are introduced to these kinds of jobs by their friends and relatives who are already into those activities. After working in these jobs for some time, migrants get their second or third jobs, not only through friends and relatives, but through their own ingenuity and ability to make contacts with those outside their networks. Thus, the job search strategy among the migrants in the study area is mainly through word of mouth, mostly from friends and relatives.

5.6 Challenges and Coping Strategies among migrants in their work places

5.6.1 Challenges

Migrants face several challenges in their job activities which emanate from the nature of the jobs they do, their socio-demographic characteristics, their relationship with law enforcement agencies, customers and the general public. From the data gathered, challenges the migrants face include, physical injuries, stigmatisation, criminalisation and victimisation, and sometimes death.

One challenge that migrants encounter in their employment activities is the issue of accusations and victimisation. It was repeatedly noted that migrants were mainly confronted with accusations by the public and law enforcement agencies. Almost all the migrants interviewed, asserted having

67

either directly or indirectly experienced or witnessed accusations and victimisation among their employment activities.

These accusations and victimisations emanate from the nature of their working activities, their lack of formal education and their inability to speak the Akan language in Kumasi, especially for first time migrants. For those who engage in load carrying, at times, they are given stolen or illegal goods to carry and the owner will leave them to the mercy of the law, when they are caught with those goods. For instance, a migrant lamented that:

"One of my friends is in jail for carrying a corpse that she was not aware of. Someone gave it to her to carry and after some time, she didn't see the owner again. When they opened it in the market, it was realised that the person had killed a child in rubbed her in the bag. The police were called to arrest her but she could not defend herself". (Female, 27).

Thus, the owner of the goods is aware of the dangerous goods, in order to save him or herself, they give it to the migrants to carry, so in case of danger of being arrested, they bolt away and leave the migrant. In this case, the migrants usually do not have evidence to prove themselves that they are not the real owners of the illegal load. Due to their lack of education and their meagre incomes, they are usually unable to hire lawyers to represent them in the law court.

In the case of scrap dealers, buying of stolen goods was a major challenge the confront the migrants in the employment activities in the city. The job of scrap dealers involves buying and selling of scrap metals. At times, they might buy metals from someone who stole them. When police trace the goods to the migrant, there is nothing that they can do. These accusations were mainly related to stealing.

"A very big problem with regards to our work is that, you can buy a metal from someone and it might be stolen, then the real owners will come and find it with you, then you are in trouble. You will lose your money and if you are unlucky, you will go to jail for that. There is no way you can defend yourself in this situation, you cannot find the one who sold it you again. In that case, they will assume that you are the one who stole it". (Male, scrap dealer, 27).

The accusations sometimes result in jail or in worse situations, death, as stated by this male migrant: *"A mop killed one of my friend that way last week. Someone sold a stolen car battery to him and he was spotted carrying it then they captured him and beat him to death".* (Male, scrap dealer, aged 26)

In such cases, they would subsequently be harassed and humiliated by police without been given an opportunity to defend themselves because the general public think of all scrap dealers as thieves and suspect them in everything.

The data further noted that a considerable social stigma in the form of segregation and stereotyping was waged against the migrants which pose a challenge to them as they go about their daily activities. This was especially the case of the scrap dealers. Due to the nature of their jobs, they normally wear dirty cloths which drive people way form them in public places. Some of them lament that they have in many instances been subjected to all sorts of abuse from some of the locals. One of the migrants who was a scrap dealer narrated his experience that:

"One day, I went and sat in a "trotro" and all the people there left and refused to board. As a result, the driver asked me to leave and let others come in. this is the cheapest means of transport that I could have gotten to carry my goods that day, but because of this, I had to hire a taxi to carry my scraps". (Male, scrap dealer, 24).

Another respondent indicated: *"The urban residents often avoid us. When walking on the street, they try to by-pass us wherever possible. When standing in line, they keep huge distances from us. Few are reluctant even to take a bus seat that has previously been occupied by us. I don't blame them, we work on dirty jobs, we wear dirty clothes, and our body is full of offensive smell".* (Male, scrap dealer, 26).

Apart from accusations, victimisation and stigmatisation, migrants face the risks of injuries in their working activities. All the migrants interviewed reported being injured in one way or the other during their working activities. Among the scrap dealers, many injuries caused were due to contact with sharp edges of scraps during collection into sacks or bags. Some of them also indicated injuries from falling metals and hammers striking their hands as the major risks associated with scrap loading. Injuries from fire as the major hazard associated with the use of gas torch for cutting scraps into smaller pieces, were also recorded. One migrant indicated that:

*"Our work is very risky, since we deal with metals, it causes serious injuries to us. Look at my finger {*showing his fingers to me, lacking the middle finger on the left hand*}, it was cut because of work. There are some lockers in the gear box of a car, I was trying to remove that locker and unfortunately, it knocked my finger. It is very dangerous to work here".* (Male, 21)

Dismantling of obsolete electronic devices without protective gears in a bid to recover metals such as copper, aluminium and iron, also represent huge risks to the workers. For instance, dismantling of computer and television monitors using stones, hammers, heavy metal rods and chisels, to recover copper, steel and plastic casings, could result in the inhalation of hazardous cadmium dust and other pollutants by the workers. They fail to use protective gears mainly because of their lack of income to purchase them and also ignorance on the part of the scrap dealers. The aim of the scrap dealer is to make as much profit as possible from their goods, so they might not even think about the safety aspect, the only thing is to get what they want from the metal.

Most of the injured workers went to the hospital on their own while others were taken there by their friends and or relatives. Others also did not go to hospitals; they just returned to their village of origin until recovery. In most cases laborers paid for their transportation and medication and if the bill is too high, friends and relatives come in. After injuries, migrant laborers spent inactive periods ranging between one day for light injuries and three months for very serious injuries.

A migrant bemoaned:

"There was a time I had an accident during dismantling of an old car. I was rushed to the hospital by my friends and could not work for about two months. During this time, I was fed by my friends because I could not work. It even came to a time we had to go to the mosques to seek for help from other people to help foot the medical bills". (Male, 30).

This means that in order for them to survive an injury, migrants need the support of their friends and relatives to take them to hospital and provide them with income during the time they stay idle. Due to trust and reciprocity among them, it is expected that the one who receives help also helps others when the need arises.

Also, because of nature of their jobs, that involves moving from one place to another, migrants are often attacked, injured or even killed by thieves who thought the migrants had lots of money with them. Specifically, almost all the scrap dealers attested to having either witnessed or been directly involved in some sort of insecurity related events. A migrant working as scrap dealer summarises what he considers as physical insecurity for himself and other migrants when working as scrap dealers:

"We are not safe here; we are just working under God's protection. This is becoming normal now. At times, you hear that so and so has been attacked. The thieves will lure you to a place with the pretence to sell scraps to you and in the process, rob you off your valuables. Sometimes, they rob the scraps you have already bought and sell it to others". (Male, 35)

Many of the migrants have to go around the market, carrying heavy loads of goods which pose hazards to their health. Also, in times of sickness, the person is not able to go to work which means that he or she will lose on income and will not be able to pay for basic needs.

"When you fall sick, it becomes difficult for you because you cannot go to work and there is no one to help. So, our main problem with our work is when it comes to sickness. What we do to help each other is that in critical conditions, we go around mosques requesting for assistance for the person. But there are instances where you may not get assistance from others especially if you are not very nice to others". (Female, 25).

There are also challenges associated with migrants engaging in multiple economic activities. Around 85% (n=89) of the interviewed migrants complained that engagement in more than one income activity frequently made them too tired and ineffective. Moreover, migrants associated health problems such as chest pain with overworking and engaging in more than one job, as one migrant explains:

"Some people work too much that they do not care about themselves. They work day and night to get more money. One of my friends was taken to the hospital last week because he carried a heavy load and his chest was paining. He could not brief well and he is still in the hospital". (Female, 19).

Furthermore, indebtedness as a result of losses during work, especially among the truck pushers, motor king drivers and scrap dealers also pose a challenge to the migrants in the working activities. Among the truck pushers and motor king drivers, the problem is that they often rent the truck and motors they use. Sometimes, when migrants do not make sales they must pay for the rented trucks or motorbikes from their saved earnings or borrow to pay the owner. Also, when the truck or motorbike develops a fault, it is the responsibility of the migrant to fix and repair them. A further challenge to the motorbike users is the issue of buying fuel which often burns out fast due to the heavy vehicular and human traffic in the market.

One migrant who uses the motor king lamented out his frustration that: *"the problem we face is that the fuel often burns out easy because one cannot move fast in the traffic. I bought fuel this morning and I have not carried anything but it is about to finish".* (Male, motor king driver, 22). Closely related to the issue of indebtedness is the problem the migrants face with regards to taking care of their families while working. This is especially for those with infants. Since their incomes depends on daily activities, it is difficult to take days off to take care of newly born children. This is especially the case of women who are burdened with the responsibility of taking care of infants, as narrated by a migrant in an interview:

"...taking care of your child while working is a big problem. Who will give you money to take care of your needs if you give birth and do not go to work? After I gave birth, my boyfriend run away and left the child with me, I have to go to work with her strapped at my back, there is nothing I can do". (Female, 26)

A participant in one of the focus group discussion revealed that:
"It is difficult to have a child while working here as a kayayei. When your child falls sick and you cannot go to work, it means that you are losing. Sometimes when your husband is not there and you need money, the only thing you can do is to go and borrow from someone". (Female, 28).

This was confirmed during the observation where some of the migrants were seen carrying their loads while children were strapped to their backs. During field observation, most of the migrants have children strapped to their backs while they work in the scorching sun bringing to light, the challenge of caring for their family while working in the city as evidenced in Figure 6.

Figure 6:Migrants carrying heavy loads with children strapped to their backs

Source: Author's Field Data, 2017

For the scrap dealers, the problem of indebtedness is in the fact that they collect money from their *masters* [6] and go to the "field" to buy the scraps. At times, migrants come home and make loses of which they must account for. In these instance, the migrants often resort to borrowing from friends to pay off the debt. As already indicated, the challenge even compounds if a scrap dealer buys a stolen good and the owner later see it with them. The owners usually call in the police to seize the good as well as imprison the said scrap dealer. In that case, the migrant will lose the goods, his money and will not be able to engage in any productive activity during the time at the police station.

