

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AND HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOODS IN  
THE AGONA WEST MUNICIPALITY, GHANA

GIFTY BOTONI ARTHUR

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BY

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JULY, 2016

## **DECLARATION**

### **Candidate's declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Signature:..... Date:.....

Candidate's Name: Gifty Botoni Arthur

### **Supervisors' declaration**

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Signature:..... Date:.....

Principal Supervisor's Name: Professor Augustine Tanle

Signature:..... Date:.....

Co-Supervisor's Name: Dr. Comfort Adeptona

## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the interrelationships between migration and rural livelihoods in the Agona West Municipality. The central argument of the study is that remittances from migrants' affect the livelihood of the households left behind in the Agona West Municipality. The study employed descriptive design drawn from both the positivist and interpretive research design using the interview schedules and FGDs respectively. Among the migrants, males constituted the majority (54.8%) in the three villages and that majority of them were within the age group 20-30. It was found also that, the main motive for migrating was economic reasons. The number of migrants who were unemployed before migration was 51.2% while only 29.8 % were found to be unemployed after migrating. Majority (85.1%) of the migrant's households were remitted by their migrant's household members. The study therefore recommended that governments, NGOs and other developmental agencies aimed at providing economic support for migrants should implement such projects at their places of origin and not at the destination because it is the economic deprivation at the origin which pushes them away.

## **KEYWORDS**

Rural-urban migration

Migrants household

Livelihood

Agona West Municipality

Ghana.

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## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my late brother Emmanuel Kweku Arthur and my family.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
KEYWORDS	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
DEDICATION	vi
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF ACRONYMS	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
Background to the Study	1
Statement of the Problem	7
Objectives of the Study	8
Research Question	9
Rationale of the Study	9
Organization of the Study	10
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	11
Introduction	11
The Concept of Migration	11
Theories of Migration	13
Neoclassical Economic Theory of Migration	18
New Economies of Labour Migration	21



Empirical Perspective of Migration	23
Livelihood Approaches	31
Benefits of the DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Approach	36
The Criticisms of the DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Approach	37
Applications of DFID Livelihood Framework	38
Conceptual Framework	38
Transfers of Resources between Migrants and Rural Migrant Households	50
Impact of Migration on Household Livelihoods	54
Summary	59
<b>CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>60</b>
Introduction	60
Study Area	60
Research Philosophy	64
Target Population	65
Sample Size	66
Sampling Procedure	67
Research Instruments	68
Training of Field Assistants	72
Pretesting of Instruments	72
Challenges encountered on the field	73
Data Sources Processing and Analysis	74
Ethical Issues	75
Summary	76
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION</b>	<b>77</b>
Introduction	77

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents	77
Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Migrants	81
Motivations for Migrating in Agona West Municipality	82
Migration Destinations of Migrants	85
Employment Status of Migrants Before and After Migration	87
Remittances Behaviour of Households' Migrants	88
Types of Remittance Received and Amount	91
Recipients of Migrants Remittances	94
Uses of Remittances by Households	96
Effects of Remittances on Household Living Conditions	97
Effects of Remittances on the Social Status of Households	100
Summary	102
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	103
Introduction	103
Summary	103
Conclusions	104
Recommendations	105
REFERENCES	107
APPENDICES	122
Appendix A	122
Interview schedule for the study community on rural urban migration and households livelihood	122
AppendixB	127
Focus Group Discussion Guide for household heads	127

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Population, Number of Migrant's Households and Sample Size	68
2. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents	79
3. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Migrants	82
4. Motivations for Rural Out-Migration in Agona West Municipality	84
5. Frequency of Migrants' Remittances	90
6. Average Monthly Amount of Money Migrants' Remit	94
7. Recipients of Migrants' Remittances	95
8. Uses of Remittance by Households	96

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Sustainable Livelihood Framework	34
2. Migration as a Livelihood Strategy	49
3. Map of Agona West Municipality showing the Study Areas	62
4. Migration Destinations of Migrants	86
5. Migrants' Employment Status Before and After Migration	88
6. Flow of Remittances to Households	89
7. Type of Remittances Received by Migrants' Household	92
8. Effect of Remittances on Household Living Conditions	99
9. Effects of Remittances on the Social Status of Households	101

## LIST OF ACRONYMS

ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
DFID	Department for International Development
GLSS	Ghana Living Standard Survey
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Background to the Study**

Migration may be defined as a temporary or permanent change in the usual place of residence across space in a given time period (Weeks, 1999). Migration is neither a new phenomenon, a failure of development, nor replacement for development. Individuals move as part of their efforts to improve the livelihoods of their families, to learn new skills, to acquire new experiences, to find a job or to run away from unsafe conditions such as insecurity, disaster or famine. Migration has been seen as a response of individuals to better economic and non-economic opportunities and an expectation of increased economic welfare of households (Tanle, 2003).

Internal migration appears as a massive phenomenon, exceeding international migration as there are 740 million internal migrants around the world compared to 214 million international migrants (United Nations Development Programme, 2009). Many internal migrants originate from rural areas, and one could assume many of them are youth, given their higher propensity to migrate. In fact, the World Bank (2006) notably argues that young people are 40 percent more likely to move from rural to urban areas or across urban areas than older individuals.

Rural-urban migrations have occurred in other parts of the world (notably Europe, in the past), with urban populations doubling and tripling in one or two decades (Wilson, 2000). The main difference that stimulated this

trend was that urban dwellers in the developing world earned on average, a per capita annual income as low as \$200 as compared to an income of at least \$20,000 earned by their counterparts in the developed areas. The large-scale turn around migration to small towns and rural areas in the United States since the 1970's was thought to result in structural disturbances to the stability of rural communities (Flint, 2015).

