2010
POPULATION & HOUSING CENSUS REPORT

MIGRATION IN GHANA

Ghana Statistical Service
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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The mandate of the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), like many other national statistical offices, includes data collection, compilation and analysis as well as dissemination of statistical information in an accessible and user-friendly manner. In order to satisfy the needs of users, GSS is required to analyse and interpret statistics in a form that makes it easily understood for people to appreciate the value of the statistical information. There is also the need to disseminate widely all the statistics produced by GSS so that all data users including potential data users can have access to it.

Ghana, like many other developing countries, relies mainly on survey and population census data for planning at the national and the sub-national levels. Detailed analysis of such data provides users with a wealth of information for planning and policy formulation. Analysis of the 2010 Population and Housing Census data on topical issues, therefore, provides information for effective planning at all levels.

Several reports, including six monographs, were prepared using the 2010 Census data and published in 2012 and 2013. The published reports from the census data was a collaborative effort between the GSS and Local consultants from research institutions and universities in Ghana with funding from the Government of Ghana and various Development Partners (DPs). In order to strengthen the report writing capacities of the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) and Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) which are engaged in population-related activities, professional staff of GSS and these MDAs were paired up with consultant writers to prepare the reports.

The monograph on 'Migration in Ghana' is one of the additional eight monographs that has been prepared from the 2010 Population and Housing Census data and is meant to inform policy makers on issues relating to migration in Ghana. The report examines the patterns, trends and the future outlook of migration in Ghana. Causes and consequences of migration in Ghana as well as the interrelationship between migration and urbanization in Ghana and the living standards of migrants are examined.

The Ghana Statistical Service wishes to thank the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) for providing funds for the preparation of this monograph and the lead role UNFPA played in mobilizing resources from the UN System and from other DPs for the 2010 PHC. Our appreciation also goes to Mr. Vitus Bobrnuo and Professor John K. Anarfi for the dedication and competence they demonstrated during the preparation of this report.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The Ghana 2010 Population and Housing Census (PHC) was conducted on 26th September, 2010 by Ghana Statistical Service. It was the fifth population and housing census after the 2000 PHC. The main objective of the census was to collect basic data on population and housing in Ghana to serve as the basis for research and analysis of population trends for the whole country as well as for each locality, provide information for evaluating the implementation of socio-economic development plans as well as for outlining the socio-economic development plans and to monitor the implementation of the Government's programmes aimed at achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (Central [Population and Housing] Census Steering Committee, 2009).

Censuses are carried out in Ghana every ten years. The 1960 census was the first one followed by the 1970, 1984, 2000 and 2010 censuses. The 1960, 1974 and 1984 censuses collected very simple information and received little technical support from the international community. The last two censuses had much richer information and much better technical and financial support from the international communities. Although information from the census was relatively simple, most basic socio-economic indicators are included. The last two censuses collected a lot of common information that can be used for comparison purposes and analysis of trends. Additionally, the censuses covered all Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians in the country.. A post enumeration survey was conducted to gather more information as part of the 2010 Population and Housing Census. This was intended to expand the content of the census, improve the quality of the census especially regarding sensitive and complex questions and reduce census cost.

In line with the importance it has assumed globally, the 2000 and 2010 censuses collected information on migration. Many scholarly works have linked migration to brisk urbanization in Ghana (Songsore, 2003; UN, 2008; GSS, 1995 and GSS, 2000). For example, in Ghana, only 9.4 percent of the total population lived in urban settlements in 1931; this population increased to 13.9 percent in 1948, 23 percent in 1960, 28.9 percent in 1970, 31.3 percent in 1984 and 43.9 percent in 2000. These steady increases have been linked to rural-urban migration, natural increase in towns, and re-classification as villages grow into towns. However, rural–urban migration and natural increase have been marked as the outstanding contributors to rapid urbanization in Ghana (Songsore, 2003). There is thus a close link between migration and urbanization in Ghana as elsewhere in the world. Migration has been an essential part of the development of Ghana since the colonial times. This monograph is an attempt to present a general picture of migration in Ghana between the last two censuses. Where necessary, reference has been made to the previous censuses especially by way of understanding trends and patterns. It provides findings from in-depth analysis of migration in Ghana using data from the censuses. The monograph also attempts to look at the interrelationship between migration and urbanization within the broader context of the country's development. Migration has been an essential feature of Ghana's development historically and has left behind many memorable legacies.

1.1.1 Objectives of the study

The aim of this monograph is to describe, analyze and provide explanation for patterns, trends and the future outlook of migration in Ghana, both internal and external. It uses mainly the 2010 census data and those of 1984 and 2000.

Specific objectives of this study are to:

a. Describe patterns of migration in Ghana.

b. Describe migration into and out of Ghana over time.

c. Describe causes and consequences of migration focusing on issues such as reasons and motives.

d. Describe differentials in patterns of migration by regions, types of migration, urban-rural flows, age and sex.

e. Describe labour migrants and their living standards as well as the relationship between migration and schooling and migration and housing.

f. Describe the interrelationship between migration and urbanization.

g. Describe trends in internal migration since 1984 and prospects for the future.

h. Make policy recommendations for migration management in Ghana

1.2 Methodology

The main sources of data for the analysis are the last two population and housing censuses, 2000 and 2010. Where necessary, reference is made to the 1984 census. Detailed information on the methods and implementation of the censuses are presented in other publications of the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) (see GSS, National Analytical Report, 2010). Issues related to causes of migration and changes therein were gathered from previous studies on migration by GSS (e.g. GSS 1995) and some individuals (Anarfi and Kwankye 2009). The variables used in the 2010 PHC were: place of birth; duration of residence; and nationality. For the first time, the 2010 PHC posted questions on emigration. Questions were asked of all former household members 15 years and older who have been living continuously for 6 months or more outside Ghana or those who intended to emigrate.

Simple descriptive analysis, largely bi-variate, is used to describe patterns of migration as well as variations and differences in migration by region and some socio-demographic variables including age, educational attainment, school attendance, housing and living standards. A few projections have been made to capture migration outlook in the near future and these have been complimented with some trend analysis. Comparisons are made among different groups of migrants as well as between migrants and non-migrants.

One major advantage of census data is its national coverage. This allowed the analysis to be made at both the national and sub-national levels. In this study, however, we could not go beyond the regional level because of certain challenges at the district level. Key among them was the frequent changes of district boundaries, which made it difficult for both respondents and interviewers to determine the district of origin of many people. Ideally, the availability of basic socio-economic information on respondents, such as age, sex, educational attainment, ethnicity and occupation, and community characteristics such as rural/urban residence, should

allow an in-depth analysis of migration. However, the limited questions asked in the census put a limit on the extent to which we could go. As a result, the analysis is limited to major issues for which information is available in the census questionnaire. As much as possible data from other sources have been used to supplement those from the censuses.

1.3 Structure of the Monograph

The monograph consists of five chapters. Chapter one contains the background information and objectives of the study. This chapter provides information on basic characteristics of census data, scope and limitation and the methodology to the study and the structure of the report. The second chapter focuses on migration in Ghana over time. The chapter begins with the explanation of working concepts and definitions of migration as used in the monograph since there is no single definition for migration and the fact that there are many types of migration. It is followed with information on migration into and out of Ghana and ends with a discussion on the causes and consequences of migration in Ghana. The third chapter looks at the patterns, trends and differentials in migration with emphasis on patterns of migration over time, migration flows between urban and rural areas, age and sex selectivity of migration, regional variation in migration, migrant labour and living standards, migration and schooling and finally migration and housing. The interrelationship between migration and urbanization is taken up in chapter four. The chapter focuses on migration and urban population, migration by grade of urban areas and migration and urban segregation. The final chapter summarizes key findings, conclusion, policy recommendations and implications.

CHAPTER TWO

MIGRATION IN GHANA OVER TIME

2.1 Introduction

Government's attitude towards migration, both historically and in contemporary terms, has been largely ambivalent. In the colonial period and during the early years of independence Ghana played host to many non-nationals mainly from other African countries. During the colonial period, the colonial administration welcomed many migrant labourers from other African countries to facilitate their development efforts. The trend continued soon after independence in the name of pan-Africanism when the first president of Ghana championed the struggle for African unity. The romance between Ghana and other Africans ended with the overthrow of the first president in 1966, which opened the floodgate for political instability. In 1969 the country's economy was in shambles and this was partly blamed on too many aliens in the country who had taken over jobs meant for Ghanaians. The government responded to this public outcry by passing the Aliens Compliance Order in November 1969, which sent many undocumented non-nationals packing.

At the internal level, migration has never been accorded any positive response either. Policy response seems to portray rural-urban migration as the most important in terms of volume and impact, although available literature points to the contrary. Urban unemployment is blamed on the influx of migrants from the rural to urban areas. In terms of crimes and conflicts, all the flashpoints in the cities and large towns tend to be the areas largely settled by migrants. Examples are Nima and Sodom and Gomorrah in Accra and Aboabo in Kumasi. Similarly, most of the areas prone to civil conflicts tend to be areas where migrants settle in large numbers and where the conflicts come in the form of struggle over land. Thus, the general outlook tends to be that migration is viewed in negative light.

However, on the issue of foreign earnings government has acknowledged the role remittances have played and often talk about it in glowing terms. This is often done without explicitly giving migration any recognition. Although some ad hoc measures have been taken in the past to, as it were, streamline issues related to migration, such as the home coming summit, no serious effort has been made to formalize them, let alone sustain them. A testimony of this is that the country is yet to have a migration policy. It is hoped that this report will throw some light on migration in Ghana by drawing some conclusions for the purpose of policy making and planning.

2.1.1 Brief overview of the theoretical literature

Several theories have been propounded by anthropologists, sociologists, geographers and other social scientists and lately by demographers. Among such is the dual economy model of development, which classifies development into a modern one which is normally urbanized and a rural subsistence economy. The theory states that, there is surplus labour in the subsistence economy leading to marginal product of labour being zero, with a relatively low subsistence wage. The modern industrial wage is higher than the subsistence wage because of continuous investment, higher profits and pressure from unionized labour. This wage differential will motivate people to move from rural to urban areas. Such migration will continue until the rate of growth of demand for labour in the modern sector is greater than the

growth of the rural population. These different factors agree with the "push" and "pull" factors affecting migration. The push factors force migrants to areas of destination. The rural-urban wage differentials serve as both push and pull factors for migration. The wage differential is the main factor for rural-urban migration which leads to urbanization of cities and towns to megacities and cities respectively.

Secondly, other theorists see migration as an investment decision, while the earlier formulations view migration as a form of human capital investment (Sjaastaad 1962; Schwartz 1976 in GSS, 1995). For such a decision, individuals move to take advantage of location-specific lifetime stream of earnings. Harris and Todaro (1970) have extended the studies of earlier theorists by developing the notion that expected real earnings motivate migration. Expected earnings are the product of real earnings level for those who acquire employment and the probability that the employment search is successful. Thus, the decision of an individual to migrate is based on the expected stream of earnings which also depends on both the prevailing urban wage and a subjective estimate of the probability of obtaining employment in the urban modern job. This theory explains how high rates of urban unemployment can discourage rural-urban migration. Inversely, the theory shows how high rates of migration can remain rational even in the face of urban unemployment, provided that urban real wages are pegged sufficiently high relative to rural wages. In Africa and Ghana for that matter, unemployment rates may matter for the better- educated potential migrants (GSS 1995), prices of urban services, such as transport costs, land rents, prices of utilities and infrastructure, such as education and health facilities may be important factors in rural-to-urban migration.

The investment decision theory is seen as part of the human capital theory. This theory is a model of the voluntary migration where individuals perceive migration to be in their self-interest. Voluntary mobility is viewed as an investment in which costs are borne in the early period in order to obtain return over a longer period of time. This means if benefits at destination exceed cost (both monetary and psychic) we assume that people will decide to move or change jobs or both. If the inverse happens, in that, the discounted stream of benefits is not as large as the costs; people are less likely to move.

From the human capital theory, within which the investment decision is taken, several factors determining migration emerge. These include individual, personal characteristics such as age, schooling/education or training, cost of migration and pressure of population. The theory predicts that:

a. Mobility will be higher among youth , because there is greater potential returns from any investment in the youth than the aged, since the youth has a longer period for benefits to realize;

b. unmarried people are more likely than the married to migrate and among married ones, those without children are more likely to move;

c. within the same age group, the more educated are likely to move;

d. as migration costs (information cost, more costs of transportation towards moving, cost of trips and search costs in the urban area) rise, flow of migration will fall ; and

e. community level factors which influence the individual's stream of returns such as:

i. the pressure of population which results in higher man/land ratios thereby increasing poverty and influencing rural out-migration;

ii. the low rate of investment in agriculture, fragmentation of land ownership, inequalities in the distribution of land and productive assets , institutional mechanisms which discriminate in favour of owners of wealth and a pattern of relative prices, investment and technological change biased against labour that make the incomes of the small-scale rural farmers and farm hands relatively worse off, leading to migration into the urban areas; and

iii. Factors which improve the conditions of urban areas, such as "bright lights" or entertainments, better education, health, communication and government policies which subsidize urban consumption act as pull factors to increase migration into urban areas.

The human capital theory relates to voluntary job mobility or quits. Some of the predictions of the theory are as follows:

- a worker will have a higher probability of quitting a low-wage job than a higher paying one, all things being equal;
- workers will have a higher probability of quitting if it is relatively easy for them to obtain a better job quickly, that is, when labour markets are tight;
- workers will flow from low-wage jobs to higher wage jobs; and
- Incomes of people who migrate are higher than they would have been in the absence of migration.

All these assumptions are not different from the earlier theories like the dual economy model and the investment decision theories. All such theories try to predict the occurrence of certain factors at both the rural areas to push people out and other factors at the urban areas to pull them to the urban centres. These theories consider the decision to move to be based on such factors with little attention to the treatment of the decision-making process of humans as rational beings and may take several decisions within particular circumstances that might not fit into such models.

One theory that points to the shortcomings in the theories is the work by Sen (1999) who stated that literature on push and pull forces often ascribes reasons for migration to singular causes or forces such as demographic, ecological, economic, political and social. He argued that the combined desires of mankind transcend these categories with one major aim, which is, 'aspirations towards a better and humane life' which encapsulates the notion of development. Development is the process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. Development requires the removal of major sources of un-freedom such as poverty, tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance of repressive states (Sen 1999). This framework asserts to the fact that the human as a rational being has aspirations of development that the push and pull factors and the other associated theories have not reflected well. So people may not move in the context of push and pull factors due to their aspirations, but rather, if the push factors hinder their aspirations and the pull factors provide environments to help realize their aspirations, they are more likely to move. So, aspiration towards a better and humane life is the key to mobility of people.

Therefore, an integration of all these theories may provide better scope and understanding of migration and human mobility in general as compared to reliance on one.

2.2 Migration Definition and Other Data Issues

A better understanding of migration as a phenomenon requires a proper understanding of some key concepts. In this study some basic concepts used have been briefly clarified to lay the grounds for the definition of migration. The concepts include migration 'origin' and 'destination' and 'internal' versus 'international' migration.

2.2.1 Origin and destination

Every residential move affects two places at the same time, an 'origin,' which is the place from where the person moves and a 'destination', that is the place where the specific move ends. These are sometimes called the place of departure and the place of arrival respectively. The origin and destination of a residential move can be in the same country/area or in different countries/areas.

2.2.2 International versus internal migration

A migratory move that involves the crossing of a national boundary is referred to as international migration. The person who did the movement is called an emigrant, from the perspective of his/her country of origin and an immigrant from the viewpoint of the country of destination. However when the origin and destination of a specific migratory move are in the same country then the move is regarded as an internal migration irrespective of the distance covered. In internal migration the person who migrates from a particular place is referred to as an out-migrant from that area and as an in- migrant in the area of destination.

The distinction between internal and international migration is important because the latter is usually more difficult to accomplish than the former which implies the motivation to move may have to be much stronger. To cross an international border is far more likely to involve a change of language, customs, and politics in general, a change of lifestyle and world view than is a move within a country. By way of taking care of commuters and sojourners who may also cross international boundaries, the concept of long–term immigrants has been developed within the definition of international migrants, which includes all persons who arrive in a country during a year and whose length of stay in the country of arrival is more than one year (Kraly & Warren, 1993).

Internal migration can be classified into four main types, rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban and urban-rural. It can also be analysed on the basis of intra and inter movements. Intra-regional migration is the movement of the population between localities within an administrative region, whereas inter-regional migration is the movement of population between different regions of a country. Information regarding migration is often elicited on the basis of place of birth classified as place of usual residence, or place of residence at a fixed prior date, often five years, or current place of residence. The various types of migration including seasonal, step, stage, chain, return can take any of the patterns/types mentioned. For instance seasonal migration has been related to agriculture and the practice of transhumance. An example is when nomads move in search of pasture and water for their animals during the dry season. This is commonly practiced by cattle ranchers in the dry savannah belt in northern Ghana. This form of migration is usually rural-rural. Farmers and labourers in the savannah areas in the north migrate to southern Ghana during the dry season when agricultural activities have come to a halt, to work and wait for the rains to resume in the northern part of the country so that they could go and cultivate their farms. There are instances when

labourers move from rural areas to urban areas or even to other rural areas where they can engage in some economic activity. Another pattern/type of migration is rural to rural migration, which usually occurs among farmers who migrate from one farming community to another to cultivate crops and this is noticeable among cash crop farmers. This has occurred in Ghana where people migrated from the Ashanti and Eastern regions to Brong Ahafo and Western regions to set up farms such as cocoa farms. Migration due to agricultural activity has led to various types of migration including rural-rural, rural-urban, and urban-rural.

2.2.3 Temporary circular migration

A household that is located in a rural or peri-urban setting can have one or more members out as temporary migrants who remit money back from another place of work, which is usually urban. This is known as circular migration and is the predominant type of migration in most of sub-Saharan Africa. A migration is considered circular when the migrant considers the place of origin as the usual place of residence (de jure) and stays connected to the 'sending' household through communication, regular return visits and with a high likelihood of monetary or non-monetary remittances.

2.2.4 Defining migration

Migration can be defined as the permanent change of residence or the movement of people in space often involving a change in the usual place of residence. This usually brings about the detachment from the organisation of activities at one place (the place of origin) and the movement of the total round of activities to another place (the place of destination) (Goldscheider, 1971). A migrant is, therefore, a person whose current usual place of residence is different from his/her place of birth or previous place of residence. Thus, migration has within it elements of both space and time or distance and duration. Spatially, the movement must cross a definite geographical or administrative boundary. In terms of time, there must be a permanent or sustained sojourn in the place of destination. The essential character of migration is thus that it involves a change in place of abode, or place of "usual" residence a taking-up of life in a new or different place. Statistically this is often captured in terms of duration of stay at the destination. In the Ghanaian census all persons who were staying outside their place of birth for six months or more were regarded as internal migrants. Similarly, those who had stayed abroad for six months or more were regarded as emigrants.

The study of migration is important for two principal reasons. Firstly, migrants contribute directly to population decrease in the source areas and an increase in the destination areas. Secondly, migration tends to be selective in terms of sex and age. Thus migration can indirectly affect the productive capacity through its selective effect on age and sex composition and can have significant demographic, social and economic impact on both source and destination areas.

Migration is, by nature, a difficult variable to measure. One reason is that it is not a single event but is one that is typically continuous and often repetitive. The multidimensional and multidirectional characteristics of migration today, as well as its temporary and circular patterns, require sophisticated data-collection systems and methodologies for which many countries, including Ghana, lack the capacity to do. In exploring internal migration there are usually three key questions that are necessary and these are: 1). what movements take place in spatial terms? i.e. intra versus inter-regional 2). Who are involved in population movements; and 3). Why movements take place? However, these are often not covered in censuses. Questions on place of birth and duration of residence are attempts to cover some of these issues. It is worth noting that all migrants are movers, but not all movers are migrants.

2.3 Migration in Ghana-Historical Overview

2.3.1 Introduction

The study of migration is important for a number of reasons. It not only affects the size and growth of population of an area but it can also alter the structure and distribution of population remarkably. Migration is a major factor that affects the size of labour force as well as its distribution by skill, education, industry and occupation. It is also a factor that has social and psychological bearings on the communities at both the area of origin and destination.

The major advantage of census data is its national coverage or representativeness. The huge sample size of the census data allows analysis from the highest to the lowest level of administration. However, this is achieved by sacrificing more detailed information. Therefore, the details about why people move, how they move, who are involved in the move and the type of moves are often not covered in the census. Throughout the world, the questions commonly asked in national censuses to yield data pertaining to the migration process are (i) place of birth, (ii) place of last residence, (iii) duration of residence, and (iv) residence on a fixed prior date. In Ghana the first question has been used in all censuses since 1960. The 2000 Population and Housing census used place of birth, place of usual residence and the place of residence 5 years ago to elicit information on migration. In the 2010 census the last question was replaced with duration of residence in the place of residence. On the basis of these questions we are able to distinguish migrants (the persons enumerated at a place different from the place of birth) from non-migrants (the persons enumerated at the place where they were born). It must be explained that the migration data obtained from the place of birth question relate to the life time migration or the migration stock.