Finally, migrants are challenged with the problem of determining the prices of their goods and services. There is often a lack of clarity in the payment of the goods and services migrants offer. This lack of clarity in fees charged often resulted in disagreements and conflicts between the kayayei and the owners of the goods carried.

"the problem is dealing with customers when we carry their goods especially those who are wicked. There are at times when you carry someone's goods and the person will not pay you as expected. Somethings, they tell you that they are going to a nearby place and you charge them low,

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[6] A master is a scrap dealer who owns a scrap yard and employs other migrants as scrap dealers to work with.

but they end up taking you to a different place which would have attracted more money". (Male, 'motorking' driver, 28)

Many of the migrants also face language barriers, have inadequate resources, and know little about the local labour market. This makes it difficult for them to bargain for better prices for the goods and services they provide to their customers.

One migrant explains: *"Our work as scrap dealers involve moving around the houses to look for scraps to buy. Sometimes, because you do not understand the language, it is difficult to bargain with the local people. One day, I picked up a scrap from the garbage and one local indicated that it was his, so he ended up selling the same scrap that was thrown away to me. That was the first time I arrived here. I didn't know the language. I could have defended myself if I could speak twi. So, it is really difficult when you do not understand the language"* (Male, 22).

Among the scrap dealers, their plight was the difficulty in determining the prices of scrap metals. There were no standards of pricing in the scrap trade.

"The work we do is not fixed it depends on chance. Sometimes, you can get a lot of money out of some small thin. Also, there are at times when you can go and will not get anything. It is funny, you can buy something come and make as much as 10 times the amount. On the other hand, you can make as much loss as possible" (Male, 29 years old).

5.6.2 Coping Strategies

In order to cope with attacks from thieves, migrants often work in groups. At the social capital level, the migrants worked in groups of at least two people as a strategy of coping with the insecurity threat. This was mainly facilitated by the strong social networks that exist among them. For instance, those who engage in scraps will normally go to the bush in groups of two or three to strengthen their efforts against gang-attacks. According to sampled migrants, this strategy was particularly practical, firstly because gangs would fear attacking them when in groups, and secondly as group migrants could more effectively react to attacks.

Migrants also turned to friends, relatives and ethnic associations in order to coping with the various forms of challenges. Firstly, almost all the migrants depended on their friends and relatives in cases where they needed financial support. This was relevant when migrants needed to buy some food, a bus fair to return to go to work or when they were required to pay off debts yet lacked money.

One migrant explains:

".... When I find that I need money to do something, not enough I go to see my relatives or friends. If it is not too much they can contribute and give it to me for free. But, when it is too much they give it to me in form of a loan and then I repay them slowly". (Male, aged 27)

Consequently, this means that social networks resulting from friends and relatives increased migrants' capacity to cope with financial constraints in the city.

".... since we do not have families here, sometimes, it is difficult to get assistance in difficult situations. It is only friends that help. Sometimes you get a problem beyond your control, the only thing you can do is to go back home". (Female, 26).

They also cope with challenges relating to insufficient incomes by spending less on basic needs and opting for cheap goods and services. They also reside together and share the cost of accommodation in order to save and be able to send some money home.

Furthermore, most of the migrants attested to having turned to their ethnic groups for financial, employment or shelter support in the city. These organisations supported their members through transport services on occasions such as death and illness, as well as start-up capital for members. In the case of start-up capital, the financial support was given out either for free or as a loan, depending on the status of the person requesting support and the amount involved. These groups sprung up in different parts of the community with different membership structures, usually making up of members of the same community.

"we have our group that is mainly made up of members from my community. We meet to discuss problems that are facing us and how to overcome them here in the city. In case someone finds life unbearable can assist him; for example, we must contribute some money and support one of us who happens to fall sick or has lost a relative". (Male, aged 31years)

In times when one is sick or indebted, the unions contribute to defray the debt for him or her. Also, when someone runs into a problem and needs to go home they quickly contribute some money for him or her to go back.

Finally, in the process of using the above measures to cope with the challenges they face, almost all the migrants indicated they depended on their faiths and religious beliefs to cope with their challenges. Observation proved that appealing to God was repeatedly undertaken by the migrants

at the end of their statements when they were explaining how they coped with the challenges. Dependency on God also reveals the powerlessness of migrants in dealing with clients who refuse to pay or when faced with insecurity. As one migrant puts it: *"when one of us gets a problem, let's say, the person is sick, we do all what we can to help him or her, but at the end of the day we leave it to God".* (male, 35).

In a related narration, another migrant indicted that: *"When you carry someone's goods and they refuse to pay you the right amount, sometimes you just leave it to God and go your way. On the day of judgement, you will get your money back in the form of reward from God".* (Female, 17).

The reasons for their dependency on God mainly rotated around the fact that they belief in the expense of a supreme being who will fight for them. skills. Dependency on God's assistance in dealing with the insecurity situation was also implicitly mentioned by majority of respondents, even after having mentioned other ways of dealing with the challenges.

5.6.3 Summary of challenges and coping strategies

The challenges that migrants face in their jobs include physical injuries, stigmatisation, criminalisation and victimisation, and sometimes death. These challenges come from the relationship of the migrants with the native residents, the city authorities, law enforcement agencies. Also, some of these challenges emanate because of their characteristics including low level of educational attainment, young age structure and the nature of their jobs. The main way by which migrants cope with these challenges is to seek the help of friends and relatives, depend on their ethnic associations and rely on their faiths and religious beliefs.

5.7 Effects of the outcomes of migrants' employment activities

The data gathered indicated that due to the nature of the activities of the migrants, their income levels are not fixed but fluctuates depending on the season of the year and on the bargaining power of the individual migrants. However, despite challenges they faced in their jobs, migrants are able to use their earnings to support their families back home. Migrant earnings range from a little of about GH¢5 to GH¢50 a day. However, there is no fixed earning among the migrants. Most of their earnings depends on their bargaining power and their luck as well as the season of the year.

5.7.1 Family support

Although most of the migrants' incomes are unstable, they are able to manoeuvre the city life to fend for themselves and their dependents. All the respondents interviewed indicated that the revenue generated from their activities was mainly used to sustain their families. A great

proportion of migrants' savings goes into supporting their families in the Northern Region and satisfying family members' basic needs: food, clothing, children's education and health.

An informant noted that: *"Due to inconsistent rainfalls and droughts, the proceeds we get from our farms are not enough for us. But now, I send money home and they use it to buy food and other items in the house".* (male, 35).

The cash remittances that migrants send to family members back at home are vital to household sustenance in the rural areas. The remittances often serve as buffer to the food shortage that families or households sometimes face in the communities.

Migrants also use their incomes to build houses and to improve building in their family houses. The incomes are often used to mend rooms after the rainy season and to cater for household expenditures like buying food, provisions, or medical care. An informant explained during an interview that: *"Since I came here, I have helped to improve the building in our family house". There were only three rooms in our house where more than four people were staying in one room. For me, I was even sleeping in a neighbour's house. But now, we have enough rooms in our house through the support I give them".* (Male, 29).

The aim of building and improving their houses in the villages indicate their intention of returning home and the relevance of their migration to the livelihood of their families.

5.7.2 Investment in children's education

Around 80% (n=89) of the interviewed migrants intended to proactively invest in their children's education as a long-term strategy of coping with threats of both unemployment and financial constraints. Some migrants who suggested investing in their children's education argued that their lack of education had considerably rendered them financially incapable, and thus they were unwilling to see their children fall into a similar predicament in the future. *"... I would be happy If I could get some of education for my children, and my brothers and sisters in the village that would help them in the future. I send money home every month to give to my brothers to go to school".* (Male migrant, aged25)

The intend to invest in the education of their children because they want to provide a better future for their children. They are aware that they are not able to find employment in formal sector as a

result of their lack of education and therefore, are not ready to see their children with similar situation.

5.7.3 Investment in agricultural activities

Migrants also invest their incomes in agricultural activities in the villages. Some of them contribute to buy agricultural equipment such as fertilizers, weedicides and pay for the services of tractors for their households in the villages. One of the migrants attested that:

"every year during the rainy season, I send money to my family for farming, and at the time of weeding I send them money to buy weedicides to kill the weeds. It is a routine for me because I am the one who would have been in the farm and because it is no longer profitable to farm with physical strength, we use the money we get from our work here". (male, 40 years old).

Explicitly, the migrants considered engaging in agriculture in their local households as ways to improve the economic capital as well as plans in dealing with the poverty situation in their rural households. In their view, investment in agriculture was a more long-term strategy of overcoming poverty.

5.8 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented analysis of the data that was collected from the field. The presentation was based on the themes that emerged from the data. The demographic characteristics of the migrants are first presented to provide a general overview of the category of people the data were collected from. the reasons why the migrants move from their places of origin to the study area and the decision-making process that was involved was also presented. The chapter then presented data on the types of jobs migrants do in the city and how they find the jobs. The challenges they face in their jobs and the coping strategies they employ to cope with those challenges as well as the extent to which they are capable of coping are also presented. Finally, the use of the outcomes of the employment activities of the migrants on their livelihood and their families are presented based on the data collected.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the research findings and discuss how they answer the research questions in the light of the literature and theoretical frameworks of the thesis. Based on this discussion, comments are made accordingly.

To recall, the main aim of the study was to uncover how rural migrants jostle for employment opportunities in urban areas.

The research questions were:

1. Why do rural migrants migrate to the city and how do they arrive at the decision to migrate?
2. How do rural migrants strategize to find jobs in urban areas and why do they use those strategies?
3. What challenges do rural migrants face in their jobs and how do they cope with those challenges?
4. How do rural migrants secure their livelihoods with the outcomes of their employment activities in the city?

6.2 Reasons for migration and the decision-making process

The findings indicate that several complex and interrelated factors influence the migrants to migrate from the Northern Region to the study area. However, these factors are related to economic, environmental, social and cultural as found by Awumbila et al., (2011) among rural migrants in Accra. But the boundaries among these categories are not clearly distinguished because the structural issues that induce the movement are complex and interwoven.