Rural-urban migration is becoming an increasingly important livelihood strategy worldwide (United Nations Population Fund, 2011). Consequently, around 49% of the world's population had settled in urban areas by 2005, and it is hypothesized that around 60% of the global population will migrate to urban areas by 2030 (United Nations, 2012). In Africa and particularly sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), over 50 million people are predicted to migrate from rural to urban areas in the decade after 2011 leading to the doubled growth of most African cities (Satterthwaite, 2003).

The patterns of rural-urban migration in Sub-Saharan Africa are multifaceted. People may be tempted or forced to move as a result of cultural, demographic, socio-economic, environmental and or political factors. Mostly the decision to move is influenced by a mixture of several of these aforementioned factors. Other reasons of migration may be political and ethnic conflicts, natural disasters or processes like land grabbing, large scale infrastructure projects and resettlement (Tanle, 2003). Current trends in mobility and migration in Africa also seem to have significant socio-cultural effects on households and communities. In earlier times, traditional migration patterns in Sub-Saharan Africa were mostly male-dominated. These days,

migration streams are becoming progressively feminised, resulting in an increasing number of female migrants in cities working in informal sector jobs (Tanle). Also, females are more likely than males in sending remittances home (Tacoli & Mabala, 2010, Tanle).

Migration in Ghana is not only on the forefront of the demographic and development transitions in Africa but also at the front of the urbanization trend. In recent years, the migration routes have tended to be more rural-to-urban than otherwise with cities in Ghana such as Accra and Kumasi, attracting not only traders, but young people seeking employment and educational opportunities because they are the cities with more employment opportunities (Adepoju, 2003; Tanle, 2003).

Ghana's rapid population growth and urbanization also have important linkages to migration. For instance, the 2000 national census in Ghana recorded a population of 18.9 million people, a 54% increase from the previous census in 1984. The intercensal growth rate was 2.7% (Ghana Statistical Service. [GSS], 2000). At the national level, about 50.9% of Ghana's population is urban, an increase from the 1984 level of 32% (GSS, 2012). Ghana, like most parts of Africa, is still predominantly rural, but it is urbanising steadily partly due to rural urban migration. More than 80 percent of Ghanaian migrants stay in Ghana and among them, 70 percent go to urban areas (Batse, 1995; GSS, 2000). The Greater Accra and Ashanti regions attract more than half of all internal migrants and migrants make up a substantial share of the population in these regions (Tutu, 1995; Tanle, 2003). The southern regions of Ghana; Western, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra, Volta,



and Ashanti are the destinations for 88 percent of all internal migrants, while the Northern and the two Upper regions account for only 5 percent of the total.

Another most important element that triggers rural urban migration especially in developing countries is the livelihood of people. A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (Ellis, 2000). The notion of livelihood is associated with social institutions like family, village and other social networks facilitating and sustaining diversified livelihoods (Nyberg-Sorensen, Van Hear, & Engberg-Pedersen, 2002). Livelihood assets are the building stones of households and individuals because they enable them to produce, participate in labour markets and to collect sufficient household income (Ellis). Households use these livelihood assets to create the means of living or to improve their welfare level. Hence rural households adopt rural-urban migration as a livelihood strategy or activity to attain livelihood assets or resources to improve household status.

On the other hand, the “pull” hypothesis emphasizes the attractiveness of the urban life and the rural-urban wage gap. In particular, in Todaro (1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970) probabilistic models, migrants are attracted to cities with the expectation of a higher wage than they receive in agriculture. In view of this, migrants are willing to accept the probability of urban unemployment, or lower wages and “underemployment” in the urban informal sector. According to Todaro, a migrant is willing to accept urban employment or lower wages in the urban informal sector as long as he expects to “graduate” to the urban modern sector in the future. Recent extensions of these

probabilistic migration models include the ideas of several writers (Basu, 2000; Tanle, 2003).

In context, rural-urban migration can be seen as one of the main strategies to diversify, secure and improve household livelihood, often in combination with other strategies (McDowell & de Haas, 1997). Livelihood strategies of people change in response to the constraints and opportunities they are exposed to, and likewise the decision to migrate. There are many factors that shape these decisions which correspond to the contextual, socio-economic and policy considerations. A policy like the resettlement program in Ethiopia affects not only people's livelihood strategies, but their access to assets and every other aspect of their livelihoods (Fosse, 2006). It is important to understand the effects policies have on livelihoods since migration policies can limit or encourage migration and shape the extent of movement (Turner, 2010). Although people adopt migration as a livelihood strategy, it does not follow that their livelihoods will be improved. However, migration can lead to either improvement or deterioration in livelihood status of people.

Rural-urban migration in this way can be considered as a household livelihood strategy in which economic and social links between the migrant and his or her rural household are maintained. Rural-urban migration is viewed not as initially the outcome of an individual migrant decision, but rather as a conscious strategy of the whole migrant household in order to diversify the household income sources and to become less vulnerable to shocks, risks or local constraints in their livelihood (Ellis, 2000). The decision of the household is based on the consideration of the profits of migration (like

remittance flows, higher local incomes or the spreading of risks) and the costs of migration (like travelling costs or the lack of labour forces) (Lindley, 2008).

Migrants remit or transfer money to relatives in rural areas. Remittances improve chances of access to land and other resources, while the need to access land can be a key motivating factor for migration. Remittances are invested in land and other resources, used to pay for education, health, housing and direct food purchases. Remittances maintain multi-spatial households that combine farm and non-farm activities and rural and urban residence (Tacoli, 2002).

The role of remittances in rural-urban migration processes and the whole migrant household acts tactically as one decision-making unit (de Haas, 2007). Rural-urban migration can then be conceptualized as a type of livelihood diversification by households, an answer to household's income risks and in this way remittances can form a kind of income insurance of the sending households (Litchfield & Waddington, 2003).