Historically, Ghana has shifted between being a country of immigration and then emigration as well as one that combines the two concurrently. There is such a close relationship between immigration and the country's development that at some stages the difference between internal and international migration is blurred. Nonetheless, we can still identify some patterns that are clearly internal or international.

2.3.2 Internal Migration[1]

The Trans-Saharan caravan routes are among the earliest evidence of major interaction between West and North Africa for trading and exchange of scholars (Boahen, 1966). A widely travelled Muslim scholar, Ibn Batuta, writing in the fifteenth century and Leo Africanus writing later in the sixteenth century both made mention of the peaceful movement of people across ethnic boundaries (Batuta, 1929; Africanus, 1896). The presence of Europeans on the West Coast from 1400 onwards disrupted the then existing north-south movement of people and goods. However, contact with the Europeans created new patterns of movement, first through slave trade and later colonisation, within the sub-region and with the rest of the world (Boahen, 1966). The new dynamics that emerged have continued to the present day. Like emigration, migration movements within Ghana and from the rest of the West African Region date back to the period long before colonisation. During this period, trading activities stimulated flows of traders from neighbouring territories, who brought ivory, kola nuts, cattle, sheep, hides or wild animals and clothes to Salaga Market for sale

[1] This section is taken from Anarfi, J.K. and Kwankye, S. O. 2009, Independent Migration of Children in Ghana, pp. 7-44 with the kind permission of the authors.

(Wolfson, 1958). Clapperton (1929) also described the presence in the town of Kaiama, of a caravan consisting of 'upward of 1,000 men and women, and as many beasts of burden on their way back to Hausaland after a long trip to Gonja and Asante. Migration, both within and across borders, has long been a significant livelihood strategy for Ghanaians (Anarfi and Jagare, 2008; Kabki 2007). This is expected to continue in the coming years in Ghana as a major livelihood-enhancing strategy for many people irrespective of the geographical location in the country.

2.3.3 Pre-colonial era

During this period (preceding 1874), nations in the West African sub-region with clear-cut boundaries as they are known today, were not well established. However, areas with definite British or French influence had been established. In the absence of national boundaries, there was no clear distinction between internal and international migration. Early migration in Ghana could be said to have taken various forms and were associated with internecine warfare, trade, and colonisation of new lands and slavery. During this period, entire villages, ethnic groups and clans were known to have moved to escape the ravages of internecine warfare. Almost every ethnic group in present-day Ghana was affected by these wars (see Buah, 1980). Similarly, population expansion and internal struggles together with the desire for independent existence compelled several Akan units within Bono Kingdom to migrate southwards to found new settlements. Some of these were Denkyira, Twifo, Akwamu, Asante, Akyem and Fante (Buah, 1980; Boahen, 1966).

An examination of the wars which were fought in the area which constitutes present-day Ghana indicates that almost all the states engaged in warfare either on a small scale or on a wide scale and in all these wars, prisoners were captured. The wars were based on conquest, expansion, aggression, retaliation and domination. Names of states mentioned frequently in documents are the Mole Dagbani states in the north and the Akyem, Akwamu, Denkyira, Fante and Asante states in the south.

States that were weaker militarily were almost always at the mercy of stronger, more powerful and more organised states, and were either forced to flee from their agricultural or mineral-rich lands or forcibly annexed and "incorporated" into various kingdoms. Gold-impregnated areas or territories were exposed to the jealousy and malevolence of other states. Many ethnic communities which existed mainly as tribes or kingdoms in Ghana used gold not only as a medium of exchange to trade in various goods and services but also as an embodiment of power, wealth and influence of various tribal groups or states (Ofosu-Mensah, 1999; Institute of African Studies, 1969). Many of the internecine wars, which were fought in Ghana before European contact, were, in part deeply rooted in the quest by some states not just to extend their influence and territorial boundaries but even more importantly, conquer mineral-rich lands (Nyame and Grant, 2007; Ofosu-Mensah, 1999). The Adanses who derived their wealth and prosperity from the abundant gold which the area possessed and from their central location as market suffered the most in this way. As a result of these wars, sections of the people migrated to other lands. The Akyems moved eastwards, others crossed the Pra southwards and established themselves into kingdoms like those of Asen Apemanin (Buah, 1980). Additionally, the wars of Sumaila Ndewura Jakpa in the seventeenth century in Northern Ghana led to the dispersal of the Guans to other parts of the country (Boahen, 1975).

The Gold Coast also witnessed great political changes and developments between the eleventh and eighteenth centuries. Various ethnic groups within the country and others migrating from outside into the country began to build formidable states and kingdoms. The

process resulted in the enslavement of conquered peoples. Fortunately or unfortunately, part of the period of state building coincided with the introduction of the Atlantic Slave Trade, which was introduced to the Gold Coast in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese, as a result of the demand for labour in the New World (America). Some of the conquered slaves found themselves outside the shores of Africa. Other Europeans such as the Dutch, British, Danes, Prussians and French followed suit (Perbi, 1997; Boahen, 1966).

Commercial migration connected with trade also featured during this period. The differences in ecological conditions necessitated exchange of goods such as salt, livestock, food, etc (Addo, 1975). Indigenous tribes in the forest areas of Ghana traded in salt and other commodities with Coastal States, which also occasioned minor migration of people from the hinterland to the coastal areas. On the other hand, during the trans-Saharan Trade in the seventeenth century traders from Adanse, Asante, Denkyira, etc., used to go to Banda and Bono areas because they became the centres for the trade in gold, slaves and kola nuts (Daaku, 1970).

Another reason which accounted for the migration of people during the colonial era was the search for new lands safe for settlements and fertile for farming. From the 1860s, a flood of land-hungry migrant farmers from Ga, Anum, Akwapim and Krobo inundated the vast expanse of rich and empty agricultural lands of Akyem Abuakwa. Private individuals were also attracted to Akyem Abuakwa by the seemingly unlimited economic possibilities held out in an era of legitimate trade by the vast expanse of fertile, unoccupied agricultural lands of the region (Addo-Fening, 1997). There are also significant historical movements of people within the area that constitutes present-day Ghana. First, the movement of cash crop farmers within the country began well into the latter part of the nineteenth century. For example, Akwapim farmers were migrating by the middle of the nineteenth century to empty lands where they could grow oil palm and subsistence crops, palm products then ranking as the leading cash crop of the area (Hill, 1963). Thus, long before colonisation, migratory movements were strongly determined by the distribution of economic opportunities. Political exiles also moved out of the Asante State in 1818, 1824 and 1832 and again in 1874-5 and settled on Akyem Abuakwa land (Addo-Fening, 1997).

Escaping or running away from a cruel ruler's territory also accounted for migration of people before the European contact. The Ewes migrated to present Ghana from Notsie (in Benin), due to the cruelty of King Agorkorli, their overlord. Virtually, all the ethnic groups in present-day Ghana claim to have immigrated from somewhere to their present location (Boahen, 1975). It can be said that migration during this period was seen as population movement in response to human needs like favourable ecological conditions, fertile land for agriculture, shelter and trade as well as greater security during tribal warfare.

2.3.4 Colonial period

According to Sudarkasa (1974-75), migration for the purpose of trade gained momentum in the colonial era. The situation resulted from the relative peace that prevailed in the region following the end of inter-tribal wars, and the establishment of better lines of communication. Rouch (1959) has noted that some of the migrants to Ghana, including many from Niger, Mali and Nigeria were self-employed traders rather than wage labourers. Nypan's (1960) study of market traders in Accra also documented the presence of a sizeable population of immigrant traders from Nigeria, Niger and Mali working in the city's markets. The activities of commercial migrants continued from the pre-colonial era to the early 1970s when it dwindled as a result of the Aliens Compliance Order, as well as the enactment of the Ghana

Business Promotion Act 334 of August 1, 1970, which was also used as a weapon to chase commercial migrants away from the country (Anarfi, et. al., 2000).

In addition to trading, the development of gold mines and cocoa farms from the late nineteenth century to the second half of the twentieth century in the country also attracted many migrants. In the view of Amin (1974:75), 'of the regions which benefited from the contribution of the permanent migration, Southern Ghana is outstanding'. He further stated that the migrants were predominantly unmarried young male adults who mainly went into agriculture and mining in the areas of attraction. Mabogunje (1972) also identifies a similar pattern and explains it as a natural reaction to the geography of West Africa, which is such that the southern forest is more favourable to economic development than the savannah north. He also recognised Ghana as the major attractive centre for migrants in West Africa. The relative success of exploration and development in the mining industry under the British colonial administration fuelled massive infrastructural development in road and what is now the Western, Ashanti and to some extent, Eastern and Central regions. The demand for labour in the mining industry far outstripped supply in what used to be a predominantly agrarian economy in these areas. It is known that in many cases, indigenous people or local labour force were either unwilling or unable to supply the labour requirements (Adepoju, 2005). The shortfall in labour supply, improvements in road networks and communication infrastructure, and less stringent inter-regional border controls, among other factors, provided the necessary impetus and demand which encouraged a wave of immigrants from neighbouring British, French and German colonies into the Gold Coast in search of work (Nyame and Grant, 2007; Ofosu-Mensah, 1999). According to Adepoju (2005), migration flows which occurred on cocoa farms and the mining centres were a direct outcome of the policies of the colonial powers. Songsore (1983) argues that the centre-periphery structure that emerged over the colonial space-economy was to serve the interest of the metropolis. The policies of colonial powers as a matter of fact ensured that certain nodes were created to facilitate the production of raw materials such as gold, cocoa, timber, rubber, coffee, etc., needed by the industrial sector in Britain. The colonial authority, therefore, devised mechanisms to attract labour from the hinterlands principally the Northern Savannah Agro-Ecological Zone (Nabila, 1985).

The most important demand for labour in the Gold Coast during the colonial era came from commercial agriculture and mining. The main export producing regions were unable to supply all the labour they needed from local sources, so extra hands had to be imported from other parts of the country and other West African colonies. For example, in the middle of 1909, the labour shortage was described by the authorities as 'acute'. The 1910 Annual Report of the West African Chamber of Mines complained that 'all the local supply of native labourers was exhausted and the industry was faced with a shortage'. This problem came about as a result of the fact that the Akan mine labourers resented underground work. They believed that underground mining was associated with unfriendly spirits. In addition, they viewed underground mining as a low status activity associated with slaves and, therefore, socially degrading. In addition, the Akan could reasonably subsist on cultivation of traditional food crops (yams, cocoyam, cassava, bananas, plantain and green vegetables) supplemented by hunting and fishing. Consequently, there was no pressing need for them to sell their labour to Europeans to be able to earn a living. The cocoa boom of the 1930s worsened the shortage of labour to work underground.

The high influx of migrant labourers from the Northern Territories towards the end of 1922 was the result of the outbreak of famine. Reports reaching the Chief Commissioner spoke of growing threat of famine in North Mamprusi, Builsa and Zuarungu districts where villagers were reported to be eating grass weed. Due to the famine, many young men between the ages

of fifteen and thirty-five were forced to migrate in search of work in the mines (Ofosu-Mensah, 1999). Another reason that accounted for this migration was the need to satisfy social obligations such as the payment of dowries and bride wealth.

Migrant workers were actively recruited by the colonial authorities. The reduction in the supply of Kru labourers due to the development of rubber plantations in Liberia (Szerezewski, 1965) and the unwillingness of the Akans to work underground made the mining companies consider importation of unskilled labourers from the north. The Northern Territories were not deemed by the colonial regime to have direct economic value; hence in the 1920s they were designated as a labour reserve for the supply of cheap labour for the mines and general labour in the cities (Guggisberg, 1920). The period 1919-1924 saw the acceleration of labour recruitment in the Northern Territories. When Guggisberg launched his development plan in November 1919, he calculated that a labour force of 27,000 men would be needed and suggested that a special recruiting scheme in the Northern Territories should be organised.

During that period, the cocoa industry also required intensive labour and provided inducements in the form of high wages (Ofosu-Mensah, 1999). The period of inactivity in the Northern Territories corresponded to the time of peak agricultural demands in the cocoa regions of the forest zone, so that labourers from the Northern Territories could migrate to the south to work on seasonal basis and return home for the single growing season. This form of migration has been occurring in the country since the beginning of the twentieth century. For example in 1945, about 46,000 labourers migrated from the Northern Territories to the south and by 1954, this kind of seasonal migration involved more than 200,000 labourers from the Northern Territories (Abdulai, 1999). As observed by Killick (1966), there could not be many countries in the world in which migrant labour had been as important as it was to the Ghanaian economy. This is because the dry season in the north coincided with the maximum demand for labour on cocoa farms in the forest belt. In addition, many farmers had migrated from the Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Eastern and Volta regions to the Western Region to cultivate cocoa.

2.3.5 Post-colonial

After independence in 1957, while Ghana continued to attract migrants from other African countries due to its relative affluence, the influx from the north still continued unabated. Internal population movement in Ghana continued after independence particularly rural to urban migration. In 1960, roughly 23 percent of the population could be classified as urban, the proportion was over 43 percent in 2000. Migration from rural areas accounted for much of this growth, especially in the 1960s. This was largely due to the growth of industrial activities in the urban centres in the 1960s. Thereafter, high rates of natural increase in the urban population became a significant factor in urbanisation.

While those with skills and adequate level of education move to the national and regional capitals, the less educated have continued to move instead to the mining and cocoa growing areas. According to the 1960 Census Report, the Northern[2] and Volta regions recorded net losses of enumerated native born of 157,000 and 95,000 respectively, while Ashanti, Greater Accra and Brong Ahafo imported over 10,000 people each. The 1984 Census Report, however, revealed that Northern, Greater Accra and Brong Ahafo regions recorded net increases in their shares of the total population, while the rest of the regions experienced

[2] Northern Region comprised the Upper East and West regions.

declines. Quite significant is Greater Accra's share of the total population, which increased from 7.3 percent in 1960 to 10 percent in 1970 and further to 11.6 percent in 1984.

There has been a remarkable increase in the number of West Africans living in urban areas since the end of the Second World War. In Ghana for example, the proportion of the population living in urban centres of more than 20,000 people, rose from seven percent to 11 percent during the period between 1950 and 1960. As of the year 2000, 27.4 percent of Ghana's 18.9 million people were living outside their places of birth. Intra- and inter-regional migrants formed 9.9 percent and 17.5 percent respectively of the total population (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). However, there are remarkable variations in terms of the proportion of the population formed by intra- and inter- regional migrants in the total population of the regions.

2.3.6 International migration

The closeness between internal and international migration observed above is mainly with respect of immigration. Over the years, immigrants into this country, particularly those from the West African sub-region, easily merge with the nationals and join the internal mobility of labourers. The aim of this section, therefore, is to examine briefly the history of emigration from Ghana. Based on the available evidence, four distinct phases have been identified in the international history of emigration from Ghana. These are:

a. a period of minimal emigration,

b. a period of initial emigration,

c. a phase of large-scale emigration,

d. a period of intensification and diasporisation of Ghanaians.

From pre-colonial times up to the late 1960s, Ghana enjoyed relative economic prosperity and was the destination of many migrants from neighbouring West African Countries (Anarfi 1982). During the period under consideration international movement from Ghana involved a relatively small number of people, most of whom were students and professionals. Most of these movements were to the United Kingdom and other English speaking countries due to colonial links and for linguistic reasons (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al. 2000). For instance immigration data indicate that in 1967 there were only about 100 Ghanaian immigrants in Canada (Owusu 2000). Some Ghanaian professionals also served in the public services of Gambia, Botswana and Sierra Leone. Also Ghanaians, mostly from fishing communities, were known to have migrated across international boundaries to Benin and Ivory Coast (Odotei 2000).

The initial emigration of Ghanaians started after 1965. From that period Ghana experienced an economic crisis of an unprecedented magnitude (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al. 2000). This was manifested in a balance of payments deficit, growing unemployment and social malaise. The decline of the economy made Ghana unattractive to both foreigners and citizens. By 1970, the proportion of foreigners in Ghana had declined from 12.3 percent in 1960 to 6.6 percent. This trend was also the result of the Aliens Compliance Order of 1969, whereby non-Ghanaians without valid documents were expelled from the country. In the period following that Côte d'Ivoire emerged as one of the dominant points of destination in the sub-region.

By the end of the decade, many Ghanaians were travelling outside the country in search of jobs. A majority of these emigrants were professionals such as teachers, lawyers, and administrators, some of whom were invited by countries such as Uganda, Botswana, Nigeria and Zambia to assist with their national development after independence (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al. 2000). Others returned to work in the countries where they were trained when the economic conditions in Ghana began to be unfavourable. Moreover there were those who travelled initially for education and/or training but stayed behind after their programme of study. There were also a small number of Ghanaians who were born abroad and either stayed behind when their parents returned to Ghana or went back when they were old enough or could afford to travel on their own.

The phase of the large-scale emigration began in the early 1980s when unskilled and semi-skilled Ghanaians emigrated out of the country at an alarming rate in search of jobs in neighbouring West African Countries (Anarfi 1982). The number of professionals migrating also increased in response to the demand for their labour abroad and at a time when the economy had collapsed and there were shortages of basic items including detergents and food. Migration then became one of the basic survival strategies adopted by individuals and families to enable them to cope with difficult economic conditions.

In the early 1980s unofficial figure put the average number of Ghanaians who migrated into Nigeria at about 300 per day (Anarfi 1982). As of December 1980 about 150,000 Ghanaians had registered with the Ghana High Commission in Lagos. The nature of the migration was such that the country lost much of its trained personnel. For example in the early 1980s, about 13 percent of the 163 paid up members of the Ghana Institute of Architects had addresses in Nigeria. It was also estimated that about 50 percent of the architects from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology had migrated to Nigeria. Similarly the 1975 census of Côte d'Ivoire recorded over 42,000 Ghanaians in that country. In 1986, the number of Ghanaians in Côte d'Ivoire was estimated to be between 500,000 and 800,000 (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al. 2000).

The migration was aggravated by a loss of faith in Ghana's future due to bad governance of both the civilian and military regimes. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) formed in 1975 precipitated further Ghanaian emigration to neighbouring West African countries. One of the objectives of the regional organisation was to facilitate freedom of movement, residence and employment within the community. It is estimated that about two million Ghanaians emigrated between 1974 and 1981, mainly from the south. Another indication of the number of Ghanaians who travelled outside is derived from the estimated number of Ghanaians among people deported from Nigeria in 1983. It is estimated that of the two million people deported from Nigeria in 1983, between 900,000 and 1.2 million were Ghanaians. This figure excludes professionals and their dependants who were not affected by the deportation exercise. Adeku worked out the number of Ghanaian emigrants in major world regions from the 1984 census returns (Adeku 1995). According to this analysis, the number of emigrants at that time was 39,000, and this accounted for 0.3 percent of the total resident population. Of that number, 47 percent were females, contrary to the popular view that women were less likely to emigrate. In fact, women dominated short distance emigration to nearby countries, accounting for 64, 57 and 56 percent respectively of the Ghanaian emigrants in Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Togo, whereas a higher proportion of men travelled further afield. In terms of age, female migrants were younger on the whole than male migrants. For instance, at that time, the mean age of the female migrants fell between 15 and 24 years, while for men it was between 25 and 34 years.

The exodus of Ghanaians to neighbouring countries continued through the 1990s to recent times. Nonetheless, this most recent phase of the migration of Ghanaians is more importantly characterised by their diasporisation, which had begun in the middle of the 1980s. Van Hear classifies Ghana as one of the ten countries involved in producing a 'new diaspora' in recent times (Van Hear 1998). Since the 1990s, large numbers of Ghanaians have moved to major cities such as London, Amsterdam, Hamburg and New York (Black, Tiemoko et al. 2003). According to the UK Home Office, Ghana was among the top ten sending countries to the UK in 1996, and in the decade 1990–2001 about 21,485 Ghanaians entered the UK. Meanwhile, North America has become increasingly dominant as a destination for Ghanaians, whilst the Ghana diaspora lives in many more countries around the world. From 1986 to 2001 49,703 Ghanaians immigrated to the US. By 2001, 104,000 Ghanaians were living in the US, whilst 114,335 were registered in Canada. Data from the Ghana Immigration Service also indicate that more than 2,000 Ghanaians were deported from 58 countries around the world in 1993 (Van Hear 1998).

A number of reasons explain this continued exodus. Overall, there is a long history of emigration from Ghana to other West African states, as well as Europe and North America for various reasons including employment, education and training (Nuro, 1999). Initially, few of the migrants went as economic migrants. However, the increase in international out-migration in the late 1970s and early 1980s has been attributed to economic decline and political instability (Fosu 1992; Alderman 1994). By the mid-1980s, the economy of Ghana was growing at a negative rate. To arrest the decline, the government introduced a Structural Adjustment Programme, which included staff redeployment and the withdrawal of subsidies on social services such as health, transport and education. The unemployment and other hardships that occurred with the withdrawal of subsidies created conditions for further emigration.