Economic reasons: poverty and lack of rural job opportunities

One of the reasons why migrants migrate from the villages to the urban areas is to search for jobs to improve the economic standing. Migrants mostly migrate to improve their economic conditions which are about unemployment, very low incomes and poor rural living conditions (Dako-Gyeke, 2016). Although the participants vary in demographic characteristics, their ultimate motivation for migrating is to earn money. The lack of jobs in the rural areas is attributed to the decline in agricultural activities which is the main source of income for most rural folks in Ghana, especially in the Northern Region (WFP, 2013).

Environmental and climate change as inducers of migration

As a result of environmental changes in the region, there are increasing variability of rainfall patterns which exposed farmers to high risks of crop failure and loss of livestock, resulting in significant loss in productivity (Assan, Caminade & Obeng, 2009; Hesselberg & Yaro, 2006). The data presented revealed that environmental fluctuations in the rural areas have also contributed to the exodus of the migrants from the rural areas to the city. Many rural areas in developing countries are typically characterized by risky production systems and lack of access to credit and insurance facilities (Adaawen & Owusu, 2014). In such conditions, rural-urban migration works as a risk management strategy and a means to secure their livelihoods (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). Migration is often resorted to when people can no longer gain a secured livelihood in their places of origin (Tsegai & Le, 2010). Sending out migrants is part of a strategy for households to diversify income sources, obtain capital for local investment and provide insurance against production and income risks for non-migrating household members in the origin (Awumbila, 2015).

"Some time ago, we use to farm with simple tools and will harvest a lot of crops. But now, the land is no longer fertile, if you want to engage in farming, you need tractor, fertilizer, and weedicides to be able to farm. Where can we get the money for all that, except to migrate". (Male, 38 years old)

By virtue of its location in the semi-arid Savannah Ecological Zone, Northern Ghana is exposed to several environmental risks and effects. The main activity of the people of northern Ghana is farming (GSS, 2012). They cultivate mainly to feed our family and sell some of the produce to take care of their basic needs. As a result, there have been fluctuations in rainfall patterns which leads to severe droughts and flooding making the rainfall dependent farmers in the northern region unable to reap much from agricultural investments especially in the dry season.

Changing pattern of rainfall has caused severe droughts and floods in many parts of Northern Ghana which mostly depend on rain-fed agriculture as its main source of income. The decline of such activities and subsequent unemployment and poverty situations thus pushed the youth in Northern Ghana towards urban areas to either escape or search for wage labour to alleviate household poverty. Thus, the decline in agricultural activities, households are vulnerable to food insecurity and are therefore forced to migrate as a way of minimising competing on the meagre

food in the household (Black, Kniveton & Schmidt-Verkerk, 2013). This confirms the sustainable livelihood approach that in rural areas, agriculture is the main source of livelihoods which migration as the secondary source of livelihood (Scoones, 2009).

Theoretically, this goes to validate Harris and Todaro's model of migration which sees migration as a response to wages differentials between two geographical areas (Harris & Todaro, 1970). This model is truly reflected in this research because the migrants reported that the amount of money earned in Kumasi is higher than the of the rural areas. Bearing in mind the limitations of this model, migrants from Northern Ghana certainly do migrate to benefit from the difference in wages between rural and urban areas. Most moved to Kumasi because of poverty in their households in the rural areas. However, because of unfavourable living conditions in the rural areas, people move to towns almost spontaneously, without much rational decision perhaps under the perceived notion that things must be better in their destination areas. Also, given the low level of educational attainment among the migrants, their decision to migrate may not be completely rational since potential migrants do not have all the information to inform a rational decision (Lee, 1966).

Aside from being a coping strategy to reduce the number of persons on the meagre food harvest, people migrate to look for jobs as a way to also make up for the idle time they sometimes have after the major farming season, thus making migration a "to and from" movement. A 39-year old male migrant indicated: *"after the farming season, which usually lasts for five months, there is nothing to do in the village for the rest of the year. So, it is better to come down here and work to get some money. When it is time for farming, I will go back to the village and farm"*. (Male, 32 years old).

Thus, to most of them, their migration is season in nature to respond to the changing variations n rainfall (Rademacher-Schulz et al., 2014). The findings from the data show that a higher proportion of sampled migrants came from rural agricultural areas to Kumasi for employment and to enjoy other better opportunities. This finding confirms the Dual Economy Model of migration (Lewis, 1954) where it is assumed that modern (industrial) society attracts workers from traditional society due to attractive wages that guarantee migrants and households a higher quality of life as opposed to remaining in the rural areas. However, the assertion that migration is considered as an equilibrating mechanism which, through transfer of labour from the labour-surplus to the labour-deficit sector, eventually brings about wage equality in the two sectors (Lewis, 1954), is not

applicable here because the migration of the rural folks from Northern Ghana has not brought about equilibrium between the rural areas in the Northern part and urban areas in the South. The movement may be explained as a survival mechanism rather than an investment strategy that will enable equilibrium.

The need to escape from conflict and insecurity, witchcraft and control of elders

Many of the respondents in the study area migrate to escape conflict and insecurity, witchcraft, and control of elders were also reported as a reason for leaving the rural areas to urban areas. Most societies in Northern Ghana have been confronted with a range of conflicts and insecurity situations, mainly based on land resources and chieftaincy titles. Similar findings have been reported in Uganda among Karimajong migrants migrating from rural areas in Northern Uganda to Kampala and Jinja due to conflicts and insecurity (Kipuri, 2010).

The general impression in discussions with people was that witchcraft is dangerous and can be used to derail one's success or even kill. Therefore, for those who fear or find out from the soothsayer that witches are attacking them, they normally flee or migrate elsewhere far away from their place of origin, preferably to southern Ghana. These concerns are akin to similar findings amongst the Sissala of Northern Ghana. According to Grindal (2003), many Sissala youth flee to the city out of fear for their lives. This is because they have witnessed many deaths that have purportedly been attributed to witchcraft in the village.

The need to purchase requirements for preparation towards marriage, and socio-cultural factors drive migration in Northern Ghana (Bhasin & Annim, 2005). Often, migrants migrate to buy themselves cooking utensils, clothing and general household items to prepare themselves for marriage. The possession of these items, especially among women, make them better choice for prospective husbands.

Some of the migrants left the rural areas to the study area in order to relieve themselves from control and marginalisation from elders in the rural areas. This marginalisation at the household or family level also comes along with being subservient and obedient to elders. What this implies is that, despite the labour that an individual may offer, one normally does not have financial independence as a young person. In the context of Northern Ghana, a young person according to Grindal (2003:51) is "subservient to the wishes and demands of one's elders". So, most of the

youth would migrate in order to escape being controlled by elders. This reason corroborates with Anarfi et al., (2003) who observed that the incentives for most north-south migrants is the desire to enjoy better livelihoods at their destinations.

Lack of social amenities in rural areas

Lack of social amenities in rural areas was also found to drive the rural urban migration to the study area. The search for better social services such as good drinking water, electricity, hospitals and educational facilities influence this drift. The findings of this study are consistent with the assertion that "the north- south migration in Ghana is a consequence of the structural differences in development" (Kwankye & Turner, 1997; Awumbila, 2007). Many are festinated by city life and want to enjoy it and experience big town life and also to enjoy things that come with being modern but abound only in the city (Yeboah, 2008). Their interest in enjoying city live is derived from the many people who come to the cities and return home with lots of money and showing extravagant lifestyles, thus, they want to migrate and enjoy those lifestyles.

Theoretically, the pull and push factors of Lee (1966) are relevant to the case of migrants in Aboabo, where migration from rural areas in Northern Ghana is mainly stimulated by the push factors of rural poverty and the historical isolation of Northern Ghana from national development plans and resource allocation. Drawing from the findings, it can be safely alluded that although both push and pull factors are responsible for the migration of the people from Northern Ghana to Kumasi. However, migration is stimulated more by push pressures in the rural areas rather than pull factors in destination area. However, in practice, it is not easy to purely identify whether the reasons to move to the city either aligned to 'pull' or 'push' factors, and I would say that, it is a continuum – in between push-pull factors. However, given the socio-economic background of the study population, it can be concluded that they do not have the knowledge and the degree of awareness which make them able to rigorously compare and evaluate the expected costs and returns of their migration decision over time and to study other alternatives – if there are any – of their decision to migrate.

Yet, on the basis that a significant number of migrants in Kumasi had directly migrated to Kumasi, which is far away from rural areas in Northern Ghana, the findings disagree strongly with the concept of chain migration (Ravenstein, 1889), which states that migrants start to migrate to nearby cities and subsequently to those further away. Todaro's model of rural–urban migration, which

helps to explain the reasons for continued migration to urban areas in the face of high urban unemployment rates is perhaps marginally more relevant to the Ghanaian case. This model helps us to understand why migrant laborers move from their villages to Kumasi despite its high unemployment rate.

The migration decision making process- the role of personal agency and family constrains

The decision to migrate is hinged on the prevailing socio-economic conditions at the place of origin that initially served to precipitate the movement. However, the overarching support of the family is crucial as the motive for the movement, among other reasons, is often to improve household livelihoods. Thus, this situation is similar as envisaged by the Systems Theory of Migration that, a potential rural-urban migrant's decision to migrate is first influenced by their own aspirations as well as other systems' components, namely rural adjustment mechanisms such as households, clans, villages, cooperatives and other institutions and their direct and indirect roles in promoting or limiting migration. (Mabogunje, 1970:3).

A migrant lamented the situation in his household that influenced him to migrate to Kumasi: *"Now in order to farm effectivity, one needs money. We cannot get money to engage in agriculture so most of us migrate here to get money so that we can go back and farm". (Male, 28 years old).*

As farming is the main economic activity of Northern Ghana, most of them decided to migrate to improve farming that can go a long way to improve their household's economic standing. For many of the migrants in the study area, even though majority of the migrants reported that they took the decision to migrate themselves, parents or family relations sometimes facilitate their movement by helping to fund the transportation cost. This was especially the case where the need to ensure the survival of the rural household motivated migration.

The findings correspond strongly with the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) school of thought (Abreu, 2012), which considers migration as being determined by the household decisions. It can also be explained by the Systems Approach to migration (Mabogunje, 1970:3) where factors related to migrants' consciousness and aspirations, skills, technology and social environment of migrants in both rural and urban areas are emphasised. With their aspirations, migrants can assess their situation in the rural areas and decide to move to urban areas in search for means to improve their situation. When they arrive in the city, their skills and the social

84

environment in which they find themselves help them to adapt and survive. The availability of efficient transport system and the use of mobile phones helped to ease their movement.