However, the impact of rural-urban migration is not a linear process rather it is more complex. In other words, a lot of variables come to play such as type and extent of migration, size of remittances and local context. These variables are interrelated with each other and can have influence on the loss of human resources in rural areas and the impact of remittances and earnings for rural households. The major impact of migration and remittances on the livelihoods of rural households therefore depends on the expenditure, investments and labour allocation of the sending households.

## **Statement of the Problem**

Studies of migration in Ghana exploring its patterns, determinants, and impacts on welfare and poverty date back to the 1960s. Early contributions by Beals, Levy and Moses (1967) and Caldwell (1968) used census and survey data respectively and found a negative effect of origin locality's income on rural urban migration (Beals et al.), but a positive effect of a household's own income on the probability to migrate (Caldwell). Other important determinants of the likelihood to migrate noted by Caldwell include the presence of friends or relatives in the destination locality, that is, migration networks. It is not clear if there is a negative effect of origin locality's income on rural urban migration or a positive effect of a household's own income on the probability to migrate within the Agona West Municipality this is because available literature such as Arthur (2009) only focused on the effect of rural urban migration on the source area. According to Arthur, it is therefore not clear whether the increasing migration of members of households in the Agona West Municipality suggest a simple response to the poor economic conditions in rural areas.

Furthermore, existing literature such Asante (1995) and Tanle (2003) does not indicate whether rural folks from the Agona West Municipality, like their counterparts from other regions engage in migration to the towns in order to improve their household livelihoods. Asante and Tanle only highlighted the importance of remittances sent by migrants in urban areas to rural origin communities in raising the welfare of households and narrowing the welfare gap between rural and urban communities. It is also not clear whether those

who migrate to the towns remit their household members in the rural areas to increase their income and consumption or even the family's social status as observed by Tutu (1995).

The lack of empirical evidence on the main motives for migration, the flow and use of remittances to households in the municipality as well as the effects of remittances on origin household livelihoods has greatly hampered development planning within the municipality since local social welfare interventions demand holistic knowledge in the dynamics rural- urban migration (Asante,1995; Tanle, 2003).The uncertainty and connection between rural-urban migration and households livelihood in the Agona West Municipality need to be unravelled to enhance our understanding on the motives of migration and the impact of migration on origin household livelihoods.

### **Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of the study was to assess the effects of rural- urban migration on households' livelihoods in the Agona West Municipality. Specifically, the study sought to;

- 1) Examine the main motives for migration;
- 2) Appraise the flow of remittances to households in the Municipality;
- 3) Investigate the use of remittances by households; and
- 4) Examine the effects of remittances on household livelihoods

## **Research Questions**

The study therefore sought to answer the following questions;

- 1) What are the main motives for migration in the Agona West Municipality?
- 2) How often do remittances flow to households?
- 3) How are remittances used by migrants' households?
- 4) How does a remittance affect household livelihoods?

## **Rationale of the Study**

Several studies have observed that those who migrate remit their families back home or return home to improve the livelihoods of the family which consequently raise the status of such families in the community (Dugbazah, 2012). This has been found to encourage other youth in migrant communities to migrate to urban areas. It is therefore important to study and comprehend the motives behind migration in the Agona West Municipality.

Academically, this thesis will contribute to knowledge, as it focuses on the migrant-sending households and looks at the effects on the households. What we know about the impact of out-migration on resource distribution derives mainly from economic theory (de Haan, 2000). This thesis will provide empirical evidence on the motives of migration in the communities of origin.

The study could inspire other researchers to conduct further research on migration issues by providing information to supplement the growing literature on rural-urban migration and the impact on household livelihoods in Ghana.

The findings of this study are expected to provide information for planners, policy-makers, government and non-governmental organisations in their effort to formulate and implement migration issues and its related policies.

Finally, results of this study would add to knowledge on migration. This is hoped to serve as a bases for further research on rural-urban migration as a household livelihood strategy.

### **Organization of the Study**

This thesis has five chapters. Chapter One contains the background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study and the rationale for the study. Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature on related theories of migration. The conceptual framework for the study is also found in the chapter.

Chapter Three focuses on the methodology of the study. It describes the study area, study design, target population, sampling procedure, sample size, the research instruments that were used, data and sources, data processing and analysis, the ethical issues arising from the research, and the challenges that were encountered during the fieldwork. Chapter Four concerns itself with the presentation and discussion of results obtained from the survey while Chapter Five provides the key findings, summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter reviews relevant theories, perspectives, concepts and models on internal migration, particularly on rural-urban migration. The theoretical frameworks consist of different theories on migrations beginning from the classical, neoclassical, the new economics of labour migration and some livelihood approaches. The chapter ends with a discussion on the strengths and weaknesses of the DFID livelihood framework adopted for the study.

#### **The Concept of Migration**

There are many theories on the concept of migration and these have made the definitions of migration vary according to whether it is an international migration, internal migration, or labour migration. Migration may be defined as a temporary or permanent change in the usual place of residence across space in a given time period (Weeks, 1999). Migration may be associated with development, urbanization or the forced movement of people fleeing from violent conflict or natural disaster. Migration is defined as a flow of people for various reasons to a country other than that of their usual residence, for a period of time (Murphy, 2002). Migration is one of the major components of population change, and has been an integral part of livelihood diversification across many developing countries for at least the last century (Agesa & Agesa, 1999).



Across the world, millions of people are moving in search of better jobs to improve their livelihoods. The number of migrants crossing borders in search of employment and human security is expected to increase rapidly in the coming decades due to the failure to provide jobs and economic opportunities.