Initially, Nigeria became a major point of destination for Ghanaians. But with the expulsions of Ghanaians from Nigeria in 1983 and 1985, the destination countries of migrants became more diverse, particularly for professionals. Furthermore, some professionals took advantage of the then strong value of the Nigerian Naira to travel to Europe, America and other African countries while the semi-skilled workers tried to go wherever they could. It is estimated that between 1975 and 1981, Ghana may have lost about 14,000 qualified teachers among them 3,000 University graduates (Rado 1986). Both less and well qualified Ghanaians migrated to work in developing and developed countries as economic refugees, the latter group constituting the mass 'brain drain' from Ghana to the North, or what others call 'brain exchange' among developing countries. These highly qualified individuals migrated for a variety of reasons including lack of job satisfaction at place of origin, poor salary structure and prospects, and lack of motivation (Gould 1993; Nuro 1999).

Since the mid-1990s, there has been some evidence of return migration to Ghana. This has been attributed partly to the improvement in the Ghanaian economy vis-à-vis the economies of the neighbouring countries that once attracted Ghanaians (World Bank 1994) as well as restrictions on Ghanaians travelling abroad (for instance, those travelling to the EU countries) and repatriation of those without valid documents. Nonetheless, a second generation of Ghanaians living abroad is also growing, often settling there, but maintaining links and identifying with Ghana.

2.4 Migration Causes and Consequences

2.4.1 The causes of migration

Like migration itself, the causes of migration are complex, multilevel in nature, difficult to determine and not easy to generalise. The decision to migrate has often been a response to a combination of various factors including environmental, physical, economic and social factors. While a lot of emphasis has been placed on economic factors as the main causes of migration, the causal perpetuation factors in migration are both economic and non- economic in nature (Kok et al., 2003). For policy purposes, it is important to understand the causes and consequences of migration. Unfortunately, census data do not provide a suitable basis for determining the causes of migration. We resort to purpose-made migration surveys and interviews to get an understanding of why people move, and why some people from the same area do not.

The main reasons behind the movement of people from rural to urban areas can be explained in terms of economic, social and cultural forces - search for social and cultural amenities and freedom from traditional family elders' restrictions.

The growth of industries in the urban centres such as Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi, which created employment opportunities in those areas, have triggered the movement of people to the urban centres. Income levels in the rural areas are very low compared to the urban areas. As a result, the gap between the welfare of rural dwellers and their urban counterparts is very wide. For instance, a 1999 study found that the average wage in the urban areas in Ghana was two or three times the average agricultural income (Abdulai, 1999). Meanwhile the main occupation in the rural areas is agriculture.

Many young people in rural areas are unwilling to remain there to practice farming after graduating from junior and senior high schools perhaps because of the big wage differential between urban and agricultural incomes. They rather move to the urban areas in search of non-existent white-collar jobs. Some young men and women are also enticed by the wealth displayed by friends and relatives who return from the urban areas during Christmas and other festivals to also want to move to the urban areas. The desire to acquire such wealth lures them to the urban areas.

Many people are lured by social and cultural amenities such as good drinking water, electricity, medical care facilities and entertainment, which are not available in the rural areas, to move to the urban centres. People also move to urban areas in order to free themselves from traditional family systems and elders' restrictions in the rural areas. This reason has emerged in many studies of the movement of young girls from the north to the south of the country (Anarfi and Kwankye, 2009). Rigid parental control and expectation, and harsh social sanctions cause people to move.

Other factors are related to the demographic dynamics of the country. The high population growth rate in Ghana within the last three decades has generally increased the domestic supply of labour, and in areas like the Upper East Region, put pressure on the available cultivable land, thereby encouraging migration (Abdulai, 1999). The steady decline in the general fertility of the country has led to the growth of a large number of young adults who are ready to work. As more and more of these young people get educated, they become, as it were, misfits in the rural areas and naturally move to the urban areas for sustenance.

Government's macro-economic policies, directly or indirectly, have influenced rural-urban migration in the country. Through urban-biased policies, the terms of trade have consistently been against agriculture and the rural areas, contributing to wide rural-urban income differentials. Urban-biased policies which include over-valued exchange rates, industrial protection and cheap food policies discriminated against agriculture in particular and rural areas in general. These policies suppressed farm prices and rural incomes, encouraging a shift of labour out of agricultural production and subsequent increase in rural-urban migration. However, macro-economic and sector-specific policy reforms initiated in 1983 contributed to improving the domestic terms of trade in favour of the rural sector, thereby encouraging some urban-rural migration. Rural-urban migration in the country has been largely induced by the expectation of higher wages in the destination area and is entirely consistent with the principle of comparative advantage.

Sometimes it becomes necessary to distinguish between forces that are operating in the origin area and those operating in the destination that eventually compel one to move. Some scholars have found that depressed social conditions at the place of origin are more compelling motivations for rural people to migrate than economic factors (Ewusi 1986). However, once they decide to migrate, the choice of a destination is primarily based on the economic opportunities available at the end. In that respect, the social conditions prevailing at their place of origin act as the main push factor while the economic opportunities available in a particular town act as the pull factor attracting migrants to that locality (Johnson, 1974). A survey on internal migration and urbanisation in Ghana revealed that over 80 percent of the respondents gave economic reasons for migrating from their previous location, suggesting that income differentials contribute significantly to internal migration in the country. The pattern of internal migration in the country has also been influenced by the stark differences in the level of poverty between the north and the south, as well as their respective capacities to respond to new economic opportunities.

There are now three distinct geographic zones in Ghana, the creation of the pattern of socio-economic development in the country, which has also been dictated by the distribution of the country's natural resources. These are the coastal zone dominated by Accra-Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi; a middle zone with Kumasi as its centre; and the northern savannah zone. The coastal zone is the most industrialised and urbanised area in the country, and has been the focus of internal migration since the beginning of the last century. Accra as the nation's capital attracted many administrative and other service workers. With the opening of a deep-sea port in Takoradi in 1927, Sekondi-Takoradi became a leading point of attraction for migrants in addition to Accra along the coast. In the 1960s, the development of Tema Port and township shifted the focus of migration back to the Accra-Tema metropolitan area. The middle zone, with its forest, mining and agricultural potentials was the centre of the old Ashanti Empire. With its natural resource endowment, the middle belt became an area of rapid socio-economic development in the 1980s. Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti Region, became a dominant centre in the country and the focus of migration from the savannah belt (Nabila, 1986).

The northern savannah zone, accounting for about half the land area of Ghana, has almost always been a net out-migration area[3]. With its scanty seasonal rainfall, very little natural endowment, the absence of any large-scale industrial activities, and general neglect, the area has been a labour reservoir for the cocoa and the mining industries in the middle and the

[3] It was only in the 1984 census that the Northern Region only had a positive population change in the 1970 – 1984 inter-censal period.

developed coastal zones respectively. The relative affluence of the coastal zone and the middle belt created focal points for migration, first within the country and subsequently outside the country. The rapid expansion of the economy in the 1960s also provided impetus for international migration, initially to pursue further education in most cases (Nabila, 1986).

In addition to wage differentials, the overconcentration of development opportunities and welfare services in towns has made them relatively more attractive. The towns have been the focus of investments in productive enterprises such as factories and investment in infrastructure such as water supplies or medical services. These developments have made urban areas more attractive thereby encouraging rural-urban migration (Ewusi, 1986). For example, the Greater Accra Region, which is the most urbanised region in the country, recorded a population growth rate of 5.6 percent between 1960 and 1970, while the national average was 2.4 percent. The growth rate declined slightly to 4.4 percent between 1984 and 2000 but still much higher than the national average of 2.7 percent.

Another factor that has encouraged increased labour movement across space is the dramatic improvement in transportation and communication. This has made many places accessible and has reduced the cost of transport and communication drastically. The extension of the road network into rural areas has opened up many hitherto inaccessible areas. Improved communication system has widened the social networks of prospective migrants thereby reducing the risks and costs associated with migration. It has also improved information dissemination thereby increasing the chances of rural residents locating jobs in the urban centres (Abdulai, 1999).

There have been some empirical studies which have supported the role of transportation in facilitating migration in Ghana. For example, Beals and Menezes (1970) have shown how reduced transport costs accelerated migration between the north and the south in the 1960s and 1970s. Johnson (1974) has also shown that the number of migrants between Greater Accra and each of the remaining regions in the country is inversely proportional to the distance between them. If distance is equated with transport cost, then it means the inflow of migrants from other regions to Greater Accra Region is influenced by transport costs. Similarly, a study of migration from the Upper East Region to southern Ghana for a period of at least one year in the late 1980s revealed that around one-half of all working age males and 15 percent of working age females were involved (Cleveland, 1991). A World Bank study, Voices of the Poor Report on Ghana, also observed that urban and rural young people feel they have no choice but to leave home in search of work. They asserted that if they could successfully generate remittances in migration, it could likely make the difference between food security and a lack of it for their families (Kunfaa, 1999).

Other studies have also revealed that family-related issues have also contributed to migration in Ghana. A nationwide survey conducted by Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) in 1995 revealed that as high as 64 percent of the rural-urban migrants moved to join their families. In most cases women migrate to join their husbands. In the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) of 1997/98 60 percent of migrants cited marriage or other family reasons as the cause of their migration. Only 25 percent cited work as a reason. The results obtained, however, need to be interpreted with caution. For example, the GSS household sample included members who were at least seven years old, whilst the GLSS included all household members over 15 years. In both cases, this means many dependents of parents who migrated for economic reasons may have been classified as having moved for family reasons.

As noted above, there is evidence that policy reforms initiated in 1983 which altered the domestic terms of trade in favour of the rural sector led to reverse migration, as urban dwellers returned to the farm. This turnaround was captured in a survey by the Ghana Statistical Service working with the World Bank on current and prior employment for over 8,000 individuals in Ghana cited in Abdulai (1999). The study revealed that among individuals who had changed occupations during the period, those moving from non-agricultural jobs into agricultural jobs outnumbered those moving in the opposite direction by a ratio of two-to-one (Abdulai, 1999). The difference could be attributed to a significant reverse migration from urban to rural areas after the reform programme was initiated. It must be explained, however, that not every agricultural occupation implies rural residence nor do all non-agricultural occupations suggest urban residence.

2.4.2 Consequences of migration

Migration from Northern to Southern Ghana has been a long tradition, dating back to the colonial period when cheap labour from Northern Ghana moved seasonally or permanently to the mines, cocoa farms and other sectors in the south (Nabila, 2001). Literature mentions the important role the migrants involved in this movement have played in the development of the country. It is believed that the positive effects of these movements on the areas of destination were to the detriment of the sending areas. Many researchers have alluded to this development as one of the factors responsible for the underdevelopment of the northern half of the country. We could also see it as a chicken and egg relationship. Was it the out-migration of the male adults from the north which caused the underdevelopment of the area or it was the underdevelopment which pushed the people out? Whichever way we look at it, there is a little bit of truth in both sides of the argument. Such a stalemate, however, calls for a more thorough study of the phenomenon to unravel the truth surrounding the long-standing north-south migration of people.

More recent migration from Northern to Southern Ghana has included children who seek employment in large cities in the south, particularly, Accra, the capital city and Kumasi, the second largest city. This new development could be characterised as children following the trails of their fathers. It has caught the attention of researchers, policy makers and the media. Perhaps because of its newness and uniqueness, a number of studies have been done on it and from these we can find a lot on the consequences of child migrants on themselves, the origin area and the destination area (Kwankye, S. O, et al. 2007; Anarfi J. K. et al. 2003; Anarfi J. K. and Kwankye, S. O, 2009). While some of the consequences are specific to children, others are general and affect adult migrants also.

Migration entails risks and vulnerabilities to migrants, particularly young female migrants. As a transforming experience, it can improve or worsen the position of young women in families and society. Many young migrant women from the north get involved in head-load carrying or *"kayayei"* as an adaptive response to poverty, and this could increase their vulnerability to poverty and health risks. Some are exposed to sexual exploitation which further exposes them to sexually transmitted diseases including HIV and AIDS. The young migrants, especially those from the north, mainly work in the informal sector and are largely self-employed. Nonetheless, they also suffer some exploitation from adults who utilise their services (Anarfi et. al., 2006). The environment in which they operate is also infested with drug peddling and abuse and some of the migrant children who operate on the streets in Accra, mainly the males, get involved in drug abuse (Anarfi and Antwi, 1995).

In many parts of the world, the right of the migrant child is easily compromised and his vulnerability increases. There is also the perception that children living on their own are

either at risk or a threat to public order, which may jeopardize their conditions (Martins, 1992). Studies have observed that, some migrant children who make the streets their home in the capital city suffer periodic police raids (Anarfi and Antwi, 1995). Those who do not have relatives and friends in Accra live in informal settlements such as kiosks, uncompleted houses and shacks. Sanitary conditions in such places are very bad as there are no public toilets and bath houses. Migrant street children are, therefore, forced to pay money for every little service, including visiting the toilet, having a bath and even sleeping in front of shops. As a result, the need to get money all the time and by all means compels the children to do anything both legal and illegal.

Studies have found that most independent child migrants eventually return to their places of origin. Many return voluntarily but quite a few are compelled to return to either take care of sick parents or to take custody and develop a family property such as land. The studies of Anarfi and Kwankye (2009) observed that when they return the independent child migrants are better off in terms of personal possessions, at least in the short run, than their non-migrant counterparts. Their only problem, however, is that public opinion about the migration of young people from the north to the cities of the south is not very favourable among the still very traditional elders of the home communities of the return migrants. In particular, they complain about the sexual immorality of the return migrants and the fact that some of the girls return with illegitimate children and sexually transmitted infections including HIV and AIDS.

These observations about return child migrants are by no means exhaustive. It has been found that most of the child migrants migrated with the open or tacit support of their parents, and that the main motive of these independent child migrants was to acquire certain personal properties and return to lead new and better lives in the origin areas. As to whether they are able to achieve their objectives is still not fully answered. Other important issues are also begging for answers. For example, we do not know under what circumstances they return and in what condition? On their return, how different are they from their non-migrant counterparts? Do they encounter any challenges trying to re-integrate into the home society? While the above questions are important in themselves, answers to them will also throw some light on the costs and benefits of the independent migration of children.

CHAPTER THREE

PATTERNS, TRENDS AND DIFFERENTIALS IN MIGRATION

3.1 Patterns of migration over time

The census data allow us to classify the Ghanaian population into migrants and non-migrants. On the basis of the place of birth question, all persons enumerated in their place of birth were regarded as non-migrants and those enumerated outside their places of birth were regarded as migrants. Table 3.1 shows that in 2010 nearly 66.0 percent of Ghanaians (65.9%) were non-migrants, compared to nearly 70.0 percent (69.8%) in 2000. That indicates that a little more Ghanaians were internal migrants in 2010 (34.1%) than in 2000 (30.1%). In both censuses, greater proportion of people moved between regions (inter-regional) than within regions (intra-regional). That implies that internal movements in Ghana are characterized more by long distance movements than short distance movements. However, the difference between inter-regional and intra-regional movements seems to be closing up. Whiles there was 19.2 percent inter-regional migrants as against 10.9 percent intra-regional migrants in 2000, the figures for 2010 were 19.0 percent and 15.1 respectively, posting a slight decline in inter-regional migrant proportions and a significant increase in their intra-regional counterparts. Thus the increase in the proportion of internal migrants in the 2000 and 2010 inter-censal period was mainly in movements within regions. This development could be explained by the deepening of the decentralization system in the country which has led to the emergence of new district capitals which have transformed from villages into respectable urban centres thereby becoming growth pole centres.

Table 3.1: Distribution by sex and type of migration of Ghanaians by birth

	2000			2010		
Status in migration	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	17,257,982	8,409,884	8,848,098	23,633,323	11,497,880	12,135,443
Non-migrant	12,054,443	5,865,651	6,188,792	15,565,662	7,681,865	7,883,797
Intra-regional migrant	1,884,940	863,551	1,021,389	3,581,264	1,606,025	1,975,239
Inter-regional migrant	3,318,599	1,680,682	1,637,917	4,486,397	2,209,990	2,276,407
Percentages						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Non-migrant	69.8	69.7	69.9	65.9	66.8	65.0
Intra-regional migrant	10.9	10.3	11.5	15.1	14.0	16.3
Inter-regional migrant	19.2	20.0	18.5	19.0	19.2	18.7

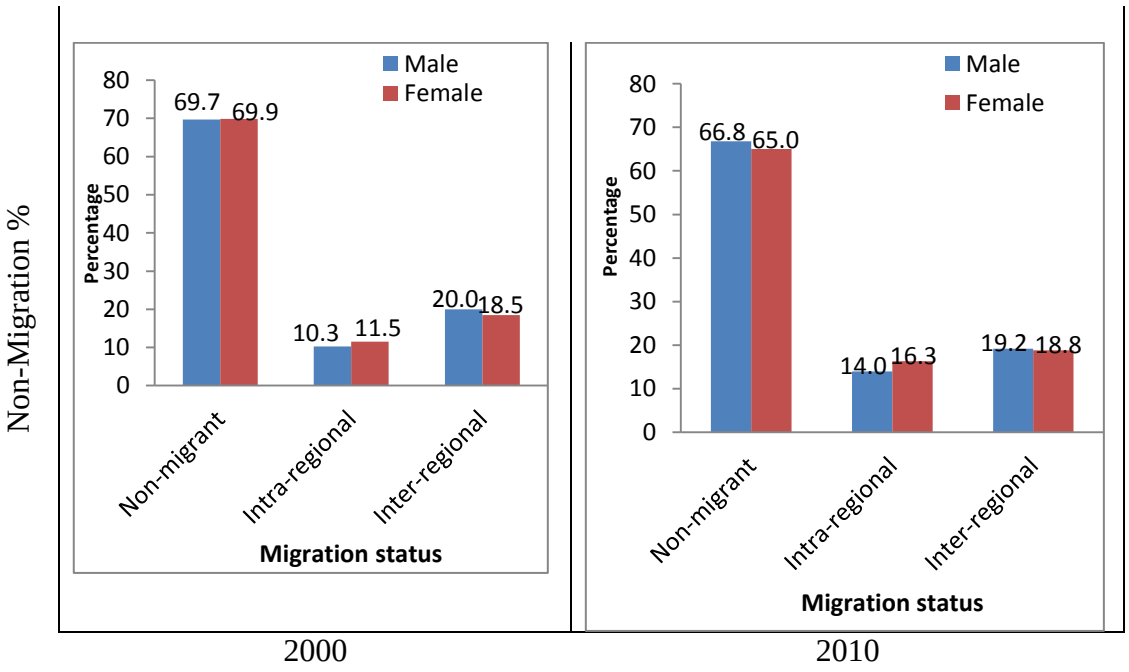
Note: 2010 Ghanaian by birth includes Dual nationality

Based on the 2000 and 2010 census data migrant population grew faster than non-migrant population in the last decade. The growth was fastest among intra-regional migrants (6.4) and was about twice as much as for inter-regional migrants (3.0) and about 2.5 times as much as for non-migrants.

In 2000 there was virtually no gender difference in the proportion of internal migrants in Ghana (30.3% for males and 30.0% for females) [See Figure 3.1]. In 2010, however, there is a significant difference between male and female proportions of internal migrants with the latter having a slight edge over the former (35.0% versus 33.2%). That means in relative

terms, in internal movements females were a little more mobile than males in 2010. Yet whereas females were significantly dominant in intra-regional movements (16.3% versus 14.0%), their male counterparts were slightly dominant in inter-regional movements (19.2% versus 18.7%). In a sense therefore, in 2010 females were dominant in short distance movements and males in long distance movements. This situation has been attributed to the fact that whiles the movement of males are mainly job-related, those of females are often related to marriage. In small settlements almost everybody is related to everybody thereby forcing people to choose partners from places other than their own villages. Since in Ghana it is females who move to join their husbands, movements among villages tend to be dominated by women.

Figure 3.1: Distribution by sex and type of migration and year



3.2 Migration Flows between Urban And Rural Areas

From Table 3.2 we can observe migrants' contribution to rural and urban populations in the 2000 and 2010 censuses. The table shows that migrants have made more significant contribution to urban than rural population. In total, migrants aged 5 years or older contributed 4,656,959 people to urban population in 2010, made up of 1,904,336 urban to urban migrants and 2,752,623 rural to urban migrants. In other words, 44.5 percent of the urban population aged 5 years or older are migrants who arrived between 2000 and 2010.

The figures were more than 1.5 times migrants' contribution to rural population during the same period (2,923,989 or 29.6%).

The data further show that urban to urban migrant population grew at the rate of 9.7 percent per annum between 2000 and 2010. The phenomenon may represent stepwise migration, whereby people move from rural areas to smaller towns, possibly a district capital, and later move to a bigger town (like a regional capital) then later to the city. The situation should be expected in the era of decentralization and the creation of new districts and their attendant district capitals. In many instances, the creation of a district capital implies a complete

transformation of a hitherto rural settlement into a sizeable town bubbling with activities.[4] In the same period rural-to-urban migrant population grew at the rate of 4.5 percent per annum, far more than the urban non-migrant population which grew at 3.6 percent per annum.