Migrants' sources of information were from friends and relatives who had already migrated to Kumasi. By contrast, few of the respondents did not have a direct or indirect connection with any specific person in the urban areas before migrating to Kumasi. Accounts from informants illustrates that what they do is to arrive and ask for any one from their ethnic group around. This fellow ethnic group then also take up the responsibility of helping them settle and to find jobs.

One of the respondents narrated "I *didn't know someone who was already here, but I know that there are people from my village here. When I came, I asked someone where the room of my community was and they showed me. Here we have rooms for many villages from the north and you can get to your people by asking around. When I got there, I saw some people who knew me from the village and they showed me around and helped me to start the kayayei".* (Female, 19 years old, who migrated at the age of 17)

This motivation emanates from the social networks and hometown associations that have evolved among migrants in the destination areas. These networks tend to serve as vital social capital that forestalls any risks or costs that may come with migration. From the social capital theory, through the communication and feedback mechanisms, those migrants already settled in the urban areas share relevant information with other potential migrants in the rural areas, thus likely triggering further migration to urban areas (Mabogunje, 1970). These findings are in tandem with what Adaawen and Owusu, (2013) found that friends and relatives in a destination area tend to support later migrants with information and adjustment mechanisms thereby perpetuating migration.

6.3 Strategies for finding jobs among migrants

The findings from the data show that the migrants use several strategies to find jobs in the urban area. Among these strategies are engaging in multiple employment activities, relying on their social networks for jobs and job information, creating their own jobs, employing each other, and using their mobile phones.

Engaging in multiple activities

One of such strategies migrants use to find jobs in the city is to engage in several activities, mainly in the informal sector. Most of the rural migrants from Northern Ghana to the South engaged

mainly informal sector activities in the city. Two main choices of jobs are available to migrants in the study area: dealing in scrap metals (popularly known as "condemn") and load carrying for fees (also known as "kayayei"). These two jobs serve as a starting point, especially for new migrants to enable them settle down. The data revealed that some migrants, after settling down, simultaneously engaged in working as scrap dealers or kayayei and other activities such as security guards, food vendors, petty trading, carpenters or plumbers and engaging in domestic activities such as house boys and girls, and in construction work.

The reason they work in many jobs is that their main aim is to make money, so they engage in many income generation activities as much as possible. By engaging in many income generation activities, they are able to gather more money from the diverse sources of income than when they are working in only one job (Brown & McGranahan, 2016). Also, working in different jobs provide them with income security and they can quickly switch to another activity if one of the activities is no longer profitable. This is similar to the findings of Adaawen and Jørgensen (2012) who found that many migrants work in the informal, low-income earning jobs; combining jobs like selling on the street or working as a cart pusher at a point in time of the day, and as a night-watchman (security) or bartender in the evening. With the zeal to earn quick money and to cope with the inflated cost of living in the city and to repay debt accumulated over time, migrants often engage in whatever jobs that comes their way to make ends meet (Hart, 1973). Consequently, a typical migrant normally will 'hustle' from one job to the other to earn as much as income as possible.

From the livelihood approach, the concept of diversification is helpful to assess migrant's activities in their daily life. Migrants engaged in a diverse range of activities, mainly in the informal sector, in order to make their living. These strategies are used, depending on the stock of assets, to achieve livelihood outcomes (such as increased wellbeing and reduced vulnerability) (Ashley & Carney, 1999). Migrants who engage in multiple activities and participate in self-employment work longer hours. Most respondents within the study area work day and night. Apart from working in the "kayayei" or dealing in scraps, most migrants worked as night security guards in companies within the Kumasi Metropolis. Some migrants also work by providing services such as hair dressing in the case of the ladies and women and, repairs and carpentry to their fellow migrants within Aboabo community.

As evidenced from the educational background of the respondents, most migrants contacted were uneducated and among those who were educated, most of them had low level educational attainment mostly with basic education. Their lack of formal education and skills prevented them from getting jobs in formal establishments.

"We would like to have [much better] paying jobs, but as you know, most of us couldn't continue with our education after JHS or SHS because of financial problems. We must hustle in places like this. Besides, it is difficult to get employment in Kumasi but it is easy to be a scrap dealer if you are not lazy and have someone to give you money to start. That is why you see most of us dealing in scraps" (Male, 28 years old).

Also, the study found that most of the migrants are in their youthful ages that make them physically fit to do the kind of jobs that involving carrying and looking for scraps. The activities of the migrants involve the use of physical strength. This implies that migrants need to be strong in order to do the jobs they do. Also, most of the migrants come from families with agricultural backgrounds that might have made them resilient to the use of their physical strength. In Ghana, especially in the Northern part, it is common to see farmers using simple tools such as hoe and cutlass to engage in farming. Due to lack of good road networks and effective transport, farmers in the Northern part often carry their farm produce from the farms to their homes or to the markets. These might have made them physically fit to be able to use their physical strength to work, hence their ability to engage in activities in the urban areas that involve the use of physical strength.

Relying on social networks for jobs and job information

The findings from the data indicate that migrants mainly search for jobs through friends and relatives. The help that migrants receive from friends and relatives in the search for jobs is based on solidarity with reciprocity and mutual assurance of life over short and long-term basis (Rakodi, 2002). Especially for their first jobs, migrants depend on friends and or relatives who already know a little about the working condition in Kumasi.

"....when you arrive here, the only thing you need to get someone you know and the person will link you up and provide you with the necessary training needed for the job. For the scrap dealing, you need to get someone who can give you initial money to use to go to the bush and look for scraps". (male, 29 years old, has been in Kumasi for 10 years)

This implies that, through their social networks, it is easy for them to get on-the-job training to be able to work. Migrant workers everywhere have traditionally drawn resources from their community networks to aid their migration, settlement, employment and entrepreneurial activities (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993).

Theoretically, the ways of finding jobs among the migrants illustrate the importance of social networks – both those that are based on village ties and family links (strong ties), and those which are capable of being forged almost instantly in the destination setting (weak ties). Researchers suggest that migrants' social networks generate social capital, or resources embedded in social structure that can be invested and utilised by individuals to attain their ends (Coleman 1990). This helps migrant workers to reduce the costs and risks associated with migration and job searching, and influences their settlement patterns (Massey et al., 1993). This lends credence to the importance of trust and mutual dependence as envisaged by the social capital theory. Although networks are important to finding jobs among rural-urban migrants, a study by Assan, (2014) revealed that some adults have made a profession of arranging and pre-financing the movement of young migrants out of rural areas and organising their jobs in the urban destinations. Non-personal channels such as internet cafés and digital devices have also been found to be popular among migrants in obtaining job information (Cartier, Castells & Qiu, 2005). However, the findings in this thesis did not find a situation where professional job providers pre-arrange the movement of migrants. Also, migrants did not rely on non-personal channels for obtaining job information, partly due to their lack of knowledge and skills.

The reliance on close networks for jobs often presents a limitation to migrants in their search for jobs where only information about specific types of jobs commonly found among earlier migrant workers gets circulated among newer migrants in a closed network, and such jobs are not often ones with high statuses and wages (Onyx & Bullen, 2000). This implies that for a social network to produce benefits for its members, both the strong and weak ties should be present to provide members with both bonding and bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000).

Voluminous researches have focused on the advantages of networks, particularly weak ties or acquaintances, in accessing valuable and non-redundant job information (Granovetter, 1973). This "weak-ties for new information" argument, however, is challenged by evidence from the migrants in Aboabo. Those who rely only on strong ties, are only capable of getting jobs that are related to

the people in their networks (Woolcock, 2001). Since information gets channelled through social ties, individuals who have ties that bridge two unconnected parts of a social network occupy a brokerage position in which they can enjoy the benefits of speedy, novel and non-redundant information (Burt, 1992). Following this logic, migrant workers who maintain a loose network structure of different and less connected social contacts can thus benefit from having such information advantages and get ahead of competitors in the labour market (Burt 1992).

By contrast, the networks found among the migrants in Aboabo are those based on closure which prevents them from getting access to other jobs information apart from those in their closed networks. Dense networks, consisting of closely linked members, tend to promote norms, values, trust and social support within the group (Putnam, 2000). This has previously been found by Roberts (2001) among rural labour migrants in Shanghai where new migrants obtain information and knowledge about specific jobs and employers from their friends and family, and, as a result, are channelled into particular occupations. Because migrants usually have less access to formal resources helpful for job-hunting, they tend to rely on personal networks as relatively inexpensive and reliable sources for job information (Aguilera and Massey, 2003).

This also explains why the migrants engage in the jobs they do because most of the people that the migrants are in contact with before, during and after migration engage in similar kinds of jobs. Their networks help them to secure the jobs they do and because the networks are limited to people with rural backgrounds, they are not likely to get jobs in other areas. This observation is not necessarily surprising because economically driven migrants tend to settle in self-enclosed urban migrant enclaves, largely based on ethnicity and spatially segregated from the larger society (Arango, 2004). This has also been found among rural migrants in Accra, where they work in the informal sectors because many migrants could not secure jobs in the formal sector since being migrants from rural areas, they often do not know 'powerful people' who could link them to employers in both government and formal private firms (Awumbila, Owusu & Teye, 2014).

Creating their own jobs in the informal sector

After working for a while in the city, most migrants find their second or third jobs through their own ingenuity and creativity. In order to find jobs, some of the migrants provide services such as barbering, food vending and petty trading to other migrants in addition to working as either kayayei

or scrap dealer. These entrepreneurial opportunities among the migrant community serve as source of employment for some of them.

For instance, a migrant who is both a scrap dealer and a carpenter reflected on his job experience in the city.
"When I first arrived in the city 2 years ago, I first started to deal in scraps by following my brother's friend to wok. He gave me some money and showed me how to do the business, I followed him to work for two weeks and after that, I was left to operate alone. After working alone for one year, I came across a carpentry shop where I went to them and discuss my desire to learn carpentry from them. They accepted me and I have since learnt how to do carpentry. Now I build houses for my fellow migrants for fee and also do my scrap dealing" (Abuba, Male, 26 years old).