According to Skeldon (1997), migration or mobility is a universal experience and it is rare for anyone to spend his or her entire life within the boundaries of a single village or city wall. He believes that migration is an integral part of the behaviour of all societies at all times, and it is not abnormal or exceptional. Migration in the strictest sense does not become permanent until a person gets to his or her death place. Skeldon therefore defines migration as, "all forms of human population movement". Lee (1969) considered migration as all movements, permanent or semi-permanent changes of residence whether forced or voluntary. Internal migration refers to the movement of people within their country of origin (in-migration and out-migration), which could be due to various social, economic and political factors. In Agona West Municipality, especially in Swedru, the Municipal capital, both types of migration continue to increase in the villages and towns due to the location of the township and the limited access to employment.

## **Theories of Migration**

### **Theoretical Perspective of Migration**

The scale and patterns of migration have been of interest to social scientists since the laws of migration were first formulated by Ravenstein in the 1880s. Ravenstein's (1885) migration-distance hypothesis states that migration is inversely related to distance and that most migrations occur over short distances. Thus according to Ravenstein, the number of migrants enumerated in a "centre of absorption" tends to decline as the distance from that location increases. The theory, therefore, stated that migrants were attracted to great industrial centres, a plan that would come to describe rural to urban migration in developing countries in the mid twentieth century.

The hypothesis of Ravenstein also contended that migrants who are from villages that are closer to an urban centre are more likely to travel in a greater number to these centres. Migration from villages located farther away, he argued, tends to decline as the distance from the city increases (Adepoju, 1987).

Adepoju (2000) in reviewing Ravenstein's migration-differential hypothesis supported his argument that economic motives were the most dominant causes of migration and that development in transport and communication would invariably increase the tempo of migration. However, he argued against Ravenstein's hypothesis that the volume of migration decreases as distance increases. Adepoju contends that his hypothesis is less applicable to many migration processes today, as distance no longer be a great limitation to travel due to improved transportation and communication which

increases the tempo of migration. Thus, the main criticism levelled against the migration-distance hypothesis is that distance is no hindrance to migration, but rather, it is a function of other factors such as desire to maintain contacts in the area of origin, the expense and difficulty of traveling over long distance.

On the contrary to Ravenstein's theory, Adepoju (2000) further asserts that migration does not necessarily occur in stages, as people tend to travel over very long distances so long as there are perceived economic opportunities at the destination. In spite of the criticism of the distance hypothesis, Ravenstein's assertion that migration differentials such as social class influence a person's mobility is one of his greatest contributions to the migration discourse (Ravenstein, 1885). However, the impact of migration on the rural household was not captured by the theory.

Many subsequent migration theories in contemporary studies are more or less variations of his arguments. Stouffer (1976) suggested that the level of movement between two places depends on a number of intervening opportunities between them. An essential feature of this model is its position on the nature of places rather than distance and is more important in determining where migrants go. Stouffer, argued that the areas that were nearer to the migrants and offer the highest economic and social opportunities, tended to have a greater influence on migrants' decision to move as compared to areas farther off (Stouffer). For instance, applying Stouffer's theory to this study, intervening opportunities in the case of Agona will be the number of possible alternative migration destinations which may exist between Agona which is the sending area, and the destination. And so, if a lack of suitable

alternative does not exist between the origin and possible destinations, migrants will proceed to farther destinations. This theory may not be particularly applicable to the Agona case as most people migrate with cities in mind as their only destination.

Lee (1969) reformulated Ravenstein's theory and puts much emphasis on push and pull factors. He developed a framework for analysing the volume of migration, the characteristics of migration and the decision-making process (Lee). Lee also explains the factors that affect migration in terms of the positive and negative characteristics of both the origin and destination. Lee developed a framework for analysing the volume of migration; the characteristics of migration and the decision-making process were cited in (Bryceson & Mooji, 2000). His framework classified the pull-factors as the attractions and socio-economic opportunities available in other localities, and he characterised the push-factors to include the deteriorating socio-economic conditions in the areas of origin (Lee). He argued that areas of origin and destination centres of migration had positive and negative features associated with them.

According to Lee, if the negative features of the origin were more powerful, then migrants were pushed out, while at the destination, if the positive features were more powerful, then migrants were pulled in. Since the 1950s in developing countries, rural poverty has pushed migrants out, while higher incomes and cultural amenities associated with the large cities have lured migrants.

Lee (1969) also outlined the impact that intervening obstacles have on the migration process. He argued that variables such as distance, physical and political barriers, and dependents such as children can even prevent migration. Lee further explained that the migration process is selective because differentials such as age and social class affect how people respond to push-pull factors, and these conditions also shape their ability to overcome intervening obstacles (Lee).

Furthermore, personal factors such as a person's education, knowledge of a potential receiver population, family ties, can facilitate or retard migration. Lee's theory is more applicable to the changing socio-economic context of contemporary society. His assertion that migration differentials such as gender, social class and age, and personal factors such as a person's education can facilitate or retard migration, is one of his greatest contribution to the migration discourse (Lee). Just as in Ravenstein's theory, Lee's theory also lacks complete applicability due to the changing socio-economic context of contemporary society. This theory is clearly seen in the Agona West Municipality where the lack of job opportunity and inadequate social amenities act as a major cause of rural-urban migration in the Municipality.

Lewis (1954 cited in Dugbazah, 2012), tried to explain migration as transition from a stagnant rural agricultural sector to a growing modern industrial urban sector. The assumption of his theory was that along the development course, the industrial sector is expanding and requires more labour, while the agricultural sector is stagnant with labour surplus. Lewis argued that under these circumstances, the labour surplus in rural areas will

supplement the labour shortage in urban areas, which serves as the drive for rural-urban migration. In this model, the author assumed that rural economies initially present a specific context in which there is surplus labour in the agricultural sector. On this thought, the agricultural sector is able to supply labour force to the modern industrial sector which can grow by accumulating capital and obtaining labour from the agricultural sector (Dugbazah, 2012).