Table 3.2: Population and structure of migrant population aged 5 or older at the place of destination by type of migration flow and census year

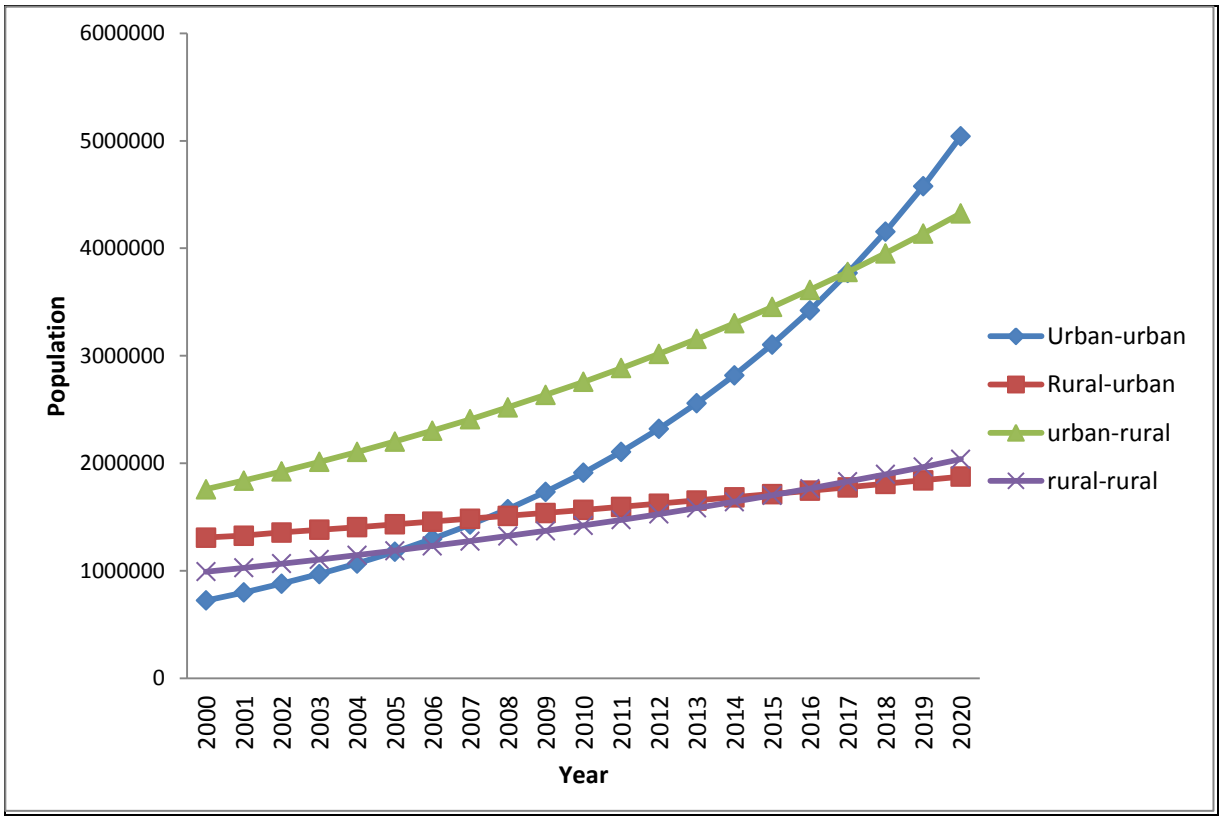
	2000		2010		Annual Growth
Place of destination	Population	Percent	Population	Percent	Rate
Urban Destination					
Urban-urban migrant	724,723	11.1	1,904,336	18.2	9.7
Rural-urban migrant	1,758,721	26.9	2,752,623	26.3	4.5
Urban non-migrant	4045466	62.0	5,827,192	55.6	3.6
Total	6,528,910	100.0	10,484,151	100.0	4.7
Rural Destination					
Urban-rural migrant	5,859,556	71.8	6,942,785	70.4	1.7
Rural-rural migrant	1,308,826	16.0	1,498,750	15.2	1.4
Rural non-migrant	992,226	12.2	1,425,239	14.4	3.6
Total	8,160,608	100.0	9,866,774	100.0	1.9

At the rural front, there was very little difference between the contributions of urban to rural and rural to rural migrants to rural population. Following the structural transformation of the economy in the 1980s the country experienced some movement of population from the urban to rural areas. In this current period of lack of job opportunities in the cities it is possible to experience a kind of return migration from the towns and cities to the rural areas.

On the assumption that the 2000 - 2010 growth rates for the migrant and non-migrant sub-groups would remain unchanged, the populations were projected to 2020 using exponential growth method. The projection indicates that urban-to-urban migrants will make up the largest group in 2020 with 5.2 million people (Figure 3.2). Urban-to-rural migrants will reach about 4.1 million people, more than twice rural-to-rural migrants (2.0 million) and rural-to-urban migrants (1.9 million). The figures show that the urban centres will be the focus of population growth through migration in the next decade.

[4] In Ghana an urban centre is any settlement with a population of 5,000 or above irrespective of the kind of services found in it.

Figure 3.2: Migration flows between urban and rural areas (5 or older), 2000 - 2010 and projections to 2020



3.3 Age and sex selectivity of migration

Earlier studies have revealed that in Ghana it is young adults who migrate leaving behind children and old people (Nabila, 1974). Children often migrate with their parents, but in recent years more and more children are migrating independently, especially from the northern regions to the cities in the south. Figures 3.3a, 3.3b and 3.3c present population pyramids of migrant and non-migrant populations based on the 2010 census data. The non-migrant population shows a pyramid with a broad base and a top that tapers off sharply, representing a typical young population. This shape is characteristic of a population with a high fertility and a reasonably high mortality. Both the intra-regional and inter-regional pyramids show bulging middle and narrower bases characteristic of old populations. Between the two, the former present a slightly broader base and a more extended mid-section than the latter. While the population is concentrated in the 10 – 29 years age group among the intra-regional migrants (Figure 3.3b), it is found between 20 – 29 age group among the inter-regional migrants (Figure 3.3c). That indicates that the inter-regional migrants are a little older than the intra-regional migrants. This may be explained by the fact that the shorter distance intra-regional moves are mainly family-related and may include a large number of children. The data show that the median age of inter-regional migrants in 2010 was 28 years, compared to 26 years for intra-regional migrants and only 16 years for non-migrants (Table 3.3). While male inter-regional migrants are relatively older than their female counterparts (29 years versus 27 years), the reverse is true in the case of intra-regional migrants (27 years versus 25 years).

Figure 3.3a: Population pyramid for non-migrants, 2010

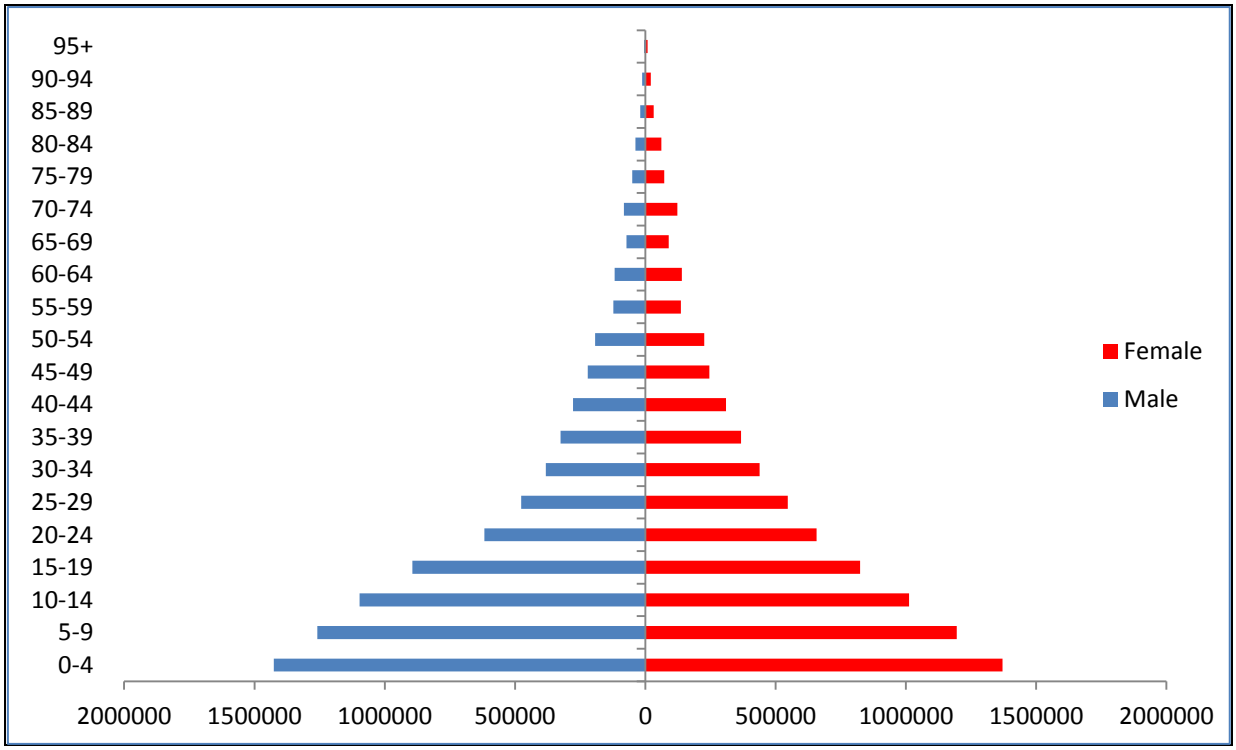


Figure 3.3b: Population pyramid for intra-regional migrants

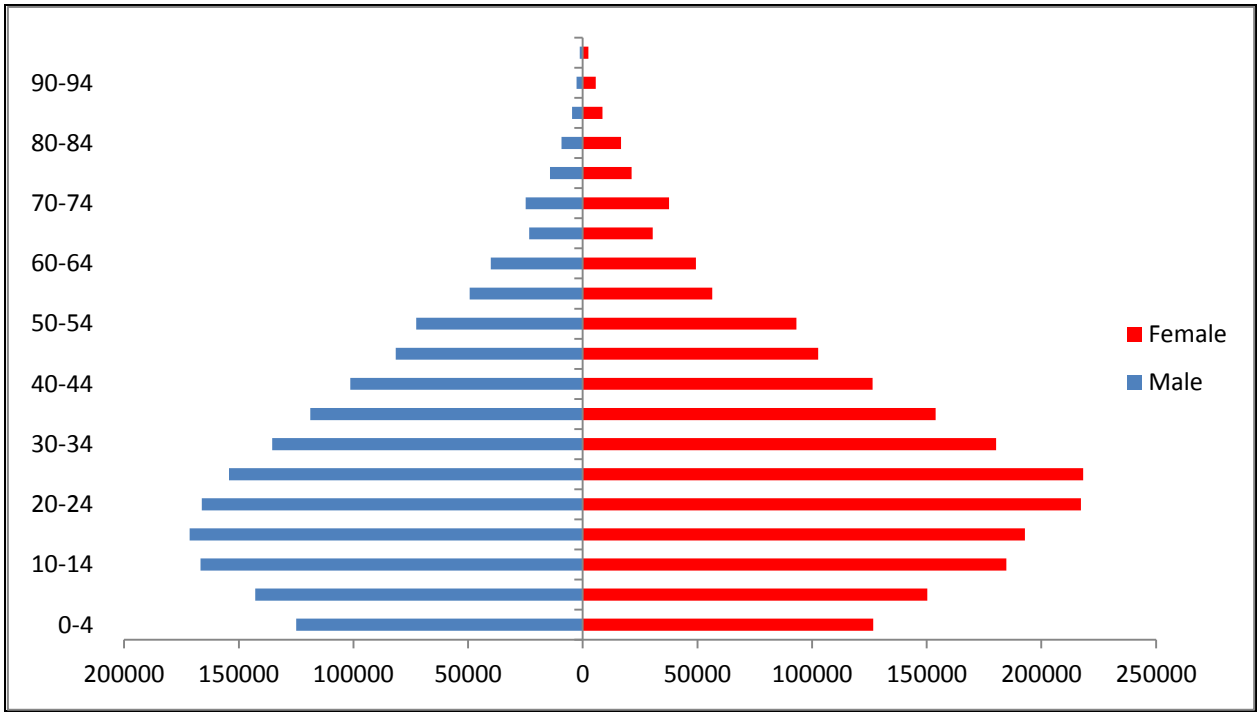
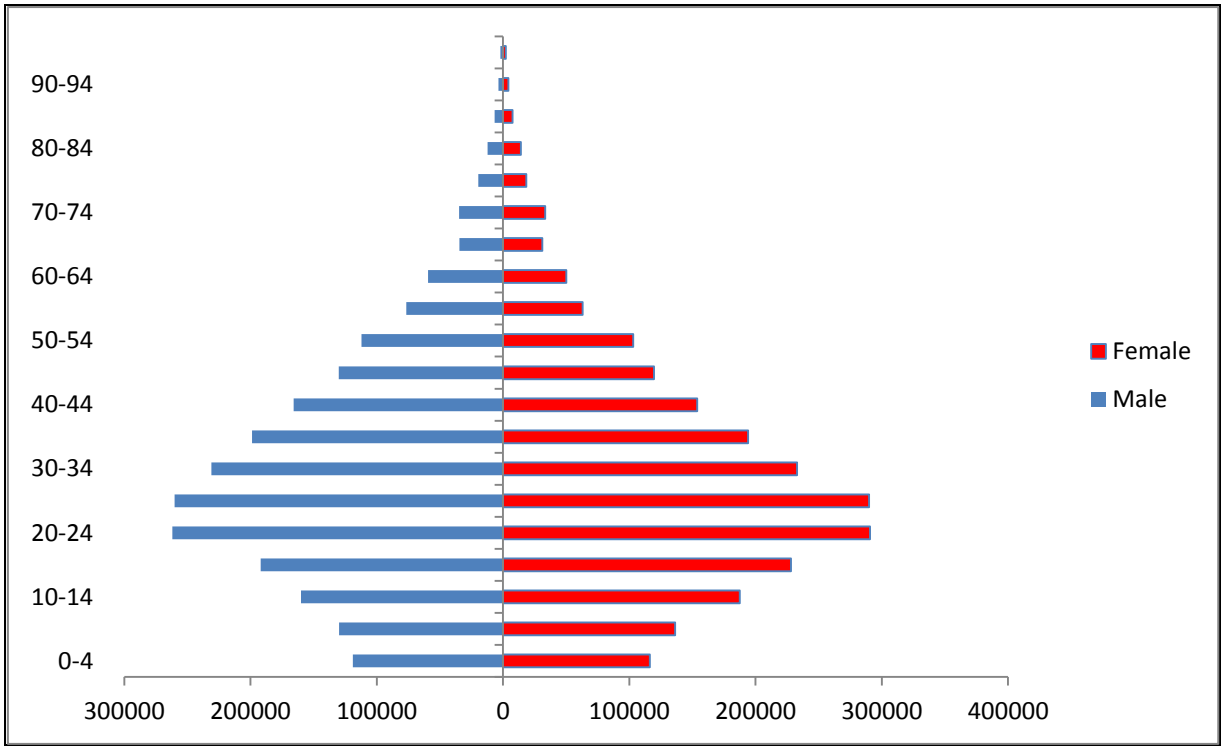


Figure 3.3c: Population pyramid for inter-regional migrants



The population pyramids of both migration groups reveal that females contribute more than males to the migrant population in the high migration age groups (15 to 29 years among intra-regional migrants and 20 to 29 years among inter-regional migrants). These results suggest the need to pay attention to issues of interest to females, such as reproductive health, when considering the migrant population.

Table 3.3: Median age by gender and type of Migration

Migration Status of Ghanaians	Sex		
	Total	Male	Female
Total	20	19	21
Non-migrant	16	15	17
Intra-regional migrant	26	25	27
Inter-regional migrant	28	29	27

There were also age differentials among migrants on the basis of urban-rural residence. Figures 3.4b and 3.4c show that urban migrants were a little older than their rural counterparts. Figure 3.4b presents an older population pyramid than Figure 3.4c. In the former the peak age groups are 20 - 29 years whiles it starts peaking from age 10 to around 29 years in the latter. In fact the rural migrants (Figure 3.4c) contain far more children under 10 than the urban migrants (Figure 3.4b). The median age of urban migrants is 32.7 years compared with 28.5 years for their rural counterparts. Among the males, however, rural migrants are older than urban migrants (33.8 years versus 27.4 years) and the reverse is true for the females (28.4 years versus 26.8 years) [See Table 3.4]. The male–female age differentials could be job related. The only jobs available in rural areas are agricultural which is shunned by young Ghanaians, particularly those who have had some education. The

rural areas are, therefore, more likely to attract older males than younger males. Regarding females, most of the rural movements are related to marriage. Those who are not affected by marriage are more likely to move to look for jobs and the urban areas are likely to be the destination. Females who do the movement should be educated in order to take advantage of the few white collar jobs in the urban areas, and they are likely to be older having spent more time schooling.