It should be recalled that many migrants in the study area live in wooden structures. These structures are mostly built by themselves or with the help of their fellow migrants. So, it is the carpenters among them that engage in building the structures. The story of Abuba indicated above reflects such job opportunity. The community has a self-sustaining system where all their needs are provided by themselves, as such creating employment for them. For instance, they have their own plumbers, carpenters, electricians, food vendors and some banking services in the form of susu[7]. Thus, instead of employing outsiders to provide services for them, they rather employ each other.

Employing and working for each other
Related to provision of services to fellow migrants, the findings reveal that migrants also engage each other in their activities as part of strategies to get jobs in the city. As already indicated, most of the migrants either engage in load carrying or scrap dealing. Scrap dealers move from place to place in search of scraps while load carriers carry loads for people for fees. In instances where a scrap dealer has several loads to move to the scrap yard, they call on fellow migrants to help them carry. The employment of each other is as a result of trust and reciprocity among them which is highly valued in a network relationship (Rakodi, 2000). This implies that there will be strong bonds among the migrants which would induce further migration. By employing each other, migrants are

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[7] Susu is a traditional banking system that provides informal means for Ghanaians to securely save and access their own money, and gain some limited access to credit.

creating a social safety net which prevents them against external threats because they are independent and are capable of soliciting support among themselves for their needs.

Use of mobile phones

Mobile phones were another tool that migrants use to look for employment opportunities in the city. One important and cross-cutting aspect of the working activities of the migrants was the use of mobile phones, which helped migrants to communicate with customers and seek employment. Almost all the migrants interviewed, confirmed their use of mobile phones in search for goods to carry or in search of scrap metals. The load carriers, their customers call them on to carry their goods for them when the need arises. A truck pusher explained: *"I have a lot of customers who call me to carry their goods. I always give my phone number to the customer after I carried their goods the first time, so that I would establish contacts with them and get more to carry later"*. (Male, 32 years old).

When they get goods that are above their capacity to carry, they call their friends to come and facilitate the carrying. At times, when migrants have many goods to carry and they are already engaged, they call some of their friends and give them directions to go and carry the goods. This was especially the case among the motor king drivers and the truck pushers who carry heavy goods and usually move far away from the main market.

Among the scrap dealers, they usually call their friends in other parts of the city to find out if they can get scraps to buy. As in the case of the load carriers, some of the scrap dealers also call their friends if they get goods to buy but do not have money at that time. Those who engage in multiple job activities also use mobile phones to help them carry out their duties as attested below:

"I am a plumber and work as a scrap dealer. I do not have an office where I work from, but most of the people in this community know me and they have my telephone number. They call me when they need plumbing work to be done". (Male, 28).

This has previously been found among migrants in Accra where kayayei reported that they have customers who regularly call them on their mobile phones whenever they need their services (Awumbila, Owusu & Teye (2014). On a large part, most of the activities of the migrants depends on the use of mobile phones. For those who carry loads, their customers call them to come and carry goods, especially those who use motorkings and trucks to carry heavy loads. For the scrap

dealers, they call each other to find out the availability of goods and to determine the prices of different scraps at other places. This help them to make good bargain and be able to get more profit from that. Also, the use of mobile phones helps them to engage in several job activities by moving from one job to another through calls. Use of the mobile phones help them to widen their "radius of trust" (Fukuyama, 2002) in order to increase their social capital to be able to find jobs in other locations. That is, by using mobile phones, migrants are able to establish contacts with weak social ties who are not already in their networks. This weak links area capable of offering job information that are novel and can provide the migrant with higher income than information in their strong networks (Fukuyama, 2002). The use of mobile phones allows both bonding and bridging social capitals to coexist and provide complementary benefits to the migrant. While bonding is important to cultivate trust, cooperation and collective strength among individuals with shared history, it is important to build bridges and consensus among different groups representing diverse interests for increased collective resource (Putnam, 2000).

Despite Todaro's (1976:31) hypothesis that the probability of finding regular urban wage employment increases over time as a migrant builds up and broadens his or her urban contacts, in Kumasi this does not happen because the social contacts and networks that migrants have are limited to people of similar social class and geographic origins, and do not seem to overlap into "mainstream" society. It is evident that the research design did not enable me to track job mobility out of the casual labour sector, however, the limited educational backgrounds and inadequate skills among the migrants and their networks led me to be confident that job mobility is rather limited. This is in relation to negative aspects of bonding social capital where Fukuyama (2002) cautions that in-group bonding can strengthen vertical patronage system where the reliance of strong personal social capital can prevent one from accessing goods and services from other networks.

6.4 Challenges and coping strategies

The findings from the data reveal that due to nature of the jobs they do, the characteristics of the migrants, their relationship with law enforcement agencies, their customers and the general public, migrants face several problems in their job activities. These challenges include but are not limited to job related accidents and physical injuries, stigmatisation, criminalisation and victimisation, jail and sometimes death. This is a general trend among informal sector workers in Ghana and in other developing countries. Different forms of threats such as exploitation and oppression low wages,

delayed salaries, overworking and segregation, is widely noted among most rural-urban migrants (Waddington, 2003). The informal sector in Ghana is characterized by underemployment, unfavourable working conditions, uncertain work relationships and low wages (Osei-Boateng & Ampratwum, 2011). Many of the workers in the informal sector work long hours in deplorable working conditions, insecure, unsafe, and low-paid jobs and are often exposed to a wide range of hazards because most low-income and informal jobs lack basic infrastructure (Tacoli, McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2015).

Stigmatisation, criminalisation and victimisation

From the findings, one challenge that migrants encounter in their employment activities was the issue of criminalisation and victimisation by the general public and law enforcement agencies largely in relation to theft. The accusations sometimes result in jail or in worse situations, death. As a result of the lack of regulation and easy entry nature of their jobs, there is the lack of identification as to who is a kayayei or a scrap dealer (Awumbila, Owusu & Teye, 2014). This leads to situations where some people only post themselves as kayayei or scrap dealers just to steal unsuspecting customers, thus tainting the image of all migrants. Social stigma, segregation and victimisation have also been found among the nomadic rural-urban migrants in Kenya (Ole Kaunga 2007; Kipuri 2010).

The data further noted that a considerable social stigma in the form of segregation and stereotyping was waged against the migrants as they go about their daily activities. This was especially the case of the scrap dealers. People do not want to sit with them in public places, at bus stops and on public transports because of the dirty clothes they were and their metals they are carrying with them. This stigma also emanates from native residents' prejudice against migrants in the destination areas where migrants are frequently portrayed negatively (Awumbila, 2015). They are perceived as a threat to social stability and are often linked to the increase in crime rates in cities (Tacoli, McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2015). What compounds the situation is their low level educational attainment and low income which limit their ability to access legal services to defend themselves in the city. As a result of their characteristics and the activities they undertake, migrants are affected by a combination of factors that produce a wide range of vulnerabilities (Awumbila, 2015). This makes them spend much of their daily lives seeking to mitigate or cope with present or likely future stresses and shocks.

Physical injuries from work

Another challenge facing migrants, as revealed from the data, was the issue of injuries at their work places. All the migrants interviewed reported being injured in one way or the other during their working activities. Many of the migrants have to go around the market, carrying heavy loads of goods which pose hazards to their health. Also, in relation to the nature of their jobs, migrants are often attacked, mistreated, injured or even killed by thieves.

One migrant lamented the situation of injuries among the scrap dealers:

"I know one guy who had his eye damaged because of that. The problem is that we do not have any safety instruments, we use our energy to do the work. We do not use the proper tools for the work. We are just working. You also use your own imagination to knock out the part of the metal that you want. You do not actually care about the safety aspect". (Male, 25 years old).

Other causes of risks reported were fire outbreaks destroying their belongings, getting knocked down by moving vehicles and poor accommodation. This reflects their vulnerability because they lack access to proper work instruments, housing and health services (Awumbila, 2015). Their lack of access to these work environments is due to their low level of income and lack of formal education.

After injuries, migrant laborers spent inactive periods ranging between one day for light injuries and three months for very serious injuries. As the working activities of the migrants involve being physically present in the places of work, the time spent in treating injuries means that migrants are losing incomes which further exacerbate their precarious situation.

Indebtedness

Moreover, financial indebtedness as a result of losses incurred during work was revealed as one of the challenges they face in their jobs. Rigg et al., (2014), found that among rural migrants, labour is often the only source of income, and they often take on informal sector works which often involves significant risk. In the event of illness or accident, migrants lose a substantial amount of income in addition to expenses for treatment which could force them to sell assets or to become indebted (Tacoli, McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2008). This was especially the case among, especially among the truck pushers, motor king drivers and scrap dealers. Among the truck pushers and motor king drivers, the problem is that they often rent the trucks and motors they use to do

their work. Sometimes, when they do not make sales they have to pay rented trucks and motorbikes from their earnings or in other cases, borrow to pay the owner, thus increasing their likelihood of being indebted. Closely related to the issue of indebtedness is the challenge of combining the dual roles of family care and economic work. Since their incomes depends on daily activities, it is difficult to take days off to take care of newly born children, especially for women.

Another challenge that the migrants face in their jobs is cheating from customers which is due to the lack of clarity in the pricing of the goods and services with their customers. This is due to the inability of the load carriers to measure and determine the weight of the goods and the distance the customer is to travel. This lack of clarity in fees charged often resulted in disagreements and conflicts between the kayayei and the owners of the goods carried. The conflicts, disagreements and quarrels between the porters and their customers is mainly attributed to the lack of clarity surrounding fees charged for carrying loads (Awumbila, 2006). In this way, the lack of standards for hawkers and porters to rate their services in monetary terms and non-existing formal structures that protects their livelihoods contributes to their vulnerability in the city (Oberhauser & Yeboah, 2011:33). Moreover, due to their lack of formal education and skills, many of the migrants also face language barriers, have limited resources and know little about the local labour market. This makes it difficult for them to bargain for better prices for the goods and services they provide to their customers in the market because of the diversity of goods carried.