Lewis (1954) asserts that migration occurs until surplus labour is absorbed by the modern sector. Yet, this model is criticised by some scholars who stressed that the assumption of zero marginal productivity and remuneration in the agricultural part is highly arguable (Dugbazah, 2012). This is because even though agriculture productivity and wages are low, they are not completely non-existent as rural people are able to make a living at the subsistence level. This model might have been applicable in the late 1960s when urban areas experienced high levels of unemployment (Dugbazah). On the other hand, it does not adequately describe the rural-urban migration process of many developing countries in contemporary time.

Another theorist, Zelinsky (1971 cited in Hunter, 2005), used critical consideration of temporal shifts in individual and household level migration decisions to explain the “mobility transition hypothesis” of migration. With a focus on the association between modernisation and migration, the author asserts that social and economic change is inherent within modernisation. These changes, Zelinsky argued enhances an individual’s personal preferences in migration decision-making processes to move from areas with less opportunities to destinations with modern amenities and opportunities

(Hunter). Thus he developed the idea that the modernisation process that societies are going through leads to a changing migration pattern or at least to a changing migration propensity. Ravenstein, Lee and Stouffer, have established the relationship between migration and socio-economic development, emphasizing that people will always move when confronted better opportunities. Households in the Agona West Municipality may employ this theory especially during rural migration decision-making process to move from areas with less opportunities to destinations with modern amenities and opportunities.

### **Neoclassical Economic Theory of Migration**

Some other theories have been developed to examine patterns of migration from different perspectives but these too are variants of the push-pull theory. Firstly, the neoclassical economic theories were developed on principles of individual optimizing behaviour (Free, 2010). These traditional micro-economic models treat migration as an economic phenomenon in which the migrant weighs the costs and returns of migration.

The changes in migration research by neoclassical economists occurred with seminal work by Todaro (1969) which is truly considered as one of the starting points of the classic rural-urban migration theory. During this epoch, Michael Todaro published a number of papers on migration related issues and these have contributed greatly to the understanding of migration (Todaro). The main hypothesis of this theory is that migrants respond mainly to economic incentives, earnings differentials, and the probability of getting a job at the destination is the major influence in the migration decision. So in Todaro's

famous model of rural-urban migration, the decision to migrate has been made a function of the wage differentials that exist between urban and rural areas and the probability of finding a job in the city. Todaro's model thus highlights the importance of the probability of finding a job in cities along with the popularity of higher wages there, which motivates a potential migrant to finally migrate.

The author assumes that rural-urban migration will take place while the urban expected wage exceeds the rural wage (Todaro, 1969). The author's "expected incomes" model of migration, thus, postulates that the decision to migrate includes a perception by the migrant of "expected rather than actual earnings." Todaro's theory presents an economist's view about the motive of migrants. He used his cost-benefit model to explain that in spite of the rate of high unemployment.

In the model by Harris and Todaro, the authors named factors such as rural-urban differences in expected earnings to be the primary cause of the process of migration in which the urban unemployment rate plays an equal role (Harris & Todaro, 1970). The authors' argument on the causes of rural-urban migration was used on their study that throughout the developing world, rates of rural-urban migration continue to exceed the rates of job creation and to improve greatly the capacity of both industry and urban social services to absorb this labour effectively (Harris & Todaro).

The Todaro (1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970) models also look at the role of internal migration in a dual economy in which the urban sector draws labour force from the rural sector. In the models, the focus is on



elucidating the existence of unemployment in urban areas and its connection with internal migration. According to Todaro, individual migration decisions are based on the variation between the expected incomes in urban areas, taking into consideration migration costs.

In addition, according to the model by Todaro (1969), high levels of rural-urban migration can continue even when urban unemployment rates are high and are known to potential migrants. He suggests that a migrant will move even if he ends up being unemployed or receives a lower urban wage than the rural wage. This occurs because the migrants expect that they will end up with some kinds of job that gives them a good compensation, and therefore they are willing to be unemployed or underpaid and to wait for a better job opportunity in the future. Neo-classical economic explanations, however, assume a homogenous individual who is undifferentiated by gender, class or other factors, to be making rational decisions to maximize economic interests.

One of the drawbacks of the Todaro model is its assumption of full information on the part of the prospective migrant about the urban wage rate and the probability of finding a job (Harris & Todaro, 1970). And then it cannot also always be the case that economic factors solely affect the migration process. If that is so, we will be ignoring a lot of other factors, like marriage, dependency relations (social factors), floods, river erosion, and drought and so on. Despite its limitations, the Todaro model points out the very vital link between perceived employment opportunities and migration.

A lot of studies support the argument that the basic motive behind the decision to migrate from rural to urban areas is guided by a search for

employment opportunities in urban settings (Tacoli & Satterthwaite, 2003). There is evidence that after the migration most of the people usually enjoy higher income relative to agricultural income (Adepoju, 1995).

Based on Tacoli & Satterthwaite (2003); Adepoju (1995) and Harris & Todaro (1970), the driving force of migration is multi-dimensional with diverse knowledge sources which may be untrue or factual. The study will therefore explore the theoretical motivations for migration in the Agona West.

### **New Economies of Labour Migration**

Current models of internal migration, called New Economies of Migration, adopt a complete change in perspective as they do not explain urban employment as presented by the Harris-Todaro model. Other relevant frameworks operating at the individual or household level include the household theorists (Stark, 1991). According to the author of the household strategy approach, people act jointly not only to maximize expected income, but also to minimize risks for the members of the kinship unit (Farkhanda, Najeeba, & Naveeda, 2014). This occurs through diversifying household sources of livelihood (Stark, 1991). The main insight of this approach is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individuals, but by families or households (Krantz, 2001).

In this model, households or families are seen as the main agents in the decision-making (Farkhanda et al., 2014). Tacoli (2002) argues that in developing countries migration is undertaken as part of a family strategy for sustenance, and risk diversification rather than an individual decision.