Figure 3.4a: Population pyramid for all migrants

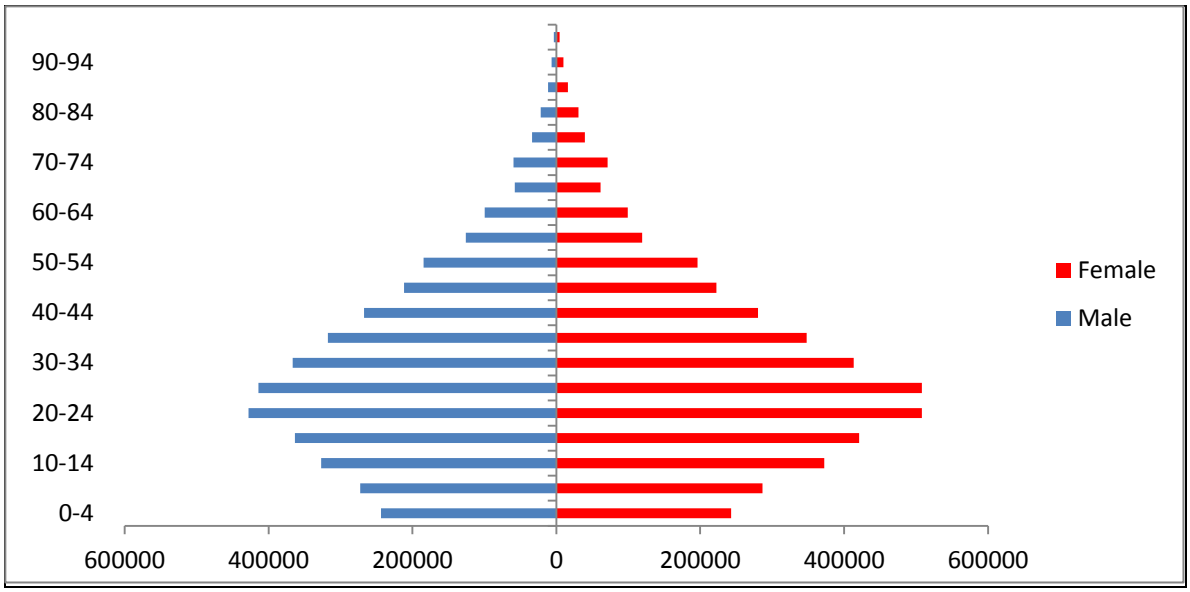


Figure 3.4b: Population pyramid for urban migrants

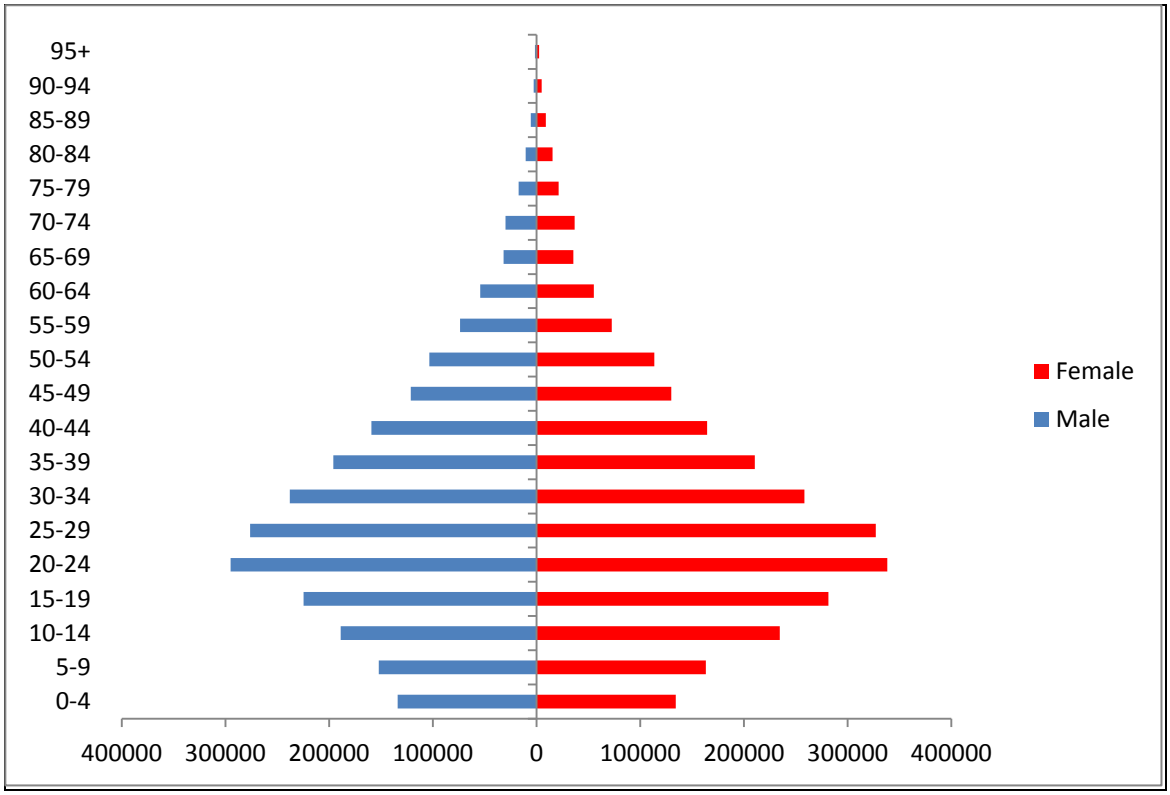


Figure 3.4c: Population pyramid for rural migrants

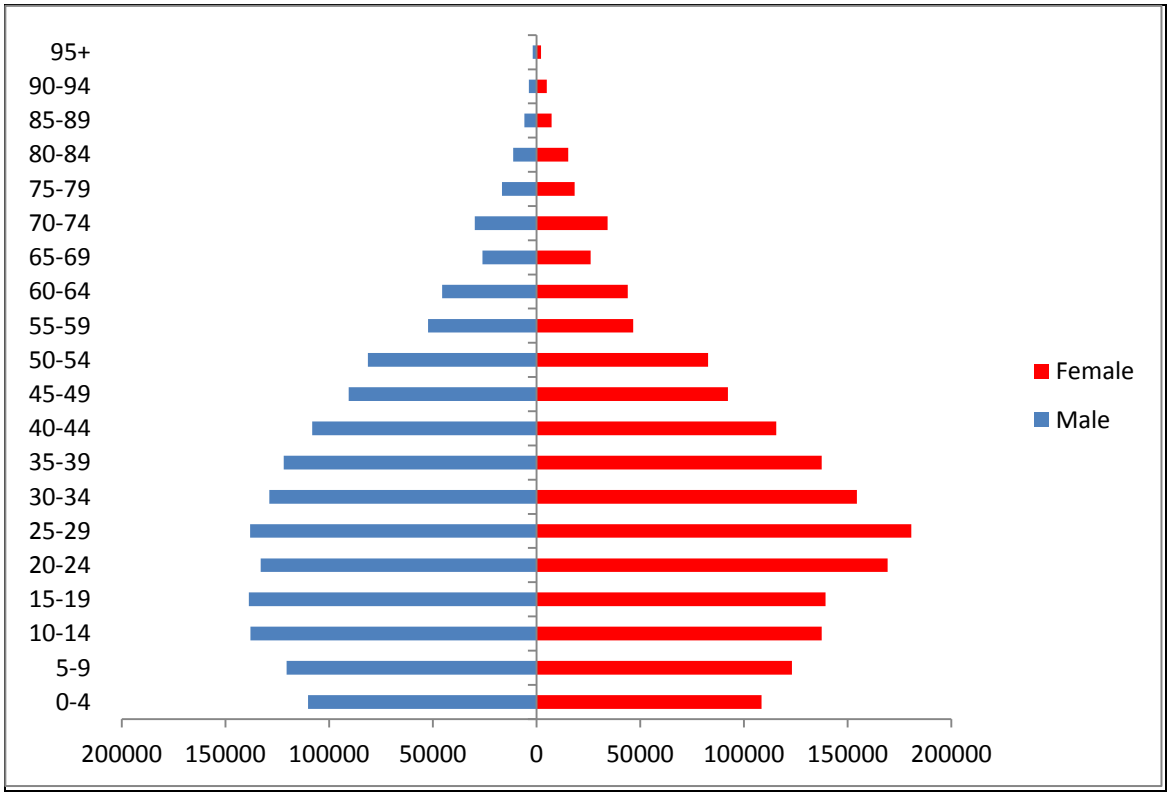


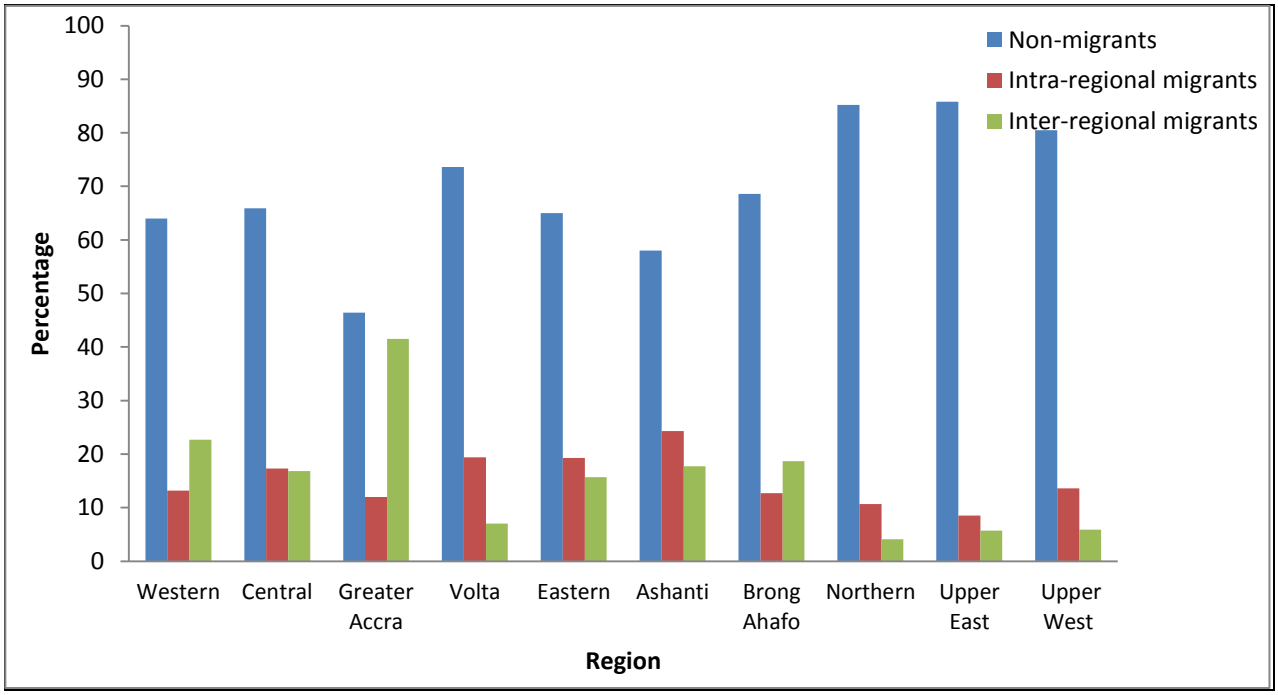
Table 3.4: Median age by gender and place of Residence

	Sex		
Place of residence	Total	Male	Female
Urban	32.7	27.4	26.8
Rural	28.5	33.8	28.4

3.4 Regional variation in migration

There are great variations in regional migration in Ghana. The variation is in terms of both the magnitude and type of migration. Figure 3.5 presents the distribution of migrant populations by region. The figure shows that in all the regions but one, non-migrants are in the majority. This is overwhelming in the three northern regions where the proportions are all above 80.0 percent (84.3% to 88.4%). Volta Region follows with nearly 75.0 percent non-migrant population. It is only the Greater Accra Region where non-migrants are in the minority (47.3%). That underscores its primacy status as the region hosting the national capital and receiving a large influx of in-migrants. Nearly 41.0 percent of the region's population is made up of people who have moved in from other regions and another 11.9 percent have moved within the region. Ashanti Region follows with the second smallest proportion of non-migrants (58.4%). However, it has the largest intra-regional migrant population (23.6%) indicating that it has nearly a quarter of its population being people who moved within the region. For a region that is endowed with many resources, both physical and artificial, this is not unexpected.

Figure 3.5: Migration status by region of residence



The overall pattern is repeated between the sexes with slight variations between males and females (Figure 3.5). There are more male non-migrants than female non-migrants in all the regions except Western and Brong Ahafo. That means apart from the two regions, females are relatively more mobile than their male counterparts in all the regions. With the exception of three regions (Western, Greater Accra and Brong Ahafo), the female movements are more within their home regions than between other regions. The reverse is true for the males with higher proportions being inter-regional migrants in all the regions apart from four (Volta, Eastern, Ashanti and Northern regions). Overall, males tend to dominate in long-distance migration (between regions) and females in short–distance migrations (within regions) in most of the regions in Ghana.

There are also variations in the proportions of migrant population in the various regions. Inter-regional migrant population in the form of in-migrants accounted for nearly 41.0 percent of the population of Greater Accra, 23.9 percent of that of Western Region and 20.0 percent of that of Brong Ahafo Region. Ashanti Region, Central Region and Eastern Region had proportions well above 10 percent (18.0%, 17.3% and 16.0% respectively). All the remaining regions had proportions well below 10 percent with Northern Region having the least of 4.1 percent (Table 3.5). A clear look at Figure 3.6 shows that all the six regions with in-migrant proportions of 17.0 percent or more are in the southern part of the country. Apart from the Volta Region, all the regions with in-migrant proportions of less than 10.0 percent are from the north.

In absolute terms, Greater Accra still leads as the region with the largest number of in-migrants of nearly 1.6 million in 2010, followed by Ashanti Region with 853,751 in-migrants. These are the two most populous regions in the country according to the 2010 population and housing census. Although Ashanti Region had lower in-migrant proportions than Western and Brong Ahafo regions, it has overtaken the latter regions to third and fourth places in terms of absolute numbers. Similarly, Northern Region which has the least in-migrant proportion has a larger number of in-migrants than Upper West and Upper East

regions because of its larger population size (Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6: In-Migrants and out-migrants by region

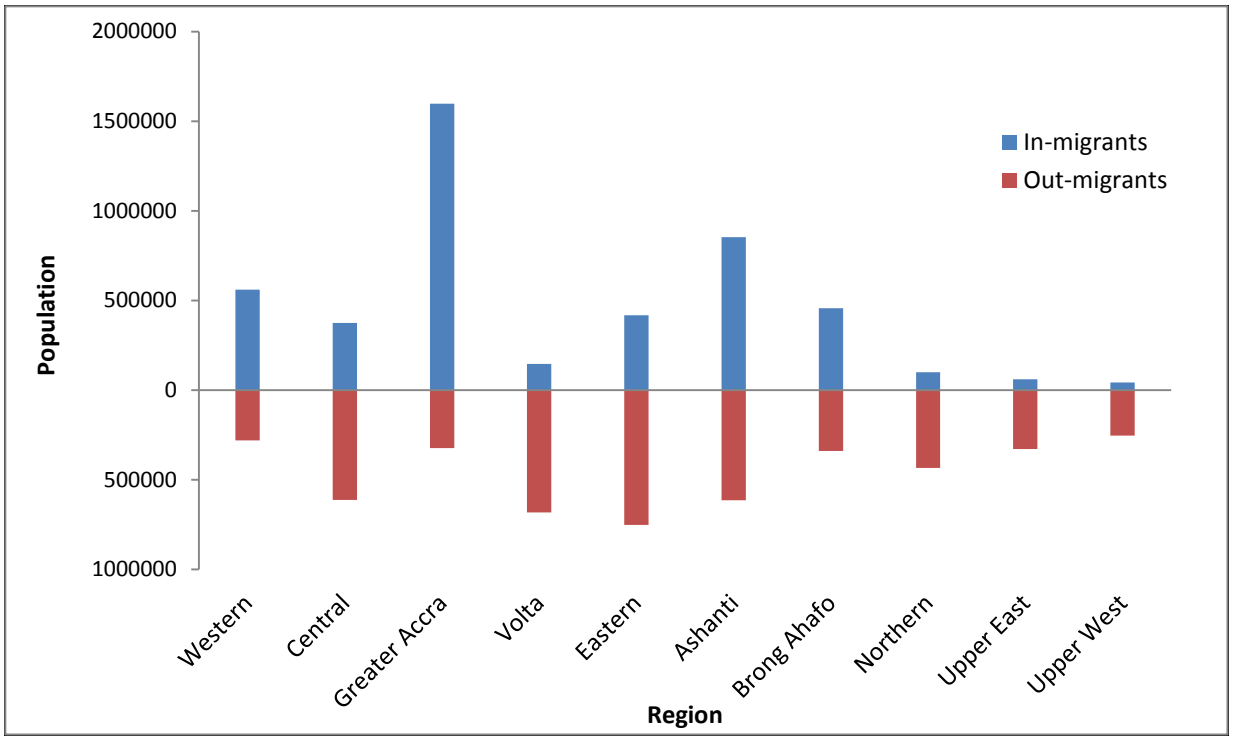


Table 3.6 shows in-migrants, out-migrants and net-migrants to every region in 2010. The table shows that four regions, Greater Accra, Western, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo, were regions that gained people through migration while the other regions lost people through migration. Greater Accra's gain was nearly twice all the gains of the other three put together. On the other hand, Volta Region posted the largest loss of people through migration, followed by Northern and Eastern regions. There is not much variation in the number of losses in the remaining regions.

Migration essentially leads to the redistribution of population in a country. One way of determining how effective migration is able to do this is by using the migration effectiveness ratio (MER), which relates net migration (the difference between arrivals and departures in any area) to total or gross migration (the sum of arrivals and departures in any area), expressed as a percentage. The standard value is 100, which would indicate that the number of arrivals during a defined period was countered by no departures. In other words, migration is in one direction. A positive 100 would mean the area experienced only movements into it while a MER of negative 100 indicates that the area experienced only departures from it during the period. The general rule is that MERs less than 15 are considered to indicate relatively ineffective population redistribution due to migration, and values greater than 15 indicate that migration has a significantly increasing effect in terms of redistributing population in any area. Thus, the higher the ratio (positive or negative), the greater the net gain or net loss in the particular region (Hugo and Harris, 2011).

The migration effectiveness ratios for each region of the country could be found in Table 3.6. The table shows that with the exception of the Brong Ahafo Region, all the regions in the country are contributing significantly to population redistribution in the country but some are more significant than others. Four regions show positive MERs: Greater Accra has the

highest positive MER of 66.4, indicating a net gain of 66.4 percent from all internal migrants during 2000-2010. The Western Region comes second with a rate of 33.5, about half that of Greater Accra followed by Ashanti Region with a rate of 16.4 and Brong Ahafo with 14.8.

Table 3.6: Migration effectiveness ratio for each region

Region	Out Migrants	In-Migrants	Net Migrants	Gross Migrants	Migration Effectiveness Ratio
Western	279,394	561,513	282,119	840,907	33.5
Central	612,458	374,443	-238,015	986,901	-24.1
Greater Accra	322,874	1,598,326	1,275,452	1,921,200	66.4
Volta	681,833	146,162	-535,671	827,995	-64.7
Eastern	750,400	418,314	-332,086	1,168,714	-28.4
Ashanti	613,731	853,751	240,020	1,467,482	16.4
Brong Ahafo	339,687	457,571	117,884	797,258	14.8
Northern	433,121	100,524	-332,597	533,645	-62.3
Upper East	328,990	61,298	-267,692	390,288	-68.6
Upper West	252,841	43,427	-209,414	296,268	-70.7

The rates mean that the four regions contribute to population redistribution in the country by exerting a pull on other regions' populations. On the basis of magnitude, the six regions with negative MERs appear to be making stronger impact on migration redistribution than the four with positive MERs. Unlike the latter out of which only one had a rate of over 60 percent, four of the former have such rates and the remaining two have rates well above 15. The MER of Upper West was negative 70.7 percent, indicating that 70.7 percent of all internal migrants were departures. The rate of Upper East (68.6 %) is not too far behind that of Upper West, which makes them the two regions that are sending people to other regions at the highest rate.

The very high rates of 60 percent and above have serious implications for population redistribution in the country. They indicate that migration in or out of these regions is almost one way traffic. In the case of Greater Accra it means migration is predominantly from other regions to the region whereas it is a reverse phenomenon in the Upper West, Upper East, Northern, and Volta regions. The two situations have serious implications for policy and planning. In the case of Greater Accra, there will continue to be increasing pressure on existing facilities and heightened danger of social unrest due to the large concentration of people with ever declining means of livelihood. In the case of the net loss regions, Upper East, Upper West, Northern and Volta, it will continue to push them into backward economic conditions and will make it difficult for them to retain trained manpower to help develop those regions.

3.5 Migrant labour and living standards

There is a close relationship between migration and labour because people often move in connection with work. The census data enable us to see the difference in employment status between migrants and non-migrants. Table 3.7 reveals that migrants are more likely to be employees than non-migrants. This confirms earlier findings that in Ghana most internal migration movements are job-related (Beals, R.E. et al. 1967), mainly comprising of people who go on transfer. People who are self-employed without employees also migrate, but they are more likely to be short-distance migrants (intra-regional) than long-distance (inter-regional) migrants (62.6% versus 52.9%). There is very little variation among self-employed with employees but migrants of both types tend to have a little edge over non-migrants. That

suggests that migrants will benefit their destination areas in terms of job creation while the sending areas will lose such services. The data further show that some people migrate to undergo apprenticeship but the rate is not too much different from non-migrants'.

There are interesting rural-urban variations in the labour status of migrants. Urban migrants are far more likely to be employees than their rural counterparts (30.6% versus 12.4%, and 34.6% versus 13.0% for intra-regional migrants and inter-regional migrants respectively). The figures show that more migrant employed persons end up in urban areas than rural areas. Not only are self-employed without employees more likely to be non-migrants than migrants, they are also located more in the rural areas than in urban areas. The reverse is true with self-employed with employees, as in all migrant categories, urban migrants are more than twice more likely to be self-employed with employees than their rural counterparts (7.7% versus 3.3% for Intra-regional migrants and 6.8% versus 3.3% for inter-regional migrants). That suggests that migration contributes more towards job creation in the urban areas than in the rural areas. Another revelation from the table is that family work is more a rural concept than urban. In the literature some people move away from home to be free from family entanglement (Pittin, 1984). Family work could be part of them.

Until very recently females were portrayed in the literature as accompanied migrants (Elton, 1974; Thadani and Todaro, 1978). Although the situation has changed in recent times and more females have migrated independently, their economic activities differ from those of their male counterparts.

From Table 3.7 we see that male migrants are more likely to be employees than female migrants (32.1% versus 14.1% and 35.7% versus 16.7% for intra-regional and inter-regional migrants respectively). The converse is that female migrants are self-employed without employees in greater proportions than male migrants (64.0% versus 49.1 for intra-regional migrants and 60.5% versus 45.8% for inter-regional migrants). This confirms the common knowledge that due to their lower skills and educational levels, females tend to enter easy-entry jobs in migration (Anarfi, 1989). This may explain why male migrants are self-employed with employees in greater proportions than their female counterparts (7.1% versus 4.5% and 6.2% versus 4.8% for intra-regional migrants and inter-regional migrants respectively). Another interesting finding is that female migrants who are contributing family workers are a little more than twice as much as their male counterparts (12.2% versus 5.0% for intra-regional migrants and 11.9% versus 4.9% for inter-regional migrants). This appears to be confirming the status of females as accompanied migrants and also the influence of chain migration.