Coping strategies adopted by migrants in their jobs

Migrants are aware of the challenges they are likely to face in their jobs and devise several strategies to cope with them. In order to cope with the challenges, they face in their jobs, migrants depend on friends and family, ethnic associations, working in groups and calling on their spiritual and religious belief systems. In order to cope with attacks from thieves, migrants often work in groups of at least two people as a strategy of coping with the insecurity threat. This was mainly facilitated by the strong social networks that existed among them. For instance, those who engage in scraps will normally go to the bush in a group of two or three to strengthen their efforts against gang-attacks. According to the migrants, this strategy was particularly practical, because gangs would fear attacking them when in groups, and as groups migrants could react to attacks more effectively.

They also turned to friends, relatives and ethnic associations to coping with indebtedness, accusations, stigmatisation and lack of identification. Almost all the migrants depended on their friends and relatives in cases where they needed financial support. This was relevant when migrants needed to buy some food, a bus fair to return to go to work or when they were required to pay off debts yet lacked money. Consequently, this means that social networks resulting from friends and relatives increased migrants' capacity to cope with financial constraints in the city. Therefore, based on the social networks theory (Granovetter, 1973), it implies that migrants managed to solicit and utilise capitals primarily from close friends and relatives to cope.

Most of the migrants attested to having turned to their existing formal or informal ethnic groups for financial, employment or shelter support in the city. These organisations supported their members through transport services on occasions such as illness and start-up capital for members. In the case of start-up capital, the financial support was given out either for free or as a loan, depending on the status of the person requesting support and the amount involved. These groups sprang out in different parts of the community with different membership structures, usually making up of members of the same community.

The mechanisms of social networks such as trust, reciprocity and cooperation among members in a network enable migrants to cope with challenges they face in their destination areas (Arango, 2004). Thus, in order to cope successfully in the new society, migrants need to have both strong and weak ties. The strong ties helped to establish the foundation for the individual to settle while the weak ties will sustain those strategies. That is, tight knit, inward looking, bonding networks may be important for 'getting by' but outward looking bridging connections are important for 'getting ahead'.

Migrants also cope with challenges relating to insufficient incomes by spending less on basic needs and opting for cheap goods and services. They opted for less expensive food. Because of the non-existent or very poor cooking facilities in their overcrowded rooms, most migrant laborers bought their food as ready-made from street-vendors who are normally migrants. In some ways, this enabled the migrants to reduce their costs of living. Awumbila (2014) maintains that due to low and intermittent income, migrants from Northern Ghana in urban areas are forced to live in slums where accommodation is relatively chapter compared to staying in the main city.

In addition to using the above measures to cope with the challenges they face, the migrants also depended on their spiritual and religious beliefs when they are powerless in coping with the challenges they face in their jobs. One of the most common ways that people cope with trauma is through the comfort found in religious or spiritual practices. For instance, a migrant who feels cheated by a customer will say "*I leave it to God, I will collect what is due me on the day of judgement*". To this end, Karl Marx argues that "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people" (Marx, 1976). It was interesting to note that almost all the respondents demonstrated their strong dependency on God's grace in enabling them to overcome the challenges they face. Religious belief systems enabled the migrants to re-interpret of negative events through the sacred lens. Dependency on God's assistance in dealing with the insecurity situation was also implicitly mentioned by majority of respondents, after having mentioned other ways of dealing with challenges faced. This might be due to their strong religious adherence and their lack of education and knowledge, especially in relation to the city.

6.5 Effects of migrants' job activities on their livelihoods

Rural migration to Aboabo is not dominated by a single factor but is caused by a combination of multiple interrelated factors. It is usually in response to the deterioration of the living conditions in villages and the ensuing poverty (Awumbila et al., 2008). The data demonstrate that the socio-economic well-being of migrants have improved in terms of income and access to basic social amenities. Migrants are highly motivated to contribute their share for the improvement of the livelihoods of their families which is constrained by shortage of land, low agricultural productivity, population pressure, drought, environmental degradation and inability of farmers to afford the costs of agricultural inputs like fertilizers and seeds among others (Marchiori, Maystadt & Scumacher, 2010).

The study found that most of the jobs among the migrants in the study area are not as 'respectable' as other higher income earning jobs in the urban economy, however, the little money they save from their livelihoods contributes to sustain their families back home. Thus, their migration generates surplus and savings in the sending households while redirecting labour in the urban areas where it is needed (Lewis 1954). Migration therefore constitutes an alternative approach to family livelihood as envisaged by the sustainable livelihood approach (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

One migrant observed:

"Working here, you get yourself fed, and you get money to send to your family at home. However, working home to be honest, you got to be so angry, you do the same thing every year and at the end of the farming seasons, there is nothing to show and it is too tiring. If you work at home [on the farm], you need to buy fertilizer, farm imputes, pay for the tractor and a lot of other expenses, you have nothing left for living". (Male, 29 years old).

Although most of the migrants' incomes are unstable, they are able to manoeuvre the city life to fend for themselves and their dependents. A great proportion of migrants' savings go into supporting their families in the Northern Region and satisfying family members' basic needs such as food, clothing, children's education and health (Amoako & Apusigah, 2013). Although the amount that goes to villages are small, it is used mostly for consumption purposes, for investments in agricultural or other activities such as housing. At least from the perspectives of the migrants, it has contributed to the improvement of quality of life and wellbeing of the people in the rural areas.

Although studies have shown that young people from Northern Ghana have no control over decision-making regarding the use of monies they send (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013), migrants in the study area send money home anyway to support their families, invest in agriculture, invest in their children education and help establish businesses. By engaging in these activities, the migrants are contributing to poverty reduction and human and financial capital development back home through remittances and investments (Abreu, 2012; Pickbourn, 2011). This is in line with the sustainable livelihood approach, the investments in agriculture, children's education and family housing are meant to sustain the family through generations (Chambers & Conway, 1992). This means that migration is used as a means of coping with livelihood failures in their places of origin.

The cash remittances that migrants send to family members back at home are vital to household sustenance in the rural areas which often serve as buffer to the food shortage that families or households sometimes face in the communities as well as help minimise the effects of economic shocks on household welfare (Kwankye & Anarfi, 2011). In this way and in line with the sustainable livelihood approach, the migrants serve as insurers for their households.

Migrants also use their incomes to build houses and or to improve buildings in their family houses. One fourth of migrants said that they were saving money primarily to build a house. One migrant

indicated: *"My main aim is to work and be able to get money to build a house in my village for my mother. After the death of my father, my mother still stays in my father's house which is a disgrace to me. So, I am really working hard and saving to build a house for her".* (male, 28years old).

The goal of building a house reflects migrants' intention of returning home to settle and take care of their parents. This reflects the sustainable livelihood approach which sees individuals' livelihoods as imbedded in different assets and capabilities (Agyei, Kumi & Yeboah, 2016). Here the asset of the migrant is the house that they are able to build. This implies that with the resolve to build a house, migrants are providing livelihood security to their families which would otherwise be impossible without migration.

As a long-term strategy of coping with threats of both unemployment and financial constraints, most of the migrants intends to use the outcomes of their jobs to proactivity invest in their children's education. Some migrants who suggested investing in their children's education argued that their lack of education had considerably rendered them financially incapable, and thus they were unwilling to see their children fall into a similar predicament in the future. By educating their children, they are contributing to make sure that their livelihoods are sustainable into the future in line with the sustainable livelihood approach which vies the livelihood of an individual or a group is considered to be sustainable when they can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain their capabilities and assets both now and in the future without undermining environmental resources" (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Educating their children will provide the children with higher chances of getting better paid jobs to be able to sustain the family income in the future when the parents retire.

Migrants also invest their incomes in agricultural activities in the villages. Some of them contribute to buy agricultural equipment such as fertilizers, weedicides and pay for the services of tractors for their households in the villages. Explicitly, all of migrants considered engaging in agriculture in their local households as ways to improve the economic capital as well as future plans in dealing with the poverty situation in which they found themselves (WFP, 2013). According to sampled migrants, investment in agriculture was a more long-term strategy of overcoming poverty. It is important to note that the land cannot produce anything without fertilizers and yet farmers have limited capacity to afford to buy fertilizers. In such conditions, rural-urban migration works as a

risk management strategy and a means to secure their livelihoods (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

The conclusions to be drawn here is that the overall well-being of migrants' households has improved after migrating to Kumasi. Drawing from the sustainable livelihood approach, the findings imply that the migration of members of the family to other places have led to an increase their capabilities, assets and provided an alternative means for them (Chambers & Conway, 1992) in terms of agricultural intensification and income diversification. Migrant's working activities are part of the household's livelihood strategy which provide a way to spread risk by diversifying the earnings of households. Remittances obtained from migrants help to introduce new production technologies, purchase inputs and boost overall production (Adaawen & Owusu, 2014). These pave ways to switch from the subsistence system of production to a more commercial system where surplus products can be sold for profit. This is a useful point of departure to understand the fact that household livelihood strategies encompass the efforts of its members, including migrants' income earning activities which has taken place far away, usually in towns (Adger et al., 2002).

6.6 Chapter Summary

The chapter analysed and presented the findings from the empirical data based on the research questions and the theoretical frameworks of this thesis and compared to the literature reviewed in chapter two. The findings indicate that rural migrants mostly engage in informal sector employment activities which they came to do as a result of help from their family and friends. In the process of engaging in their employment activities, they are vulnerable of being victimized, stigmatized and criminalized. Also, they are challenged by physical injuries, indebtedness, and cheating from their customers. They cope with those challenges by depending on their friends and relatives, as well as their ethnic associations. In situations where they are unable to cope, they depend on their spiritual and religious belief systems as a sort of superpower to help them cope. The outcomes of their employment activities are being used to improve their livelihoods and to help their families in their places of origin by investing in agriculture, building houses, establishing businesses and investing in educating their children.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

Having analysed and discussed the findings, this chapter presents a summary of the findings, the limitations and areas for further research, recommendation for policy and provides conclusions to the thesis.

7.2 Summary of findings

This thesis explored how rural migrants jostle for job opportunities in urban areas. It brings into focus the reasons why migrants migrate from rural areas to urban areas, the strategies they employ to get jobs in the cities, the challenges they face in their jobs and how they cope with those challenges. It further revealed how migrants use the outcomes of their job activities to cater for their livelihoods in the city and that of their family members in the villages. In their bit to get employment in the urban areas, migrants mostly work in the informal sector activities through the support of friends and relatives who are already working in the city. Overall, the aim of the study has been met and the research questions were fully answered.