Another theory, which is of relevance to the discussion on migration and livelihood, is the network theory (Bakshi, 2008). This theory attributes migration to personal, cultural, and other social ties. The theory argues that in migrant-sending communities, information about jobs and living standards is most efficiently transmitted through an arrangement struck between personal networks such as friends who emigrated (Agesa & Kim, 2001). According to the authors, migrant communities in destination areas often help their fellow men and women to migrate, find them jobs, and help them adjust to a new environment.

Other authors contend that migrants are also assisted by their family through the provision of food packages, while looking for employment (Sahn & Stiffel, 2003). Thus, the comparatively easy way in which new migrants are seen to settle in the cities further induces potential migrants to leave the rural areas. Afterward, the family benefits from the migrant through remittances which enable them to cope with adverse economic shocks (Bank, 2010). It is evident from the discussion that traditional migration theories have not addressed the household aspects of migration. For instance, in the neoclassical economic models and the push-pull demographic models, migration was seen as the outcome of individual decisions (World Bank, 2006).

The development of new economic concepts and theories emphasized the importance of the family or the household in Agona as the primary site of decision-making. Critics noted that household decisions and actions do not represent unified and equally beneficial outcomes for all members (Tacoli, 2002). This is because families in Agona represent centres of struggle where

people with different activities and interests can come into conflict with one another. Critics of these traditional theories therefore argue that household decisions and actions do not represent unified and equally beneficial outcomes for all members (Gita, Pirooska, & Asha, 2007).

### **Empirical Perspective of Migration**

Classical economic theories are stressing the importance of the economic situation and environment at places of origin as main 'push factors' for migration. There are estimates that migration may increase inequality in its later stage of migration. It depends on the overall quality of life of people, equality of opportunities and other social processes before and after departure (Nunn, 2005).

Furthermore, empirical evidence shows that wage disparities may decrease between rural and urban areas. Inequality in sending places depends on migrant remittances that improve socioeconomic situation, increase the quality of life of left-behind and certain local environment (Stalker, 2000). Existing inequality gap and polarization may cause pressure for the poor and create a new prosperous family class.

A keen study of the statistical report of the Agona West Municipality indicates that, economically, the resource base of the Municipality is determined by the natural resources of the area (Agona West Municipal Assembly Profile, 2010). The implication is that, the Municipality is predominantly agricultural.

According to Afshar (2000), in his study of internal migration in Bangladesh, it was indicated that, "the lack of year-round employment in rural areas can also 'push' people into migration". A study in Faridpur and Rajbari

districts reveal that almost two-fifths of rural households sent adult members to the nearest towns due to lack of year-round employment (Afshar). From a survey of 1600 households in Northwest Bangladesh, found that 19% of households, across all wealth groups, migrate in the lean agricultural season. Whether the factors influencing migration are 'push' or 'pull', migration is not a one-off phenomenon that occurs in a specific place at a fixed time. Studies on internal migration clearly demonstrated that greater job opportunities in the cities and metropolitan areas 'pulled' migrants from rural areas (Afshar, 2000). Normally, rural dwellers have little incentive to remain in agriculture. Instead, they chose to migrate to nearby towns or district towns or cities in search of more remunerative non-agricultural jobs. Considering the fact that agriculture occupies most of the land use of the Agona West Municipality. It is important to examine whether they get more remunerative jobs after migration or end up swelling the ranks of unemployed in the urban labour market as predicted by Todaro (1969). Given the fact that poor migrants can hardly afford to remain unemployed, one must go far beyond unemployment data to examine the impacts of migration on poverty. However, for those who live on the edge of extreme poverty in rural areas, migration to nearby towns may give them temporary relief from unemployment.

Furthermore, migrants maintain connections with their natal families even when they reside permanently at the place of destination and in the context of the limited provision of insurance and social security services, urban-rural cooperation and mutual support are important for both migrants and their natal families.

Migration theory largely originates from early models of competing for economic opportunities and constraints in the rural and urban sectors (Todaro, 1969). The most important traditional determinant for people migrating from rural to urban areas is, therefore, seen as the search for better economic opportunities. Todaro's early work emphasizes access to employment opportunities as the main determinant for migration. Lipton (1997) contends that migration is about competitive labour absorption between different areas, and not just about jobs at the urban end. The author argues that areas that cannot absorb their own employable labour tend to become sending areas. To this, Bryceson (2002) adds that the rural economy in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) for instance, is changing rapidly as the international terms of trade have moved against African small producers. As a result of the increasingly inadequate income from the cultivation of food crops, contemporary families in many of SSA are diversifying their support base (Sasson, 2012).

It is often reported that the need for income diversification through employment, and increased access to cash incomes is the main reason for male and to a lesser degree female out-migration from rural areas (Dugbazah, 2012). A survey of internal migration and urbanization in Ghana in the 1970s discovered that over 70% of the respondents gave economic reasons for migrating from their previous locations (Dugbazah). This implies that income differentials contribute significantly to internal migration in the country.

Some migration scholars emphasized employment in the formal sector of the economy as the main attraction for rural-urban migrants (Harris & Todaro, 1970). Authors with this perception argued that those who are educated are

therefore more likely to migrate to the urban areas because of the increased likelihood of finding employment, thereby realising higher incomes than they would have obtained in the rural areas (Dugbazah, 2012).

The problem of migrants seeking employment predominantly in the formal sector has, however, ceased to be of much significance since the global economic crisis of the mid-1970s (Dugbazah, 2012). As such, there was competition for the few available jobs, and unemployment rates increased tremendously during that decade, until the 1980s (Dugbazah).