Table 3.7: Proportion of workers 15-64 years by employment status, sex and migrant status

	Total			Urban			Rural		
Employment / Migration Status	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employee	18.6	25.9	11.7	28.5	39.4	18.4	8.4	12.3	4.7
Self-employed without employee(s)	58.9	53.2	64.4	53.3	41.9	63.8	64.7	64.6	64.9
Self-employed with employee(s)	4.8	5.5	4.1	6.7	7.8	5.8	2.8	3.3	2.4
Casual worker	2.0	2.8	1.3	2.1	2.9	1.4	1.9	2.7	1.1
Contributing family worker	12.0	9.2	14.7	4.3	3.2	5.4	19.9	15.2	24.4
Apprentice	2.8	2.7	3.0	4.2	4.1	4.3	1.4	1.2	1.7
Domestic employee (House help)	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7
Other	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Non-migrants									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employee	13.3	18.6	8.3	23.2	32.6	14.8	5.6	8.3	3.1
Self-employed without employee(s)	62.6	58.5	66.4	57.9	48.0	66.7	66.3	66.3	66.2
Self-employed with employee(s)	4.2	4.7	3.7	6.3	7.2	5.4	2.5	2.8	2.3
Casual worker	1.6	2.2	1.0	1.9	2.7	1.1	1.4	1.8	0.9
Contributing family worker	15.0	12.9	16.9	6.0	4.8	7.0	21.9	18.8	25.0
Apprentice	2.6	2.4	2.8	4.1	4.0	4.2	1.4	1.2	1.7
Domestic employee (House help)	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.7
Other	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Intra-regional migrants									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employee	22.1	32.1	14.1	30.6	42.1	20.7	12.4	19.6	7.0
Self-employed without employee(s)	57.4	49.1	64.0	51.3	38.7	62.2	64.3	62.3	65.9
Self-employed with employee(s)	5.7	7.1	4.5	7.7	9.3	6.3	3.3	4.2	2.6
Casual worker	1.9	2.8	1.2	1.9	2.6	1.2	2.0	2.9	1.2
Contributing family worker	9.0	5.0	12.2	3.2	2.1	4.2	15.7	8.7	20.9
Apprentice	3.3	3.2	3.3	4.7	4.6	4.8	1.6	1.5	1.7
Domestic employee (House help)	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6
Other	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Inter-regional migrants									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employee	26.5	35.7	16.7	34.6	46.9	22.0	13.0	18.1	7.1
Self-employed without employee(s)	52.9	45.8	60.5	48.2	35.7	60.9	60.8	61.7	59.8
Self-employed with employee(s)	5.5	6.2	4.8	6.8	7.6	5.9	3.3	3.8	2.7
Casual worker	2.9	3.9	1.9	2.7	3.4	1.9	3.3	4.6	1.8
Contributing family worker	8.3	4.9	11.9	2.8	1.6	3.9	17.5	9.9	26.2
Apprentice	3.0	2.8	3.2	4.0	3.9	4.1	1.2	1.0	1.5
Domestic employee (House help)	0.8	0.6	0.9	0.8	0.6	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.7
Other	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2

The proportional distribution of migrants according to employment sector seems to support some of the findings made above (Table 3.8). Migrants are more likely than non-migrants to be in public/government and formal employment, thus supporting the idea that most people move on job transfers or to take up new jobs. The proportion of non-migrants who are in

private informal sector is significantly more than those for migrants (89.7% for the former and 82.1% and 80.1% for intra-regional and inter-regional migrants respectively). The pattern is repeated in both urban and rural areas with slight variations in magnitude. Migrant proportions in public/government and private formal sectors in urban areas far exceed those in rural areas. The situation stems from the fact that most public/government institutions are located in urban areas thereby attracting more people to them than in the rural areas. The private informal sector is an open field which is likely to be dominated by people who are self-employed. In this sector rural migrant proportions are much higher than urban migrants'. In all the sectors and among all migrant groups male proportions are significantly more than female proportions. It is only in the private informal sector that female proportions are much higher than male proportions.

Table 3.8: Proportion of workers 15-64 years by employment sector, sex and migrant status

	Total			Urban			Rural		
Employment sector	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Public (Government)	6.6	8.6	4.7	9.8	12.6	7.2	3.3	4.5	2.1
Private Formal	7.1	10.0	4.3	11.4	16.3	6.9	2.6	3.8	1.5
Private Informal	85.7	80.4	90.6	77.9	69.7	85.4	93.7	91.2	96.1
Semi-Public/Parastatal	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
NGOs (Local and International)	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.7	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3
Other International Organisations	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-migrants									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Public (Government)	4.6	6.1	3.3	7.8	10.1	5.8	2.2	3.1	1.3
Private Formal	5.1	7.0	3.3	9.3	13.2	5.9	1.8	2.5	1.2
Private Informal	89.7	86.2	93.0	82.1	75.7	87.9	95.6	94.0	97.2
Semi-Public/Parastatal	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
NGOs (Local and International)	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Other International Organisations	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Intra-regional migrants									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Public (Government)	9.2	12.2	6.8	12.0	15.0	9.5	5.9	8.6	3.9
Private Formal	7.9	11.8	4.8	11.7	16.6	7.4	3.6	5.7	2.0
Private Informal	82.1	74.8	87.9	75.2	66.7	82.5	90.0	84.9	93.8
Semi-Public/Parastatal	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
NGOs (Local and International)	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.8	1.2	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.3
Other International Organisations	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Inter-regional migrants									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Public (Government)	8.7	11.1	6.1	11.3	14.7	7.9	4.3	5.5	2.9
Private Formal	10.3	14.5	5.8	14.0	20.0	7.9	4.1	5.9	2.1
Private Informal	80.1	73.0	87.6	73.5	63.5	83.6	91.1	88.0	94.7
Semi-Public/Parastatal	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
NGOs (Local and International)	0.7	0.9	0.4	0.8	1.2	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.3
Other International Organisations	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

The type of occupation migrants are engaged in has policy implications and have to be of interest. If skilled professionals move, they create serious vacancies at the sending areas and a kind of windfall in the receiving area. From Table 3.9 we find that migrants are more likely to be managers and professionals than non-migrants (3.0% and 3.2% intra-regional and inter-regional migrants respectively, are managers as against 1.9% of non-migrants, and 8.3% and 6.7% as against 3.9% respectively). That confirms the observation in the literature that it is the skilled and better educated who migrate. On the other hand, skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers are dominated by non-migrants (49.1% compared to 32.5% for intra-regional migrants and 28.7% for inter-regional migrants). Furthermore, more intra-regional migrants are engaged in it than inter-regional migrants. In the country's history, there was a time (late colonial and early independent period) when many people moved in search of land to cultivate cocoa. This movement saw Akwapems and Krobos from the Eastern Region moving with the cocoa frontier through Ashanti Region, then to Brong Ahafo and finally to the Western Region. It appears that era has ended and now people are moving over short distances within their regions for purposes of agriculture.

There are some occupational differences among migrants depending on their residential location. It appears urban migrants are more likely to be managers and professionals than their rural counterparts. A similar observation could be made about technicians and associate professionals, clerical support workers and services and sales workers. This is not altogether unexpected because jobs related to these occupations are found more in urban than rural areas. On the other hand, there is an overwhelming presence of migrants in skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers occupation in rural areas. Whereas 59.7 percent and 66.1 percent of intra-regional and inter-regional migrants respectively are found in rural areas, only 8.9 percent and 6.3 percent respectively are found in the urban areas. It could be inferred then, that the intra-regional movements linked to agricultural activities end up more in rural than urban areas.

This appears to negate the classical development hypothesis which suggests that as a country develops economically, there is a movement of excess labour from agriculture (which is rural in location) into industry (which are often urban located) [Lewis, W. A., 1954]. Among all categories of migrants the proportions of craft and related trade workers in urban areas are about twice those in the rural areas. This should be expected because the market for crafts is in the urban areas and some of the clients are tourists who seldom go to the rural areas.

Table 3.9: Proportion of workers 15-64 years by occupation, sex and migrant status

Occupation/ migration status	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Managers	2.5	2.5	2.4	3.8	4.1	3.6	1.0	0.8	1.2
Professionals	5.5	6.9	4.2	8.2	10.2	6.4	2.8	3.6	2.0
Technicians and associate professionals	1.9	2.9	0.9	3.0	4.7	1.4	0.7	1.1	0.4
Clerical support workers	1.5	1.6	1.4	2.6	2.7	2.4	0.4	0.5	0.3
Service and sales workers	21.4	10.1	32.0	32.4	16.6	47.0	10.1	3.7	16.3
Skilled agricultural forestry and fishery workers	40.3	43.9	36.9	13.1	15.4	10.9	68.3	72.6	64.3
Craft and related trades workers	15.6	17.5	13.8	20.8	25.8	16.2	10.3	9.2	11.3
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5.1	9.9	0.6	6.8	13.6	0.5	3.4	6.2	0.7
Elementary occupations	6.0	4.3	7.6	9.0	6.3	11.5	2.9	2.3	3.5
Other occupations	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
Non-migrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Managers	1.9	1.7	2.0	3.2	3.3	3.1	0.9	0.6	1.1
Professionals	3.9	5.0	3.0	6.7	8.5	5.1	1.8	2.4	1.2
Technicians and associate professionals	1.4	2.2	0.7	2.6	4.1	1.2	0.5	0.7	0.2
Clerical support workers	1.1	1.3	1.0	2.3	2.4	2.1	0.3	0.4	0.2
Service and sales workers	18.6	7.9	28.5	30.4	14.3	44.6	9.4	3.2	15.6
Skilled agricultural forestry and fishery workers	49.1	54.4	44.2	19.8	23.9	16.3	71.7	76.8	66.7
Craft and related trades workers	14.7	15.6	13.9	20.9	25.1	17.2	10.0	8.7	11.2
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	4.3	8.4	0.5	6.2	12.7	0.5	2.9	5.2	0.6
Elementary occupations	4.9	3.4	6.2	7.8	5.4	9.9	2.6	1.9	3.2
Other occupations	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Intra-migrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Managers	3.0	3.3	2.7	4.3	5.0	3.8	1.4	1.3	1.5
Professionals	8.3	11.0	6.2	10.9	13.7	8.6	5.3	7.7	3.6
Technicians and associate professionals	2.2	3.5	1.1	3.2	5.0	1.7	1.1	1.7	0.6
Clerical support workers	1.9	2.1	1.7	3.0	3.1	2.9	0.6	0.9	0.5
Service and sales workers	24.0	11.3	34.2	33.8	16.5	48.7	12.6	4.7	18.4
Skilled agricultural forestry and fishery workers	32.5	32.5	32.5	8.9	10.2	7.8	59.7	60.5	59.2
Craft and related trades workers	16.4	20.3	13.3	20.7	27.0	15.2	11.5	11.8	11.4

Table 3.9: Proportion of workers 15-64 years by occupation, sex and migrant status (cont'd)

Occupation/migration status	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5.6	11.8	0.6	6.9	14.3	0.5	4.2	8.7	0.8
Elementary occupations	5.9	3.9	7.6	8.1	4.9	10.8	3.4	2.6	4.1
Other occupations	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
Inter-migrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Managers	3.2	3.4	3.1	4.4	4.8	4.1	1.2	1.1	1.4
Professionals	6.7	8.0	5.4	8.7	10.5	6.9	3.5	4.1	2.7
Technicians and associate professionals	2.5	3.8	1.2	3.4	5.2	1.6	1.1	1.6	0.6
Clerical support workers	1.9	2.0	1.8	2.7	2.9	2.5	0.5	0.6	0.4
Service and sales workers	25.1	13.4	37.6	34.2	19.2	49.4	9.9	4.1	16.5
Skilled agricultural forestry and fishery workers	28.7	31.7	25.5	6.3	7.6	5.1	66.1	69.6	62.0
Craft and related trades workers	16.8	19.3	14.1	20.8	26.1	15.4	10.0	8.5	11.7
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	6.4	11.8	0.6	7.6	14.6	0.5	4.3	7.3	0.9
Elementary occupations	8.2	6.0	10.6	11.2	8.0	14.3	3.3	2.9	3.8
Other occupations	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.6	1.0	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0

There are occupational differences between males and females and this is reflected in their distributions among the various categories of migrants. Among intra-regional and inter-regional migrants there is very little variation in the proportion of males and females who are managers. However, there is a significant difference between male and female migrants who are professionals, those who are technicians and associate professionals and even clerical support workers with a clear male dominance in these areas. The latter is revealing because in the past clerical work, which often involved typing, was almost the preserve of females. Perhaps the tide is changing as clerical support services are now more computer related and males have made more headway in the area than females. On the other hand, the proportion of female migrants who are services and sales workers is about three times those of male migrants. This is in line with the general observation where females dominate in services and trading.

3.6 Migration and education

To a large extent migration is selective of education among other things. Sometimes too migration could push some people into vulnerable situations which could affect their access to education. The 2010 PHC data enable us to identify some differences between migrants and non-migrants in educational attainment. Table 3.10 shows that migrants are a little more literate than non-migrants, and among migrants, short distance migrants (inter-regional) are slightly more literate than their long-distance (intra-regional) counterparts (79.4% versus

76.0%). Among migrants of all categories, urban migrants are more literate than their rural counterparts. Similarly, males of all categories of migrants are more literate than their female counterparts.

Table 3.10: Proportion of the population aged 11 years and older by literacy, migration status and place of residence

	Total			Urban			Rural		
Literacy status	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None (Not literate)	25.6	19.5	31.3	15.7	10.1	20.6	37.0	29.7	43.8
Literate	74.4	80.5	68.7	84.3	89.9	79.4	63.0	70.3	56.2
Non-Immigrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None (Not literate)	27.7	21.5	33.4	17.8	11.8	23.1	36.5	29.8	43.1
Literate	72.3	78.5	66.6	82.2	88.2	76.9	63.5	70.2	56.9
Intra-regional Migrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None (Not literate)	20.6	12.0	27.4	11.1	5.7	15.5	33.4	20.9	42.7
Literate	79.4	88.0	72.6	88.9	94.3	84.5	66.6	79.1	57.3
Inter-regional migrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None (Not literate)	24.0	19.0	28.7	14.7	9.5	19.5	41.3	35.5	47.5
Literate	76.0	81.0	71.3	85.3	90.5	80.5	58.7	64.5	52.5

It is important to know what people are literate in because eventually it is that which determines how useful individuals are. Table 3.11 shows that people the largest proportions of people of all categories of migrants are literate in English and Ghanaian languages together (44.5%, 52.4% and 46.4% for non-migrants, intra-regional migrants and inter-regional migrants respectively). In addition, a reasonable proportion of people are literate in English language (20.0%, 17.4% and 22.0% respectively). That makes English language the commonest means of interaction among migrants in the country, which underscores its place as the national language.

Among all categories of migrants more people are literate in English and Ghanaian languages in the urban areas than in the rural areas. Similarly, more people are literate in English only in the urban areas than in the rural areas. It is only in Ghanaian language only that rural proportions are higher than urban proportions in all categories of migrants. In the absence of any Ghanaian language as the lingua franca, it appears people need English language to be able to pass around anywhere away from home. With Ghanaian language, however, the proportions of migrants who speak it are more in the rural areas than in the urban areas.

The male-female differentials among migrants continue with literacy too. Males are more literate in English and Ghanaian language together than females in all categories of migrants. However, there is virtually no difference between the sexes in English language only but females are a little better than males in Ghanaian language only in all categories of migrants. The pattern is repeated in the urban and rural settings. However, the difference in the rural areas is more pronounced than in the urban areas. For example, whiles the male-female proportions of intra-regional migrants who are literate in English and Ghanaian languages are

66.6 percent and 53.7 percent respectively in the urban areas, the proportions are 54.8 percent and 34.1 percent in the rural areas (Table 3.11).

Table 3.11: Proportion of the population aged 11 and older by literacy, place of residence and by sex

	Total			Urban			Rural		
Literacy status	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None (Not literate)	25.6	19.5	31.3	15.7	10.1	20.6	37.0	29.7	43.8
English only	20.0	20.8	19.2	23.9	24.7	23.2	15.6	16.6	14.6
Ghanaian language only	7.1	6.0	8.0	6.0	4.6	7.2	8.3	7.6	8.9
English and Ghanaian language	46.2	52.4	40.5	52.9	58.8	47.6	38.7	45.4	32.2
English and French	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
English French and Ghanaian Language	0.8	0.9	0.7	1.2	1.4	1.1	0.3	0.4	0.3
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non migrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None (Not literate)	27.7	21.5	33.4	17.8	11.8	23.1	36.5	29.8	43.1
English only	20.0	21.2	18.9	24.0	25.4	22.7	16.4	17.6	15.3
Ghanaian language only	7.1	6.2	7.9	5.7	4.5	6.7	8.4	7.7	9.1
English and Ghanaian language	44.5	50.2	39.2	51.4	57.0	46.5	38.4	44.5	32.4
English and French	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
English French and Ghanaian Language	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.2	0.3	0.2
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Intra-regional migrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None (Not literate)	20.6	12.0	27.4	11.1	5.7	15.5	33.0	20.9	42.7
English only	17.4	17.9	17.0	20.3	20.3	20.2	14.0	14.6	12.9
Ghanaian language only	8.2	6.8	9.4	7.4	5.3	9.1	9.0	8.9	9.8
English and Ghanaian language	52.4	61.7	45.1	59.5	66.6	53.7	43.0	54.8	34.1
English and French	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.1
English French and Ghanaian Language	1.1	1.3	0.9	1.5	1.7	1.3	1.0	0.7	0.4
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Inter-regional migrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None (Not literate)	23.9	19.0	28.7	14.7	9.5	19.5	41.3	35.5	47.5
English only	22.0	21.9	22.0	25.9	26.0	25.9	14.5	14.9	14.1
Ghanaian language only	6.2	5.1	7.2	5.8	4.3	7.1	6.9	6.4	7.4
English and Ghanaian language	46.4	52.2	40.7	51.6	57.9	45.8	36.6	42.4	30.2
English and French	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2
English French and Ghanaian Language	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.5	1.7	1.3	0.6	0.6	0.6
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

There is a close relationship between a person's level of education and their skills or occupation. The impact of migration on sending and receiving areas, therefore, will depend on the caliber of people involved in the migration in terms of the level of education attained. Table 3.12 presents the distribution of workers 15 – 64 years by their educational attainment and migrant status. The table shows that while about 73.0 percent and 77.1 percent of inter-regional and intra-regional migrants respectively have at least basic education, only 64.8

percent of non-migrants have same. At the basic education level there is very little variation between migrants and non-migrants. There is however, a significant difference between the two categories from the secondary level and above. The difference is more striking at the tertiary level where close to 8.0 percent of both intra-regional and inter-regional migrants have tertiary educations and just 3.4 percent of non-migrants have similar qualification. It appears people do not only move to acquire higher education, but they are also pushed out by it to go and look for jobs that are commensurate with their status.

Table 3.12: Proportion of workers 15-64 years by educational attainment, sex and migrant status

Educational attainment/migrant status	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Never attended	30.7	24.3	36.8	17.7	12.2	22.8	44.2	36.6	51.5
Basic education	49.3	50.7	48.2	52.5	51.3	53.6	46.2	50.1	42.5
Secondary	14.4	17.5	11.5	20.9	24.4	17.6	7.8	10.7	5.1
Tertiary	5.4	7.5	3.5	8.9	12.1	5.9	1.8	2.7	1.0
Non-migrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Never attended	35.2	29.0	41.0	21.7	15.8	27.0	45.6	38.7	52.4
Basic education	48.9	50.8	47.0	52.0	51.9	52.4	46.3	50.1	42.8
Secondary	12.6	15.4	9.8	19.7	23.5	16.4	7.0	9.8	4.5
Tertiary	3.4	4.6	2.1	6.5	9.0	4.4	0.9	1.5	0.4
Intra-regional migrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Never attended	22.9	13.6	30.3	11.3	6.2	15.6	36.3	22.9	46.3
Basic education	52.9	54.6	51.6	54.8	52.2	57.2	50.6	57.3	45.6
Secondary	16.5	20.6	13.2	22.6	25.9	19.6	9.5	13.9	6.1
Tertiary	7.7	11.3	4.9	11.3	15.6	7.6	3.6	5.8	2.0
Inter-regional migrant									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Never attended	27.1	21.7	32.8	15.8	10.4	21.2	46.1	39.5	53.7
Basic education	48.3	48.5	48.2	51.9	50.3	53.4	42.5	45.6	38.8
Secondary	16.7	19.5	13.8	21.4	24.8	18.4	8.5	11.0	5.7
Tertiary	7.9	10.5	5.2	10.9	14.5	7.2	3.0	3.9	1.8

Table 3.12 further shows that urban migrants are better educated than rural migrants. Between 84.0 percent and 89.0 percent of urban migrants have at least basic education, compared to between 53.0 percent and 64.0 percent of their rural counterparts? Also, among the urban migrants there is virtually no difference in the proportions of intra-regional and inter-regional migrants with basic education (54.8% and 51.9% respectively). There is however, a significant difference at the rural level (50.6% versus 42.5% respectively). The urban-rural difference is more striking at the secondary and tertiary levels. The proportions of migrants who have secondary education in the urban areas are more than twice their rural counterparts' (22.6% versus 9.5% for intra-regional migrants, and 21.4% versus 8.5% for inter-regional migrants respectively). The urban-rural differences are more than three times at the tertiary level (11.3% versus 3.6% for intra-regional migrants and 10.9% versus 3.0% for inter-regional migrants). The concentration of migrants with tertiary education in the urban areas agrees with the observation made earlier that higher education tends to push many people to go and look for jobs that suit their status elsewhere. In Ghana most of the jobs that require highly trained labour are located in the urban areas hence the higher proportion of migrants there.

Males are better educated than females among all categories of migrants. For example, among the general population, while 86.4 percent of intra-regional male migrants have basic education and above, only 69.7 percent of their female counterparts have similar qualification. The corresponding figures among the inter-regional migrants are 78.3 percent and 67.2 percent respectively. Like the general population, there is very little variation between males and females at the basic level among all categories of migrants. There are, however, striking differences at the secondary and tertiary levels, especially at the latter level. Both male and female proportions of migrants with secondary and tertiary education are higher in the urban than rural areas.