7.2.1 Reasons for migration and the migration decision making process

The first research question concerns why and how the rural migrants decide to migrate to urban areas. In order to answer this question, the characteristics of migrants were first examined. The findings indicate that the sampled migrants in the study area were young, less educated, and from low socio-economic backgrounds. The age range was found to be between 8 and 42 years old. However, they start their migratory experience early: all of them undertook their first migration before the age of 25 years, with almost half leaving their villages between the ages of 8 and 19. Migrants are overwhelmingly poorly educated: 59.6% had no recognized level of schooling, while only 6.7% had tertiary education and the rest with only basic and secondary levels. Migrants in Kumasi were from large families, with most of the them coming from family size with at least 10 family members, larger than the national average of four members.

The findings suggest that most migrants' reasons for migrating are basically the same: that is poor living conditions in the rural area, poverty, extremely low incomes and limited access to work. Environmental changes have brought about severe droughts and floods which led to the decline of agriculture and livestock, which are the main livelihood activities among rural folks in Northern, and have thus worsened household poverty. In sum, rural poverty and unfavourable living

conditions are the main stimulus of migration flows from Northern Ghana to Kumasi, based on the study findings. The findings are consistent with the existing literature that push and pull factors or wage differentials fuels migration from rural to urban areas. Many of the migrants also migrate to the study area to escape conflicts and insecurity, witchcraft and control of elders in the rural areas and to also prepare themselves for marriage. Though, migrants have different reasons for migrating, they all end up working in their places of destination.

The data suggest that, although individuals sometimes make the decision to migrate, migration decisions are not necessarily made at the individual level by the migrant alone. It was evident that migrants' decision to migrate was influenced by household members, as demonstrated by a considerable number of migrants that they first sought consent from their households prior to migration. This was especially the case when the migration of a family member was likely to contribute to the household income. In such cases, households mobilize funds for the initial transport of the potential migrant. Social networks were useful in determine when a migrant should move and in which city to go and also played a major role in migrants' adaptation to their new environments.

7.2.2 Strategising for employment in the city

The second research question concerns how migrants strategize to find jobs in urban areas and why they use those strategies. The study reveal that migrants use several strategies to find jobs in the city.

One strategy is engaging in multiple income generation activities mostly in the informal sector activities in the city. They engage mainly in load carrying for fees and buying and selling of scrap metals which serve as the main job choice for them especially, during the first few days after arriving in the city. They engage in other activities such as petty trading, security guards, food vendors, carpenters, plumbers and selling labour in domestic and construction work. They engage in the informal sector because of their low levels of formal educational attainments, they lack the qualifications and skills that will enable them to find jobs in the more formal employment in the city. This is similar to the findings of Awumbila, Owusu, and Teye (2014) who found that most migrants engage in load carrying and scraps. The migrants also engage in multiple income earning activities because their main aim is to make money so they will engage in any meaningful activity to earn as much income as possible. They also do these jobs because those they are in contact with

in the city do similar kind of jobs. This has also been found by Adaawen and Jørgensen, (2012) among rural migrants in Accra, where many of the migrants are often engaged in the informal, low-income earning jobs.

The findings also reveal that in the search for jobs, migrants depend mostly on social networks in the urban areas. The draw on both strong networks and weak networks to get jobs. For their initial jobs in the city, they depend mostly on their strong networks (friends and relatives). However, after working for a while in the city, migrants establish contacts with others outside their networks and be able to draw from these networks for jobs. Meanwhile, the networks they established here are not native residents, they are networks among similar ethnic backgrounds in the city. They are not able to with native residents to search for job information because of their lack of formal education and skills, especially for new migrants.

Migrants also find jobs using their own ingenuity and creativity. The migrant community is a self-sustaining system where they provide most of their needs by themselves. The do this by providing services to each other. As a result, they trust each other and would call on each other to provide services to them rather than depending on outside help. As a result, some migrants with entrepreneurial skills come out with ways of employing themselves by working as carpenters, plumbers, mason, hairdressers, food ventures and petty trading, mostly within the enclave of the migrant communities. Another strategy that the migrants use to find jobs is to work for fellow migrants. In the conduct of their activities, they mostly employ each other to work for them. For instance, the scrap dealers would employ the load carriers to carry their goods for them.

Finally, migrants use mobile phones to search jobs and to facilitate entrepreneurship activities and sending remittances back home. Though most of the migrants are uneducated, they use mobile phones to make and receive calls in order to facilitate their activities. They use mobile phones because their activities are irregular and depends on availability and information sharing, so the use of mobile phones enable them to receive information regarding their activities.

7.2.3 Challenges and coping strategies among migrants

The third research question was on what challenges rural migrants face in their jobs and how they cope with those challenges. The findings relating to the challenge that migrants face in their jobs include physical injuries, stigmatisation, criminalisation and victimisation, jail and sometimes

death. These challenges emanate from the relationship of the migrants with the native residents, city authorities and law enforcement agencies. Also, some of these challenges are due to their low level of educational attainment, youthful age structure and the nature of their jobs. The main ways by which migrants cope with these challenges is to seek the help of friends and relatives and depend on ethnic associations and depending on their faiths and religious beliefs. In situations, where the challenge goes beyond their ability to cope, the migrant return to their place of origin.

7.2.4 The use of the outcomes from migrants' employment activities

The final research question was about how rural migrants secure their livelihoods through the outcomes of their employment activities in the city. In relation to this, through their job activities in the city, migrants earn income and use it to sustain both themselves in the city and their families in the villages. Migrants in the study area send money home to support their families, invest in agriculture, invest in their relative's education and help establish businesses. By engaging in these activities, the migrants are contributing to poverty reduction and human and financial capital development back home through remittances and investments in the rural areas.

7.3 Limitations and Recommendations for future research

Although the findings have important implications, admittedly, the research has the following limitations. As such, areas of further research are suggested accordingly.

One prominent limitation in this study is that interviews were held with migrants in the destination areas and not in the places of origin. Though, interviews in the places of origin would have produced more understanding to the issue at hand, the research was not able to assess this aspect due to time constraints. However, in the process of interviewing migrants in the destination area, questions concerning the place of origin were asked to get an overview of their places of origin. As an area for further research therefore, extensive scientific research should be carried out in the places of origin to understand migratory processes. More scope exists for a detailed examination of the precise conditions of outmigration from the source areas. Exactly what (and who) determines who should move, when, and for how long? Also, research in the places of origin could tackle how migrants have contributed to agricultural productivity and food security by comparing migrant households with non-migrant households. This would provide a comprehensive analysis as to the extent to which migration has contributed to the sustainability of rural households' livelihoods.

Another limitation of the research is that the data are based on a case study research design and the sample was drawn from rural migrants in Aboabo. The generalisation of the findings is, thus, limited and should not be assumed in to be applicable in other urban areas in Ghana or other countries. This is because as a result of the fluid nature of migration, the situation of rural migrants in Ghana changes rapidly. As such, the findings reported in this study reflect the status of these issues at the time of the study. Also, the data contain only self-reports from respondents. Thus, some response bias was inevitable.

Moreover, as qualitative study based on low-status migrants in a slum setting, the research as naturally incapable of offering a robust picture of rural-urban migrants and their employment trajectories in the urban areas. Further research should widen the focus of outmigration from Northern Ghana to other groups apart from low-status rural laborers who stay in slum dwellings such as Aboabo. A much larger scale study, including various migrant communities in Kumasi and other parts of the country and utilising both quantitative and qualitative approaches should be carried out to fully understand the job search strategies among migrants in the places of destination. Consequently, this would help to provide a more comprehensive picture concerning this subject matter.

Since findings from this study indicate that migrants create their own jobs in the city, further research could investigate the extent to which the influx of migrants from rural areas exacerbate the problem of high urban unemployment situation the major cities in the South. Also, further research comparing migrants and native residents with regards to their job search strategies would provide valuable information to fully understand how migrants negotiate their employment in the urban areas amid urban residents.

Finally, the findings on how migrants use the outcomes of their employment activities to improve their livelihoods was based on their own assessment of how they use their incomes. As such, the study was not able to objectively assess how much migrants earn from their activities and the amount they send home to their relatives. As an area of further study, a research could be carried out among migrants to determine how much they earn, and the amount they send to their relatives. In this way, a comprehensive assessment can be made as to the use of the outcomes of their employment activities in the city.

7.4 Policy Recommendations

As an academic thesis, this study has not set out to have an explicit policy objective. However, given the nature of the topic of the thesis, and its obvious connection to development, a few reflections on policy implications are not out of place. The relation between population movements and development is reciprocal. It is not only migration that affects development and contributes to modernisation, but also development affects the nature and direction of migration streams and their magnitude (Awumbila, 2015). In this respect, migration is part of the socio-economic development of any country. Though further research is called for, the findings of this study have implications for policy implementation. From the empirical insights, the following suggestions and policy recommendations can therefore be made:

There is a need for a formal recognition of the activities of migrants in the city especially those involve in load carrying and scrap dealing. Through formal recognition, migrants could be identified with an identity card to make it possible to regulate their activities to prevent unscrupulous persons from tainting the image of all migrant workers.

Also, since migrants are able to create their own jobs in the informal sector, policy makers should provide more training to them in order to enhance their entrepreneurial abilities. This will help them to make good use of their skills.

7.5 Conclusions

Based on the findings, the study draws the following conclusions:

An important finding of this study is that despite the argument that rural migrants contribute to urban unemployed in Ghana (Baah-Boateng, 2013; Honorati & de Silva, 2016), using their own imagination, the migrants create jobs for themselves in the informal sector. Thus, they do not, in a substantial way, contribute to the unemployment in urban areas. The general impression from the findings indicate that all the rural migrants sampled from the study area are employed, notwithstanding the fact that they engage in menial jobs. This highlights the significance of the informal sector for migrant livelihoods. Although the informal sector is often seen as precarious, unregulated, and lacking income security, it offers employment opportunities for poor migrants. The findings further reveal that the migrants rely on their friends and relatives in finding jobs in the city where both strong and weak ties were drawn upon for jobs. From the discussions, both

strong ties and weak ties are very crucial in shaping and sustaining the informal economy within which the migrants work.