Rural-urban migration in recent years in Africa is also partly attributed to the continent's debt and its repayment obligations that have escalated under the economic liberalisation regime (Beauchemin & Bocquier, 2004). Debt repayment, especially, has seriously incapacitated the ability of nation states to provide basic amenities for the population (Bilsborrow, 1992). Cameroon, for instance, spent 36% of its national budget on debt servicing during the 1996/97 fiscal year, compared to only 4% that was spent on basic social services (Konseiga, 2003). Similarly, Tanzania's debt payments were four times what the country spent on primary education and nine times what it spent on basic health during 1996/97 (Mwabu & Thorbecke, 2001). The deep cuts in public spending place rural communities, which have usually had less than a fair share of the national cake, more at a disadvantage, thereby encouraging migration from the rural areas into urban destinations (Bilsborrow, ; GSS, 2000).

Pertaining to agriculture, trade liberalisation and the expansion of the free market, which are central doctrines of globalisation have rendered

farming the predominant occupation of rural dwellers, as a non-competitive and generally unattractive enterprise (Akokpali, 2004). This is a direct consequence of the removal of subsidies on agricultural inputs, such as fertilizers, which has made imported agricultural products cheaper than locally produced ones (Akokpali).

Alongside the predominance of economic reasons for migration, socio-cultural factors and expectations have also played a major role in “pushing” people from rural to urban areas (Abbass, 2012). A key socio-cultural factor used to explain migration from rural to urban areas in most developing countries is the societal expectation of men as the “breadwinners” of the household (Agesa & Kim, 2001). Culturally, men are expected to move and go anywhere to seek that “bread” for their wives and children. It does not matter where they migrate to, so long as they provide the bread! Indeed, such expectation may explain why men are more likely to migrate than women in SSA countries (Clarke & Drinkwater, 2001).

Culturally, women are often expected to be left at home tending to children and cultivating the family farm, while the men migrate (Dugbazah, 2012). Free (2010) in his study among the Luo of Kisumu district observed that in Luoland, several generations of men have spent bulk of their working lives outside the district. Francis noted that most migrants' wives stayed at home growing crops to feed their children and doing some seasonal trading to earn extra money. Her study also found that women who are most likely to migrate are single or divorced women and widows (Tanle, 2003).



Another factor that has encouraged rural-urban migration is the decline in the cost of transport and communication. The extension of road networks into rural areas has significantly decreased the cost involved in the movement of people (Jerve, 2001). The easy movement back and forth from rural and urban areas serves to improve access to information. Due to the improvement in communication systems, in many cases, migrants are no longer faced with an unknown destination. This, in turn, lowers the risks of movement, thereby increasing the chances of rural residents locating jobs in the urban centres (Afshar, 2000).

Tanle (2003) argued that the reduction in transport costs between the northern and southern parts of Ghana, for instance, accelerated the north-south migration in the late 1960s and 1970s. It is evident from the literature that a multiple combination of reasons as observed above will most likely determine those who migrate. However, when all is said and done, migration can be either a personal or as is the case in most SSA countries, a household decision that sometimes defies all the reasons suggested.

In rural areas, a new 'class' of people have emerged which relies mostly on physical and human capital instead of land and manual labour. Due to that, the incidence of tenancy has increased providing additional access to land for land-poor households. Rural-urban migration promoted land tenancy. According to Afsar (2003), a lot of migrants are able to purchase lands in Bangladesh. This is an indication of the important role of rural-urban migration to the land market. By purchasing rural land, urban settlers become absentee landowners making tenancy arrangements with relatives to cultivate

their land. It can be observed that rural households have not only adopted emigration to urban areas as a livelihood strategy, but rural-urban migration is undoubtedly a vital way of diversifying household and rural economies.

For Afsar (2003), landless and land-poor farmers have left the agricultural labour market for tenancies, wage labour in trade and business enterprises, rickshaw pulling and other manual non-agricultural activities in Bangladesh. Members of medium and large landowning households with correspondingly larger endowments of human and physical capital switched from cultivating their own farms to services and business. As a result, the proportion of poor people dropped to 43 percent in 2000 from 59 percent in 1988, a reduction of 1.2 percent per year (Afsar).

Rural-urban migration is also seen as transferring rural poverty to urban areas, a conventional wisdom challenged by Afsar (2003). They proposed that, in Bangladesh, the head count ratio for moderate poverty for households in slum and squatter settlements was estimated at 79 percent in 1991. This dropped to a low of forty-nine percent in 1998 and extreme poverty from 44.5 percent to twenty-three percent. These are chiefly migrant populations from the landless and marginal landholding households in rural areas. Three-quarters of this category were found to be moderately poor in rural areas. Afsar estimated that from no income of their own prior to migration, more than eighty percent were able to earn enough to keep them above the poverty threshold after migration.

Qualitative measures like perceptions about their poverty also neatly corroborated quantitative measures, which showed declining poverty after

migration. Around three-fifths of the migrant households, no matter where they reside reported that their economic state had improved compared with around two-fifths of rural households (Afsar, 2001). The structure of housing, a visible qualitative indicator of poverty and social stratification, also suggests that three-fifth of the households in slum and squatter settlements lived in better accommodation in 1998 than they did in 1991 (Afsar).

Internal migration is often considered a source of intra-village inequality because better-off villages and villagers learn first, and are able to avail new job opportunities whereas the extreme poor groups are generally excluded from such opportunities (Skeldon, 1997). Nevertheless, this idea cannot be generalised since empirical research suggests that a variety of groups have benefited in diverse ways depending on types of opportunities.

Moreover, migration allows the migrants and their families to improve their family's resource base and human capital. Evidence available on the impact of remittances at areas of origin also indicates its positive contribution to poverty alleviation, generating greater and diversified employment opportunities through multiplier effects, and strengthening both material and human capital (Dugbahah, 2012). At the place of destination, however, existing evidence suggests increasing inequality between the rich and the poor.