3.7 Migration and housing

It has been suggested that migration is one of the main sources of marginalization (Nukunya, 2003). This marginal situation tends to affect the political, social and economic life of the migrant (Buame, 2007) and this may include housing. While the marginalization could be the result of the inability of the migrant to compete with members of the dominant group among whom they live (Grant and Breese, 1997), it may also stem from the fact that many African migrants, including Ghanaian migrants, see their situation as tenuous or transitory. The migrant is sometimes described as a target worker who, as it were, wants to hit a jackpot and go back home. This explains the circulatory nature of most migratory movements in Africa, including Ghana, which instills some element of non-permanency in the situation of many migrants in the destination. This has an implication for the type of housing migrants are connected with at the destination. The zongo[5] concept in Ghana is a classic example of the transitory nature of migrant life in Ghana particularly in the area of housing. Zongos are residential quarters of mainly migrants in towns characterized by sub-standard houses temporary in nature. From this background we should expect non-migrant housing to be better than migrants'.

Table 3.13 presents housing conditions for population aged 5 years and older by migrant status. The table shows that non-migrants are a little more likely than migrants to live in compound houses (56.4% versus 46.1% and 47.5% for inter-regional and intra-regional respectively). On the other hand migrants are more than twice more likely than non-migrants to live in flats/apartments. Compound houses come with many rooms and they often house family members. Surplus rooms are then rented out to strangers. That may explain the slight dominance of non-migrants in such houses. Flats/apartments, on the other hand, are often owned by institutions, both governmental and non-governmental and are often given out to workers most of whom tend to be migrants. Interestingly, both migrants and non-migrants live in huts and tents in nearly the same proportions whiles migrants are about three times more likely to live in uncompleted buildings. Certainly the situation reflects the case of migrants who, unable to cope with high cost of housing rent, make do with make-shift accommodation in the big towns and cities (Kwankye and Tagoe, 2009). The same situation explains why improvised houses (kiosk/container) are almost the preserve of long distance migrants (3.3% as against 0.5% for non-migrants and 0.7% for intra-regional migrants).

[5] Zongo is a Hausa term which means "strangers' quarter". It was a creation of the British in 1902, mainly for political expedience, when special provisions were made for immigrants by allotting them a section of the Kumasi town known today as Old Zongo (Sabo Zongo in Hausa). This was later replicated in many towns in the country.

Table 3.13: Housing conditions for population aged 5 years and older by migrant status

Housing Conditions	National	Non-Migrants	Intra-regional migrant	Inter-regional migrant	National	Non-Migrants	Intra-regional migrant	Inter-regional migrant
Type of dwelling								
Total	20,028,776	12,571,616	3,224,172	4,060,278	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Separate house	5,608,548	3,411,827	990,765	1,156,829	28.0	27.1	30.7	28.5
Semi-detached house	1,428,390	837,415	250,834	327,200	7.1	6.7	7.8	8.1
Flat/Apartment	897,763	397,658	222,164	268,239	4.5	3.2	6.9	6.6
Compound house (rooms)	10,576,023	7,091,917	1,531,087	1,870,171	52.8	56.4	47.5	46.1
Huts/Buildings (same compound)	786,295	524,309	105,363	147,485	3.9	4.2	3.3	3.6
Huts/Buildings (different compound)	155,305	107,355	20,108	25,747	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.6
Tent	37,785	23,934	5,502	7,823	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Improvised home (kiosk/container etc.)	225,497	65,063	22,959	134,606	1.1	0.5	0.7	3.3
Living quarters attached to office/shop	60,372	24,804	10,851	23,957	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.6
Uncompleted building	222,244	73,283	59,019	87,606	1.1	0.6	1.8	2.2
Other	30,554	14,051	5,520	10,615	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3
Main construction material for outer wall								
Total	20,028,776	12,571,616	3,224,172	4,060,278	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mud brick/earth	7,843,634	5,733,028	961,744	1,097,858	39.2	45.6	29.8	27.0
Wood	546,856	244,726	57,577	238,653	2.7	1.9	1.8	5.9
Metal sheet/ slate/Asbestos	132,455	83,225	17,989	30,137	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.7
Stone	40,833	26,734	5,755	7,925	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Burnt bricks	125,306	84,250	18,929	21,213	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.5
Cement blocks/concrete	10,672,419	5,959,036	2,067,264	2,543,419	53.3	47.4	64.1	62.6
Landcrete	380,990	270,834	52,928	55,011	1.9	2.2	1.6	1.4
Bamboo	25,957	15,470	4,243	5,898	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Palm leaf/ thatch (grass)/ raffia	133,293	86,550	16,498	23,674	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.6
Other	127,033	67,763	21,245	36,490	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.9

Closely related to the type of dwelling is the main construction materials used to build the houses. Non-migrants are far more likely than migrants to live in houses built with mud brick/earth while the opposite is true with houses built with cement blocks/concrete. Inter-regional migrants (long distance) are far more likely to live in houses built with wood (5.9%) than non-migrants (1.9%) and intra-regional migrants (1.8%). Some of the wooden walls may be for the improvised homes dominated by inter-regional migrants observed above. Unlike the materials for the walls, there are no major differences in the housing condition of migrants and non-migrants regarding the floor and roofing.

There are striking differences, however, among the various categories of migrants with respect to tenure arrangements. Non-migrants are far more likely to be owner occupiers than

migrants (66.6% versus 48.7% and 41.5% for intra-regional and inter-regional migrants respectively). It is worth noting that even among the migrants owner occupiers constitute the largest proportions.

Table 3.13: Housing conditions for population aged 5 years and older by migrant status (cont'd)

Housing Conditions	National	Non-Migrants	Intra-regional migrant	Inter-regional migrant	National	Non-Migrants	Intra-regional migrant	Inter-regional migrant
Main construction material for floor of dwelling								
Total	20,028,776	12,571,616	3,224,172	4,060,278	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Earth/mud	3,618,768	2,439,848	471,269	676,938	18.1	19.4	14.6	16.7
Cement/concrete	15,253,294	9,643,836	2,501,057	2,983,692	76.2	76.7	77.6	73.5
Stone	119,834	80,598	16,552	21,899	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5
Burnt brick	23,502	13,667	3,836	5,693	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Wood	119,191	31,447	10,242	75,997	0.6	0.3	0.3	1.9
Vinyl tiles	203,311	73,339	52,943	73,590	1.0	0.6	1.6	1.8
Ceramic/porcelaine/ granite/marble tiles	316,926	135,696	72,655	103,358	1.6	1.1	2.3	2.5
Terrazzo/terrazzo tiles	316,908	118,023	86,688	106,984	1.6	0.9	2.7	2.6
Other	57,042	35,162	8,930	12,127	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Main material used for the roof								
Total	20,028,776	12,571,616	3,224,172	4,060,278	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mud/mud bricks/earth	370,521	298,760	32,743	37,040	1.8	2.4	1.0	0.9
Wood	163,361	107,026	22,109	33,022	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.8
Metal sheet	14,175,258	8,965,411	2,437,361	2,669,950	70.8	71.3	75.6	65.8
Slate/asbestos	2,367,021	1,286,123	329,522	716,778	11.8	10.2	10.2	17.7
Cement/concrete	442,491	224,258	84,695	128,189	2.2	1.8	2.6	3.2
Roofing tile	96,552	40,384	17,485	36,689	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.9
Bamboo	227,076	130,654	32,355	62,383	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.5
Thatch/palm leaf or Raffia	2,062,814	1,440,851	250,316	349,834	10.3	11.5	7.8	8.6
Other	123,682	78,149	17,586	26,393	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.7
Tenure arrangement								
Total	20,028,776	12,571,616	3,224,172	4,060,278	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owner occupied	11,709,045	8,367,608	1,568,944	1,688,533	58.5	66.6	48.7	41.6
Renting	4,734,873	2,058,798	1,046,439	1,576,430	23.6	16.4	32.5	38.8
Rent-free	3,444,882	2,085,655	585,647	739,920	17.2	16.6	18.2	18.2
Perching	63,494	30,660	10,207	21,697	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.5
Squatting	44,103	12,764	7,336	23,386	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.6
Other	32,379	16,131	5,599	10,312	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3

This is explained by the fact that many migrants are lifetime migrants who have built their residential accommodation at their destinations. The opposite situation is that both intra-regional (32.5%) and inter-regional migrants (38.8%) are about twice as likely as non-migrants (16.4%) to live in rented houses. There is virtually no difference in the proportions of both migrants and non-migrants who live in rent-free accommodation. Some of the migrants however, may include people who live in improvised houses or uncompleted buildings.

Table 3.14 presents the urban-rural distribution of migrants by housing conditions. The table shows that more rural migrants live in separate houses than urban migrants. The opposite is

true with compound houses and is even more pronounced with respect to flat/apartments. As explained earlier, flats owned by institutions are more likely to be located in urban centers where most formal enterprises are located. The practice of migrants living in improvised houses and uncompleted buildings are virtually an urban phenomenon. That is a reflection of the emerging face of urbanization in many African countries where informal houses have mushroomed to take care of the influx of people from the rural areas to the urban areas, mainly the cities. This is an area where the data appear to be confirming the marginalisation theory alluded to earlier on.

On the contrary, with regards to the material used for construction, urban migrants appear to be in better quality housing than rural migrants. From Table 3.14, while about 6 out of 10 of migrants (62.7% of inter-regional migrants and 56.6% of intra-regional migrants) live in houses made of mud bricks/earth, less than one in ten of their urban counterparts are in similar houses. Conversely, while over 80 percent of both categories of migrants live in houses built with cement blocks/concrete just between 29 percent and 37 percent of their rural counterparts live in similar houses. However, urban migrants are more likely to live in houses built with wood than rural migrants. As explained earlier, some of these wooden houses may be kiosks or improvised homes which characterize the informal homes found in our big towns and cities, the home of many migrants. The differential pattern observed with the distribution regarding main construction material for floor of dwelling is similar to that with the material for the walls. There is very little variation in the distribution by type of material used for roofing.

Again there are striking differences between urban and rural migrants, and between them and non-migrants regarding tenure arrangement. Among all migrant categories, rural dwellers are more likely to be owner-occupiers than urban dwellers. The difference is more pronounced between inter-regional and intra-regional migrants than between them and non-migrants. Similarly, migrants live in rented accommodation in greater proportions than non-migrants. Between the migrant categories, urban migrants live in rented accommodation in far greater proportions than rural migrants. It is only among inter-regional migrants that there is a significant difference between urban and rural migrants squatting (0.8% for urban and 0.2% for rural). There is very little or no variation in the distribution of migrants and non-migrants by housing conditions and by sex (Table 3.15). This may derive from the fact that perhaps a large proportion of females still migrate as accompanied migrants. In that situation they carry the attributes of the male primary migrants since they live where their male partners live.

Table 3.14: Housing conditions for population aged 5 years and older by migrant status and place of residence

	National			Non-migrants			Intra-regional migrant			Inter-regional migrant		
Housing conditions	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Type of dwelling												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Separate house	28.0	20.5	35.9	27.1	18.8	34.1	30.7	24.9	38.4	28.5	20.9	42.1
Semi-detached house	7.1	8.1	6.1	6.7	7.5	6.0	7.8	8.9	6.3	8.1	8.9	6.6
Flat/apartment	4.5	7.2	1.6	3.2	5.5	1.2	6.9	10.0	2.8	6.6	9.0	2.4
Compound house (rooms)	52.8	58.3	47.0	56.4	64.1	50.0	47.5	50.9	43.0	46.1	51.2	36.9
Huts/Buildings (same compound)	3.9	1.1	6.9	4.2	1.3	6.6	3.3	0.8	6.5	3.6	1.0	8.4
Huts/buildings (different compound)	0.8	0.3	1.3	0.9	0.4	1.3	0.6	0.2	1.2	0.6	0.2	1.4
Tent	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Improvised home (kiosk/container etc.)	1.1	2.0	0.2	0.5	1.0	0.1	0.7	1.1	0.3	3.3	4.8	0.6
Living quarters attached to office/shop	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.8	0.3
Uncompleted building	1.1	1.7	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.3	1.8	2.5	1.0	2.2	2.8	1.0
Other	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2
Main construction material for outer wall												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mud brick/earth	39.2	14.7	64.8	45.6	19.9	67.0	29.8	9.4	56.6	27.0	7.0	62.7
Wood	2.7	3.8	1.6	1.9	2.6	1.4	1.8	2.1	1.4	5.9	7.9	2.3
Metal sheet/ slate/asbestos	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.7	0.9	0.4
Stone	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
Burnt bricks	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6
Cement blocks/concrete	53.3	77.1	28.3	47.4	72.7	26.3	64.1	85.0	36.7	62.6	81.2	29.5
Landcrete	1.9	1.4	2.5	2.2	1.8	2.5	1.6	1.0	2.5	1.4	0.8	2.4
Bamboo	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
Palm leaf/thatch (grass)/raffia	0.7	0.3	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.9	0.5	0.2	0.9	0.6	0.2	1.2
Other	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.9	1.1	0.5

Table 3.14: Housing conditions for population aged 5 years and older by migrant status and place of residence (cont'd)

	National			Non-migrants			Intra-regional migrant			Inter-regional migrant		
Housing conditions	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Main construction material for floor of dwelling												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Earth/mud	18.1	7.6	29.0	19.4	8.7	28.3	14.6	6.3	25.5	16.7	6.3	35.2
Cement/concrete	76.2	83.3	68.6	76.7	85.1	69.7	77.6	82.4	71.3	73.5	80.3	61.3
Stone	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Burnt brick	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Wood	0.6	1.0	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.1	1.9	2.7	0.4
Vinyl tiles	1.0	1.7	0.3	0.6	1.1	0.1	1.6	2.5	0.6	1.8	2.5	0.6
Ceramic/porcelain/granite/marble tiles	1.6	2.4	0.7	1.1	1.6	0.6	2.3	3.2	1.0	2.5	3.4	1.0
Terrazzo/terrazzo tiles	1.6	2.8	0.3	0.9	1.9	0.1	2.7	4.3	0.6	2.6	3.8	0.6
Other	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Type of dwelling												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Separate house	28.0	20.5	35.9	27.1	18.8	34.1	30.7	24.9	38.4	28.5	20.9	42.1
Semi-detached house	7.1	8.1	6.1	6.7	7.5	6.0	7.8	8.9	6.3	8.1	8.9	6.6
Flat/apartment	4.5	7.2	1.6	3.2	5.5	1.2	6.9	10.0	2.8	6.6	9.0	2.4
Compound house (rooms)	52.8	58.3	47.0	56.4	64.1	50.0	47.5	50.9	43.0	46.1	51.2	36.9
Huts/Buildings (same compound)	3.9	1.1	6.9	4.2	1.3	6.6	3.3	0.8	6.5	3.6	1.0	8.4
Huts/buildings (different compound)	0.8	0.3	1.3	0.9	0.4	1.3	0.6	0.2	1.2	0.6	0.2	1.4
Tent	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Improvised home (kiosk/container etc.)	1.1	2.0	0.2	0.5	1.0	0.1	0.7	1.1	0.3	3.3	4.8	0.6
Living quarters attached to office/shop	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.8	0.3
Uncompleted building	1.1	1.7	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.3	1.8	2.5	1.0	2.2	2.8	1.0
Other	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2

Table 3.14: Housing conditions for population aged 5 years and older by migrant status and place of residence (cont'd)

	National			Non-migrants			Intra-regional migrant			Inter-regional migrant		
Housing conditions	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Main construction material for outer wall												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mud brick/earth	39.2	14.7	64.8	45.6	19.9	67.0	29.8	9.4	56.6	27.0	7.0	62.7
Wood	2.7	3.8	1.6	1.9	2.6	1.4	1.8	2.1	1.4	5.9	7.9	2.3
Metal sheet/slate/asbestos	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.7	0.9	0.4
Stone	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
Burnt bricks	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6
Cement blocks/concrete	53.3	77.1	28.3	47.4	72.7	26.3	64.1	85.0	36.7	62.6	81.2	29.5
Landcrete	1.9	1.4	2.5	2.2	1.8	2.5	1.6	1.0	2.5	1.4	0.8	2.4
Bamboo	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
Palm leaf/thatch (grass)/raffia	0.7	0.3	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.9	0.5	0.2	0.9	0.6	0.2	1.2
Other	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.9	1.1	0.5
Main construction material for floor of dwelling	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Earth/mud	18.1	7.6	29.0	19.4	8.7	28.3	14.6	6.3	25.5	16.7	6.3	35.2
Cement/concrete	76.2	83.3	68.6	76.7	85.1	69.7	77.6	82.4	71.3	73.5	80.3	61.3
Stone	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Burnt brick	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Wood	0.6	1.0	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.1	1.9	2.7	0.4
Vinyl tiles	1.0	1.7	0.3	0.6	1.1	0.1	1.6	2.5	0.6	1.8	2.5	0.6
Ceramic/porcelain/granite/marble tiles	1.6	2.4	0.7	1.1	1.6	0.6	2.3	3.2	1.0	2.5	3.4	1.0
Terrazzo/terrazzo tiles	1.6	2.8	0.3	0.9	1.9	0.1	2.7	4.3	0.6	2.6	3.8	0.6
Other	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Other	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6
Tenure arrangement												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owner occupied	58.5	42.7	75.0	65.9	50.6	79.2	48.7	36.4	64.8	41.6	29.9	62.5
Renting	23.6	37.6	9.0	16.8	29.1	6.0	32.5	44.5	16.6	38.8	51.2	16.7
Rent-free	17.2	18.8	15.5	16.9	19.7	14.4	18.2	18.3	17.9	18.2	17.2	20.0
Perching	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.4
Squatting	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.6	0.8	0.2
Other	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1

Table 3.15: Housing conditions by sex for population aged 5 years and older and migrant status

	National			Non-migrants			Intra-regional migrant			Inter-regional migrant		
Housing conditions	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Type of dwelling												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Separate house	28.0	28.5	27.5	27.1	27.5	26.8	30.7	31.7	30.0	28.5	29.4	27.6
Semi-detached house	7.1	7.1	7.2	6.7	6.6	6.7	7.8	8.0	7.6	8.1	7.9	8.2
Flat/apartment	4.5	4.4	4.5	3.2	3.1	3.2	6.9	7.1	6.7	6.6	6.4	6.8
Compound house (rooms)	52.8	52.0	53.5	56.4	55.8	57.0	47.5	46.0	48.6	46.1	44.9	47.2
Huts/Buildings (same compound)	3.9	4.1	3.8	4.2	4.4	3.9	3.3	3.1	3.4	3.6	3.8	3.4
Huts/Buildings (different compound)	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.6
Tent	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Improvised home (kiosk/container etc.)	1.1	1.2	1.1	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.6	3.3	3.5	3.2
Living quarters attached to office/ shop	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.5
Uncompleted building	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.8	2.0	1.7	2.2	2.3	2.0
Other	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2
Main construction material for outer wall												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mud brick/earth	39.2	40.2	38.2	45.6	46.8	44.4	29.8	28.2	31.1	27.0	28.5	25.6
Wood	2.7	2.8	2.6	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.9	1.7	5.9	6.0	5.7
Metal sheet/slate/asbestos	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.7
Stone	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Burnt bricks	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5
Cement blocks/concrete	53.3	52.1	54.4	47.4	46.1	48.7	64.1	65.5	63.0	62.6	60.9	64.3
Landcrete	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.2	2.2	2.1	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.3
Bamboo	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Palm leaf/thatch (grass)/raffia	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6
Other	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.9	0.9

Table 3.15: Housing conditions by sex for population aged 5 years and older and migrant status (cont'd)

	National			Non-migrants			Intra-regional migrant			Inter-regional migrant		
Housing conditions	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Main construction material for floor of dwelling												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Earth/mud	18.1	18.7	17.5	19.4	20.0	18.9	14.6	14.5	14.7	16.7	17.8	15.6
Cement/concrete	76.2	75.5	76.8	76.7	76.2	77.2	77.6	77.3	77.8	73.5	72.4	74.6
Stone	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Burnt brick	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Wood	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3	1.9	2.0	1.7
Vinyl tiles	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.8
Ceramic/porcelain/ granite/marble tiles	1.6	1.6	2.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.6
Terrazzo/terrazzo tiles	1.6	1.5	1.6	0.9	0.9	1.0	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.7
Other	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Main material used for the roof												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mud/mud bricks/earth	1.8	1.9	1.8	2.4	2.5	2.3	1.0	0.8	1.2	0.9	1.0	0.9
Wood	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8
Metal sheet	70.8	70.4	71.1	71.3	70.8	71.8	75.6	75.8	75.4	65.8	65.9	65.6
Slate/asbestos	11.8	11.5	12.1	10.2	9.9	10.5	10.2	10.5	10.0	17.7	16.7	18.6
Cement/concrete	2.2	2.2	2.2	1.8	1.7	1.8	2.6	2.7	2.6	3.2	3.1	3.2
Roofing tile	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.9
Bamboo	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.1	0.9	1.5	1.7	1.4
Thatch/palm leaf or Raffia	10.3	10.9	9.8	11.5	12.2	10.8	7.8	7.4	8.1	8.6	9.3	8.0
Other	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.6
Tenure arrangement												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owner occupied	58.5	58.6	58.3	65.9	50.6	50.6	48.7	46.4	50.4	41.6	41.0	42.2
Renting	23.6	23.4	23.9	16.8	29.1	29.1	32.5	33.8	31.4	38.8	38.5	39.1
Rent-free	17.2	17.3	17.2	16.9	19.7	19.7	18.2	18.9	17.6	18.2	19.0	17.5
Perching	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.5
Squatting	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.5
Other	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2

The wish of every government is to make portable water accessible to the people. Ideally, it means making water flowing every home. The differentials in housing conditions observed between migrants and non-migrants, therefore, seem to reflect on the accessibility to water supply. Higher proportions of migrants (18.1% inter-regional migrants and 17.7% of intra-regional migrants) have access to pipe-borne water inside dwellings than non-migrants (10.7%) [Table 3.16]. regarding pipe-borne water outside dwellings, however, there is virtually no difference between migrants and non-migrants. It has already been observed that migrants are more likely than non-migrants to live in flats/apartments. It appears this differential is also showing in the type of water accessible to people because flats and apartments always go with running water. With reference to bore-hole/pump/tube/well, non-migrants have a slight edge over migrants and between the categories of migrants; intra-regional migrants are more likely than inter-regional migrants to use bore-hole/pump/tube well water. Both migrants and non-migrants use river/stream water almost on equal measure but with unprotected well water a little more non-migrants use it than migrants. The data seem to suggest that migrants use better quality water than non-migrants.