The findings from this study have added knowledge to how migrants operate within strong and weak ties in migrant communities. The findings revealed that whiles migrants used strong ties to help them determine when and where to migrate, they resorted to weak ties emanating from acquaintances when they arrived in the study area. These weak ties helped them to acquire jobs and continued to survive in the informal economy. Though, the reliance on social networks to find jobs among migrants is important, migrants' ingenuity and creativity and their ability to venture into different areas enable them to engage in more profitable activities. The social networks only provide them with only jobs that people in the same networks do, so they end up living and working in the same jobs that other migrants do.

Another contribution of this study to the rural-urban migration literature is that that many potential migrants are aware of the unemployment situation in the city and this knowledge influence their choice of destination, their employment activities and job search strategies in the city. However, most studies of rural-urban migration research in Third World countries are basically modelled after the European experience of rural-urban labour transfer during the Industrial Revolution. Ideally, rural migrants at that time found wage employment in the rapidly growing industrial sectors. However, the same process has not been fully replicated in Ghanaian situation where the pace of industrialisation grows rather sluggishly behind the rate of urbanisation, thus leading to increasing unemployment (Honorati & de Silva, 2016).

Most migrants in urban areas also remit their relatives and friends back home and thus affect the rural economy positively. In addition, they bring home new ideas, innovations and experiences they have acquired in the urban areas to the rural community. The flow of resources, skills and ideas from this category of people could be maximised to improve the social, economic and cultural life of the rural community. In some cases, migrants who are able to accumulate working capital return home to invest in the rural area and provide employment for the rural folks. Migration thus improves the quality of life for rural families and contributes, at least in part, to poverty alleviation,

All of the above findings regarding the working lives of rural migrants in Kumasi lead towards one overarching conclusion: that the migrants, coming from another, and rather different, region

in Ghana, one characterized by rural poverty, function as an important segment of the urban life. Due to heavy vehicular traffic in the metropolis, the role played by the migrants in carrying goods of customers cannot be overemphasised. Apart from providing employment to the migrants, their activities contribute to providing inexpensive means of transporting goods around the city. This makes them an important structural and functional element of the overall urban economic system, despite living and working in deplorable conditions.

In a nutshell, this study has made a significant contribution to knowledge on urbanisation, migration and development literature by providing an understanding of how rural migrants jostle for employment in urban areas and the outcomes of their job activities on their livelihoods and that of their families. The findings suggest that in the face of living in harsh working conditions in urban areas, an overwhelming majority of the migrants are able to find jobs, fend for themselves through the jobs they do and be able to cater for their relatives in the places of origin. This shows that that rural migrants in urban slums are not in despair and misery, but are optimistically making the most of their capabilities and are trying to move out of poverty, despite the obvious challenges they face.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MIGRANTS

Dear respondent,

I am a final year student of the Department of Global Development and Planning at the University of Agder in Norway. I am conducting a study to understand how rural-migrants negotiate for employment in the cities of Ghana using Kumasi as a case study. This is in partial fulfilment for the award of MSc in Global Development and Planning. There are no right or wrong answers and you may stop at any time; however, completing the entire survey is greatly appreciated. Your responses will remain anonymous. It is meant solely for academic purposes and as such your responses will be held in strict confidence.

Thank you.

Do you consent to participating in the survey?

1. Yes (continue to the next section)
2. No (discontinue and thank the person and move to the next person)

INSTRUCTION: **Please put a circle around the appropriate response and write where necessary.**

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS IN KUMAS

No.	Question	**Response Categories**
1	Sex	1. Male 2. Female
2	How old are you now?	…………. years
3	At what age did you first leave your village for work in Kumasi?	…………. years
4	What is your current marital status?	1. Single 2. Engaged 3. Married 4. Divorced 5. Widowed 6. Other………….
5	If Married, was it before or after you arrived in Kumasi?	1. Before 2. After
6	Do you have children? if yeas, how many?...............................	1. Yes 2. No
7	Religious Affiliation	1. Christian 2. Muslim 3. Traditional Religion 4.Other ………………….
8	What is the highest level of schooling which you successfully completed?	1. No Formal education 2. Basic Education

		3. Secondary (Technical)
		4. Tertiary
9	What work were you doing before coming to Kumasi	1. Farming
		2. Petty Trading
		3. Schooling
		4. Others
10	Ethnic group of respondent	1. Mamprusi
		2. Dagomba
		3. Gonja
		4. Konkomba
		5. Other Ethnic groups
11	How long have you been in Kumasi	Up to 6 months
		7-10 months
		1 – 2 years
		More than 2 years
12	Main economic activities of respondent household at the place of origin	Farming
		Petty Trading
		Others
13	Number of people in household	Less than 5 members
		Between 6 – 10 members
		11- 15 members
		15 and above members

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MIGRANTS

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Gender

2. Age at the time of first migration

3. Age now

4. Level of Education

5. Religion

6. Marital status

7. Family structure at place of origin. What is the size of your family in your hometown? What is the main economic activity in your house?

8. What was your main occupation before migrating? (Main source of livelihood)

9. How long have you been in Kumasi?

SECTION B: MIGRATION AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE CITY

1. Why did you move from your hometown to Kumasi?

2. How did you arrive at the decision to migrate to Kumasi?

3. How did you finance your initial trip to Kumasi?

4. What work do you here in Kumasi? (Why did you decide to work in this job?)

5. How did you get the job? How do you come to working as a……….(Did you get the job before arriving or after arriving?

6. How long have you been working in this job? Do you do any other job apart from (current job)? What do you do when you do not work?

7. Approximately, how much do you earn from your work in a day? (Probe: Do you have savings? How much do you save?)

8. What are your activities of work? Working hours, working schedules, breaks if any!

9. What challenges do you face in your work as a migrant? (Probe: Did you think about the problems you may encounter before migrating? If you knew of the problems, would you have come?)

10. How do you to cope with those challenges?

11. What do you plan to do with the money you make in Kumasi?

12. For how long do you plan to stay in Kumasi before you return to your village?

APPENDIX 3: GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

1. Why did you decide to migrate from your hometown to Kumasi? Why did you choose Kumasi for work?

2. What jobs did you do in your hometown before migrating to Kumasi?

3. Can you tell me about the kind of jobs you do here in Kumasi? (Are there some jobs that men or women can and cannot do? Why?)

4. How do you find jobs in Kumasi? (Probe: Do you have associations that help new comers find jobs? What are the main sources of information about jobs to you as a migrant? Before, during and after arriving to Kumasi?)

5. How do those without jobs cater for their daily expenses?

6. What Problems do you encounter in your jobs?

7. How do you cope with such problems?

8. Would you encourage people from your hometown to migrate to Kumasi? Why, why not?

9. What do you use the income you get from your job for? Why?

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OPINION LEADERS IN ABOABO

Interview Guide for Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (District Planner)

1. What do you have to say about the situation of migrants in Kumasi?
2. Do you see any opportunities that migrants bring into this community?
3. Do you see any problems by increasing migrant activities in Kumasi?
4. What challenges do you encounter in dealing with the issues of migrants in the city?
5. To what extent do you incorporate the migrants in the planning process of the city?

Interview guide for employers

1. What is your perception about rural migrants in Kumasi?
2. As an employer, how do you recruit migrants to work in your shop?
3. What is your relationship with them?

Interview guide for Ghana Police Service

1. What do you have to say about the activities of migrants in Kumasi?
2. Do you see any opportunities that migrants bring to the security of this community?
3. Do you see any problems that migrant activities bring to the security in Kumasi?
4. What challenges do you encounter in dealing with the issues of migrants in the city?
5. To what extent do you incorporate the migrants in the activities of the police service?

01.02.2017

APPENDIX 5: LETTER OF CONSENT TO RESPONDENTS

Rural-Urban Migrants and Urban Employment in Ghana: A case study of rural migrants from Northern Region to Kumasi.

Dear Respondent,

I am Alhassan Yakubu Alhassan, a Masters student in Global Development and Planning at the University of Agder, Kristiansand, Norway.

As a part of the requirements of my studies, I am undertaking this research project to write my thesis, which aims to understand how rural-urban migrants jostle for employment in urban areas, taking migrants from Northern Region to Kumasi as a case study.

With this information, I am glad to invite you to participate in the study by sharing your insights, practices, experiences and observations about this topic. You are free to offer any responses, given that the discussion does not regard any point as right or wrong. You are also free to withdraw from discussion at any stage without any question.

Your contributions will be handled with maximum care and will not be used for any reasons other than my academic report. Your identity will not be revealed in any part of the report and the information you provide will be held in strict confidence.

Thank you in advance for your great support in helping me to accomplish this critical academic task.

If you have any questions concerning this study, please feel free to any of the following people:

1. My supervisor, Professor Hans Kjetil Lysgård at hans.k.lysgard@uia.no

2. The Master Programme Coordinator, Christian Webersik at christian.webersik@uia.no

3. The Head of Department, Hanne Haaland at hanne.haaland@uia.no

Thank you

APPENDIX 6: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

UNIVERSITY OF AGDER

Date: 8 December 2016

Visiting Address:
Gimlemoen 17
Phone: +47 38 14 16 20
Fax: +47 38 14 10 28

To Whom It May Concern
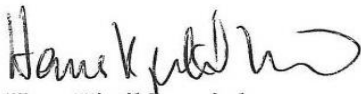
Alhassan Yakubu Alhassan

This is to certify that Mr Alhassan Yakubu Alhassan from Ghana is a *bone fide* student at the University of Agder, Norway. He is pursuing our MSc degree in Development Management and Planning and is planning to conduct fieldwork in Ghana. The focus of his research is to study: *Rural-Urban Migration and Urban Employment in Ghana: A case study of Migrants from Northern Region to Kumasi.*

Mr Alhassan Yakubu Alhassan is planning to conduct his fieldwork from January to March 2016. I would be most grateful if Mr Alhassan Yakubu Alhassan could be rendered any necessary assistance during the period of his fieldwork.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you in advance for your assistance in this matter.

With Best Wishes,
Yours Sincerely,

Hans Kjetil Lysgård
Professor
Department of Global Development and Planning