On the basis of rural-urban distribution of sources of drinking water, there are striking differences between migrants and non-migrants on the one hand, and between the two categories of migrants on the other. With what could be described as better quality water, urban dwellers have better access than rural dwellers for both migrants and non-migrants. For example, while 28.3 percent and 26.3 percent of urban intra-regional and inter-regional migrants respectively have access to pipe-borne water inside dwellings, only 3.8 percent and 3.5 percent of their rural counterparts are in the same situation. Similar situations apply to pipe-borne water outside dwelling and public tap or standpipe (Table 3.16). The largest proportions of rural migrants, however, use water from bore-hole/pump/ tube well, their proportions being more than three times their urban counterparts'. The proportions of non-migrants using this source of water are much higher than those of both migrants', at both rural and urban areas. The second important source of water for rural people of all categories of migrants is river/stream, which ranks farther down the ladder among urban people. The last two situations may stem from the fact that over the years, government has been trying to solve water problems in the rural areas by drilling boreholes. In the absence of such boreholes, people resort to streams as their sources of water.

With regards to the type of toilet facility used by households there are a few differences between migrants and non-migrants. While nearly a third of non-migrants (29.1%) have no toilet facilities in their homes, just 13.4 percent and 15.8 percent of inter-regional and intra-regional migrants, respectively, are in similar situation. Apart from that, both non-migrants and migrants use pit latrine, KVIP and public toilet in almost equal proportions. However, migrants are more than twice as likely as non-migrants to use water closet (W.C.). From the analysis, therefore, we can say that migrants use better toilet facilities than non-migrants. There are striking rural-urban differences too. Among migrants of all categories, more rural people than urban people have no toilet facilities. While a greater proportion of urban non-migrants (41.7%) use public toilet than their rural counterparts (26.2%), there is very little or no difference among the two categories of migrants at the places of residence. Water closet is virtually an urban facility with far more migrants using it in both urban and rural areas than non-migrants. We may conclude that urban migrants enjoy better toilet facilities than rural migrants.

Table 3.16: Water and toilet facilities for population 5 years or older migrant status and place of residence

	National			Non-migrants			Intra-regional migrant			Inter-regional migrant		
Water and toilet facilities	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Main source of drinking water for household												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Pipe-borne inside dwelling	13.4	24.1	2.2	10.7	21.7	1.6	17.7	28.3	3.8	18.1	26.3	3.5
Pipe-borne outside dwelling	17.7	25.5	9.6	17.2	26.3	9.7	16.9	22.3	9.8	19.7	25.9	8.7
Public tap/standpipe	12.3	14.6	9.9	13.5	17.1	10.4	10.9	11.4	10.1	9.9	11.3	7.4
Bore-hole/pump/tube well	26.1	10.6	42.2	29.8	11.9	44.7	24.5	12.5	40.4	16.1	6.7	33.0
Protected well	6.3	7.0	5.6	6.5	7.8	5.5	7.0	8.0	5.7	5.1	4.7	5.7
Rain water	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.5	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.6
Protected spring	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
Bottled water	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.6	0.2
Sachet water	6.9	11.6	1.9	4.2	8.0	1.0	8.2	11.9	3.3	14.0	19.3	4.7
Tanker supply/vendor provided	1.0	1.6	0.4	0.7	1.2	0.4	1.0	1.5	0.5	1.8	2.4	0.6
Unprotected well	2.3	1.1	3.6	2.7	1.5	3.7	1.6	0.7	2.8	1.8	0.5	4.1
Unprotected spring	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.2	-	0.4	0.2	-	0.6
River/stream	10.5	2.1	19.4	10.9	2.6	17.9	8.8	1.6	18.4	10.8	1.3	27.7
Dugout/pond/lake/dam/canal	1.9	0.4	3.4	2.2	0.6	3.5	1.6	0.3	3.3	1.2	0.1	3.0
Other	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Main source of water for other domestic use of household												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Pipe-borne inside dwelling	15.0	27.1	2.4	11.8	23.8	1.7	19.3	30.9	4.1	21.6	31.5	4.0
Pipe-borne outside dwelling	18.0	26.6	8.9	16.9	26.4	8.9	16.7	22.4	9.2	22.4	30.0	8.7
Public tap/standpipe	11.9	14.6	9.1	12.7	16.6	9.5	10.4	11.2	9.2	10.4	12.4	6.8
Bore-hole/pump/tube well	25.8	11.9	40.4	28.8	12.5	42.4	25.0	14.4	39.0	17.3	8.9	32.3
Protected well	8.6	10.5	6.7	8.5	11.0	6.4	10.3	12.6	7.3	7.7	8.0	7.2
Rain water	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.6
Protected spring	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4
Tanker supply/vendor provided	1.6	2.7	0.6	1.0	1.7	0.4	1.9	2.7	0.8	3.5	4.7	1.3
Unprotected well	3.0	1.9	4.1	3.4	2.4	4.2	2.3	1.5	3.3	2.3	1.1	4.5
Unprotected spring	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.6
River/stream	12.2	2.9	22.0	12.8	3.5	20.5	10.5	2.5	21.1	12.1	2.0	30.0
Dugout/pond/lake/dam/canal	2.3	0.6	4.1	2.7	0.8	4.3	2.0	0.5	4.0	1.4	0.3	3.4
Other	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.4

Table 3.16: Water and toilet facilities for population 5 years or older migrant status and place of residence (cont'd)

	National			Non-migrants			Intra-regional migrant			Inter-regional migrant		
Water and toilet facilities	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Toilet facility used by household												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No facilities (bush/beach/field)	23.7	10.6	37.5	29.1	13.2	42.3	15.8	7.1	27.1	13.4	7.3	24.5
W.C.	14.1	24.9	2.8	9.6	19.1	1.7	21.6	33.6	5.7	21.9	31.2	5.4
Pit latrine	19.5	13.4	25.9	18.1	12.4	22.8	22.5	16.6	30.3	21.8	13.6	36.6
KVIP	9.8	12.6	6.9	9.1	12.1	6.6	11.3	13.2	8.9	11.0	13.5	6.5
Bucket/Pan	0.6	1.1	0.2	0.6	1.1	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.9	1.3	0.3
Public toilet (WC, KVIP, Pit, Pan etc.)	31.8	37.0	26.3	33.2	41.7	26.2	28.0	28.4	27.4	30.4	32.7	26.3
Other	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FIDINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

4.1 Summary and conclusions

Historically, migration has been an essential feature of Ghana's development and has left behind many memorable legacies. The monograph aimed at describing, analyzing and providing explanations for patterns, trends and the future outlook of migration in Ghana focusing mainly on internal migration. It used mainly the 2010 census data and those of the previous 1984 and 2000 censuses.

Government's attitude towards migration, both historically and in contemporary times, has been largely ambivalent. In the colonial period the then Gold Coast welcomed many non-nationals mainly Africans into the country to help in the development effort. This trend continued in the early years of independence mainly as a gesture of fostering friendship among African countries in the interest of African unity. The situation changed when the main architect, the first president of the country, was overthrown in 1966 and the subsequent passing of the Aliens Compliance Order in November 1969, which sent many undocumented non-nationals packing. So far the general outlook of internal migration has not been very positive as many of the social problems in towns and cities are blamed on the influx of people from the rural to urban areas and most of the conflict prone areas are where migrants settle in large numbers competing with local people for land. A testimony of the general lack of recognition for migration in the country is that there is yet to be a migration policy for Ghana.

Historically, Ghana has shifted between being a country of immigration and then emigration as well as one that combines the two concurrently. Before the colonization of the country the major interaction between West and North Africa was via the Trans-Saharan trade routes. This mainly north-south movement in the sub-region was disrupted by the presence of Europeans, which also created new patterns of movement. Migration, both within and across borders, has long been a significant livelihood strategy for Ghanaians and is expected to continue in the coming years as a major livelihood-enhancing strategy for many people.

Internal migration in Ghana is still characterized more by long distance movements than short distance movements (i.e. between regions than within regions). However, while the proportion moving between regions declined slightly in 2010 over the 2000 figure, that within regions showed significant increase. This development could be the effect of the decentralization system which has led to the creation of more districts and the resultant new district capitals, which are now attracting inflows of people. Overall, migrant population grew faster than the non-migrant population in the 2000-2010 inter-censal periods and was faster among intra-regional migrants than inter-regional migrants.

Gender difference in the proportion of internal migrants changed slightly in favour of females in 2010. However, females were more dominant in short distance movements and males in long distance movements. In small settlements, affinity is the order of the day so people have to look elsewhere for marriage partners. Therefore, the practice whereby women move to join their husbands in marriage could explain the dominance of females in short distance migrations.

Migrants made more significant contributions to urban population than they did to rural population. Of the urban population aged 5 years or older 44.5 percent were migrants who arrived between 2000 and 2010, and were more than 1.5 times those who arrived in rural destinations. At the same time urban to urban migrant population grew at a fantastic rate of 9.7 percent, far more than rural to urban migrant population. The development suggests stepwise migration whereby people move to smaller towns and later move on to higher hierarchy settlements. A simple projection shows that urban-to-urban migrants will make up the largest migrant group in 2020, more than twice rural-to-urban migrants. There is evidence that the urban centres will be the focus of population growth through migration in the next decade.

In terms of age, the 2010 PHC indicates that inter-regional migrants are a little older than intra-regional migrants. This may be explained by the fact that the shorter distance intra-regional moves are mainly family-related and may include a large number of children. Males are a little older than females among inter-regional migrants and the reverse is true in the case of intra-regional migrants. However, among all migrant groups, females contributed more than males to the migrant population in the high migration age groups of 15 to 29 years. On the basis of urban-rural residence, urban migrants were a little older than rural migrants who included far more children below 10 years than their urban counterparts. Among male migrants, rural migrants tend to be older than urban migrants and the reverse is true among females. Perhaps the older males move into the rural areas to enter into agriculture and the younger educated ones move into the urban areas to take up white-collar jobs. Females who join the urban movement may be slightly older than their friends who go into marriage and are destined to the rural areas because they have spent more time schooling.

There were some variations in regional migration both in terms of magnitude and type of migration. It was only the Greater Accra Region where non-migrants are in the minority. The high out-migration regions (Northern, Upper East, Upper West and Volta) tend to have very high non-migrant populations. In absolute terms, Greater Accra leads as the region with the largest number of in-migrants followed by Ashanti Region. In relative terms, however, while Greater Accra still leads with the largest proportion of in-migrants, Western and Brong Ahafo regions surpass Ashanti Region. Apart from the Volta Region, all the regions with in-migrant proportions of less than 10.0 percent are from the north.

Between the sexes, there are more male non-migrants than female non-migrants in all the regions except Western and Brong Ahafo, implying that apart from the two regions, females are relatively more mobile than males. However, males tend to dominate in long–distance migration (between regions) and females in short–distance migrations (within regions) in most of the regions in Ghana.

Four regions, Greater Accra, Western, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo, were regions that gained population through migration while the other regions lost people through migration. Greater Accra's gain was nearly twice all the gains of the other three put together. On the other hand, Volta Region posted the largest loss of people through migration, followed by Northern and Eastern regions.

Using Migration Effectiveness Ratio as the measure, it turns out that all the regions in the country, except the Brong Ahafo Region, are contributing significantly to population redistribution in the country. Four present themselves as in-migration regions (because they have positive measures) and the remaining six are out-migration regions. The Greater Accra Region exerts the greatest pull on in-migrants in the country while the Upper West Region exerts the greatest push on out-migrants. The rate at which the two upper regions are sending people

out to other parts of the country is very alarming. Similarly, the rate at which Greater Accra is attracting people into it should be a matter of concern.

Compared to non-migrants, migrants are more likely to be employees and if they happen to be self-employed without employees, they are more likely to be intra-regional than inter-regional migrants. Urban migrants are far more likely to be employees than their rural counterparts and migrants who are self-employed without employees are found more in rural areas than in urban areas. On the other hand, urban migrants are more than twice more likely to be self-employed with employees than their rural counterparts, suggesting that in terms of job creation, migration benefits urban areas more than rural areas. Migrants are in public/government and formal employment in greater proportion than non-migrants, supporting the view that many moves are job-related and include people going on transfer. As most public/government and formal jobs are located in urban centres, such migrant workers are found more in urban than rural areas.

Between the sexes, male migrants are more likely to be employees than female migrants who are self-employed without employees in greater proportion than their male counterparts. This confirms earlier finding that, because of their lower skills and educational levels, female migrants tend to enter into easy-entry jobs or create some for themselves. Added to this, female migrants who are contributing family workers are more than twice as much as their male counterparts.

Regarding occupations, migrants are more likely to be managers and professionals than non-migrants, confirming the observation that it is the skilled and better educated who migrate. Such migrant workers, as well as those who are technicians and associate professionals, clerical support workers and services and sales workers, are found more in the urban areas than rural areas. On the other hand, there is an overwhelming presence of migrants in skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers occupation in rural areas. Such primary activities are dominated by non-migrants and more intra-regional migrants are engaged in it than inter-regional migrants. It appears the times when people moved across regions to look for land to cultivate are over as there is virtually no vacant virgin land anywhere in the country now. Male migrants dominate as professionals, technicians and associate professionals and clerical support workers while female migrants dominate as services and sales workers.

The 2010 PHC data support the general observation that migration is education selective. Migrants are a little more literate than non-migrants and male migrants are more literate than female migrants. Among the migrants, intra-regional migrants tend to be more literate than inter-regional migrants, which is difficult to explain. However, the broad definition of literacy used in the 2010 census does not make it surprising as the literate include people who can read and write both local and English language. Most people of all categories of migrants are literate in English and Ghanaian languages together and a reasonable proportion are literate in English language only. The prominence of English language among migrants, either alone or with Ghanaian language, is more in the urban than in rural areas. With Ghanaian language, however, the proportions of migrants who speak it are higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas.

While male migrants are more literate than female migrants in English and Ghanaian language together, there is virtually no difference between the two in English language only. However, female migrants have an upper hand over male migrants in Ghanaian language. Migrants and non-migrants have basic education in almost equal proportions. At the secondary level and above, however, there is a significant difference between the two categories. The proportion of migrants who have tertiary education is about twice as much as that of non-migrants. It appears

people are not only moving to acquire higher education, but they are also being pushed out by it to go and look for jobs that are commensurate with their status.

Migrants at urban destinations have higher educational qualifications than those who end at rural destinations. The difference is more striking at the secondary level and above. This further confirms the observation that higher education tends to push many people to go and look for jobs that suit their status elsewhere. With most of the jobs that require highly trained labour located in the urban areas, it will continue to be the preferred destination of highly trained migrants.

Contrary to expectation, in general migrants seem to have better housing than non-migrants. Non-migrants are more likely than migrants to live in compound houses and the reverse is true with flats and apartments. Both migrants and non-migrants live in huts and tents in nearly the same proportions. However, uncompleted buildings and improvised housing (kiosks/containers) are almost the preserve of migrants. The situation reflects the case of migrants of low socio-economic status in cities who make do with informal housing because of high cost of accommodation. In terms of tenure arrangement, however, the largest proportion of migrants were owner occupiers, which reflects the fact that many migrants are lifetime migrants who have built their own residential accommodation at their destinations.

The data further seem to suggest that migrants use better quality water than non-migrants and urban migrants have access to better quality water than rural migrants. Similarly, migrants use better toilet facilities than non-migrants and urban migrants enjoy better toilet facilities than rural migrants.

4.2 Policy recommendations

A historical review of migration in Ghana reveals that migration, both within and across borders, has long been a significant livelihood strategy for Ghanaians and is expected to continue in the coming years as a major livelihood enhancing strategy for many people. The entire migration process includes issues related to the pre-migration stage, the movement itself and the post-arrival stage each of which is prone to risks. It is therefore important to put measures in place that will minimize the risks associated with migration and to maximize the benefits that come out of it. We are thus at a crucial stage where the process of developing a national migration policy must be speeded up so as to have in place a document to streamline all activities aimed at giving migration a positive outlook.

There is evidence that the decentralization system the country has been practicing for some time now is making an impact on the migration of people within the country. This manifested itself in a faster growth in intra-regional migrant population than inter-regional migrant population. The district capitals must be sensitized and to be made ready to receive the influx of population and to ensure that available facilities are not overwhelmed. They must also position themselves to make use of the skills and expertise which the migrants are likely to bring along to hasten their development efforts.

A simple projection shows that the urban centres will be the focus of population growth through migration in the next decade, and more of this growth will come from urban-to-urban migrants. That suggests stepwise migration, which implies that movements into smaller towns, which are likely to be district capitals, will not be permanent in themselves. Therefore, the bigger towns and cities must also be prepared to continue to receive more in-migrants. In particular, facilities must be increased to be able to contain the influx of people.

Among the highly mobile young adult age group of 15 to 29, females were found to be contributing more to the migrant population than males. This suggests the need to pay attention to issues of interest to females, such as reproductive health, when considering the migrant population. Deliberate effort must also be made to reduce the vulnerability of the young females at their destinations by factoring them into a comprehensive programme aimed at creating jobs for young people in general and females in particular. This is necessary because in their quest to find means of livelihood, young females often fall victims to unscrupulous characters especially if they are independent migrants.

The fact that almost all the regions in the country contribute significantly to population redistribution implies that Ghanaians are generally mobile. It also means that almost every region has its people living in other regions. Therefore, effort must be made to instill nationalism in Ghanaians so that wherever they are they will think of themselves first as Ghanaians before their ethnic identity. Ghanaians must also be educated to learn to live together in harmony because any ill-treatment meted out to one ethnic group can result in a reprisal in other parts of the country.

The rate at which people are migrating into Greater Accra is very alarming and should be of much concern. So far it is the only region where non-migrants are in the minority. Such a situation generates a lot of social tension and becomes a powder keg that can explode at any time with the slightest friction. One area which needs greater attention in this respect is the issue of land ownership in the national capital and the land guard phenomenon. Strong institutions must be put in place to oversee some of these issues to ensure peaceful coexistence in the face of the large influx of non-indigenes.

The converse situation, as pertains in the northern regions, particularly Upper East and Upper West, must also be of grave concern. In terms of magnitude, the rate at which people are leaving these two regions far exceeds that at which people are moving into Greater Accra. These areas must be targeted with special interventions that will help keep people in the regions. Specifically, they must aim at reducing extreme poverty in the areas. Also, small scale irrigations should be provided so that people can cultivate throughout the year and thereby ensure food security for the people.

Most of the people who move within the country are labour migrants and are more likely to be employees than self-employed. Since such migrants are found more in public/government and formal jobs than non-migrants, the welfare of migrants must be of prime concern to government and the organized labour groups. It must be ensured that migration does not bring about separation among families and the smooth development of the children of such migrants is not affected negatively.

The evidence that urban migrants are more likely to be self-employed with employees suggests that they create opportunities for job creation in the urban areas to the detriment of the rural areas. A way must be found to retain skilled workers in the rural areas and to incorporate them into the youth employment programmes government has been unfolding in recent times. This will not only create jobs for people in the rural areas, it will also help to curb the outflow of people from the rural areas to the urban areas.

It is not surprising that highly skilled migrants like managers and professional are found mostly in urban areas. That is a reflection of what is happening in the country in general with people refusing to be posted to the rural areas to work. If the decentralization programme the country has embarked upon should succeed, some of the skilled persons must be made to go to the rural areas. This could be done by developing special incentive packages to entice people to go to the

rural areas. Sometimes the provision of simple amenities like water and electricity and access to good schools for children and health care can do the trick. Government should invest in these areas to bridge the gap between urban and rural areas in the country.

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