A longitudinal study on movement in Dhaka city (Afsar, 2001) indicates worsening of income distribution between slum and non-slum inhabitants. Slum-dwellers, who are predominantly migrants from rural areas, earned around one-third of the income of non-slum households in 1991; this declined to one-fifth in 1998. The bottom forty percent saw their income drop

from seventeen percent of the income of non-slum households to eleven percent while the top ten percent increased from twenty-seven percent to 42 percent. Urban inequality is not limited to income distribution but also leads to a stunted development of human capital of poorer communities. Although the enrolment rate of their age cohorts in slum and squatter settlements in Dhaka city rose from forty-one percent to 58 percent between 1991 and 1998, more than 40 percent of the children remained out of school.

Afsar (2001) found that nearly one-third of children in the ten to fifteen years age group from slums and squatters were in the labour force; the incidence of child labour remained almost unchanged between 1991 and 1998. Participation in higher education is almost negligible for young adult slum dwellers. It indicates "for low-income households the mobility from low to high-income occupations through the human capital formation is limited" (Afsar).

### **Livelihood Approaches**

Livelihood means 'assets' or 'capitals' that provide people with the capability to build a satisfactory living. According to Carney (1998), livelihood comprises capabilities, assets (both material and social resources), and activities required for living. Livelihoods are the ways and means through which people make their living with resources available to them (Ellis, 2000). In this context, other possibilities available to people given all of their resources and personal characteristics is what is termed as capabilities (Leonard, 2013).

However, family or household livelihood is determined by management of risks and different institutional policies at national and international level influenced by the movement of labour between countries (Ellis, 2003). Livelihood notion is associated with social institutions, as family, village and other social networks facilitating and sustaining diversified livelihoods (Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002).

The livelihood approach became popular as a result of scientific articles of Robert Chambers and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) during the last years of the 1980s (Schafer, 2002). Chambers and Conway(1991), stressed that livelihood is sustainable when it is able to cope with, and recover from stresses and shocks, able to keep its assets and capabilities both now and in the future, while not depleting the natural resource stock. The fundamentals of the livelihood concept are livelihood resources, livelihood strategies, livelihood outcomes and vulnerability context (Chambers & Conway).

The Livelihood framework places people, particularly rural poor people, at the centre of a web of inter-related influences that affect how these people create a livelihood for themselves and their households. Closest to the people at the centre of the framework are the resources and livelihood assets that they have access to and use. These can include natural resources, technologies, skills, knowledge and capacity, health, access to education, sources of credit, or their networks of social support. The extent of access to these assets is strongly influenced by their vulnerability context, which takes account of trends (for example, economic, political, and technological), shocks

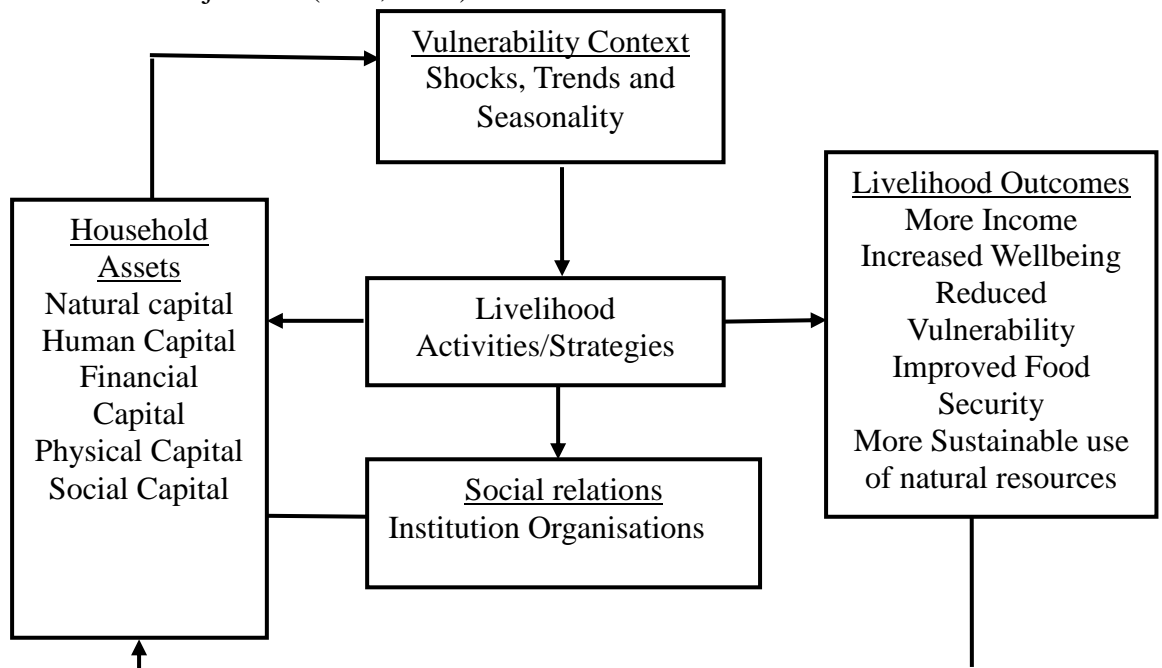
(e.g. epidemics, natural disasters, civil strife) and seasonality (for example, prices, production, and employment opportunities). Access is also influenced by the prevailing social, institutional and political environment, which affects the ways in which people combine and use their assets to achieve their goals.

Livelihood Approach is used to identify the main constraints and opportunities faced by poor people, as articulated by them. It builds on these definitions and then supports poor people as they address the constraints, or take advantage of opportunities. The framework is neither a model nor a universal solution but rather a means of stimulating thought and analysis, and it needs to be adapted and elaborated depending on the situation. The livelihood framework as seen in figure 1 is a useful tool, which helps in identifying different factors that affect livelihoods and explores the relations between them (Chambers & Conway, 1991). The framework shows the asset pentagon consisting of the livelihood assets, which are used by households to shape their livelihoods. Livelihood assets are the building stones of household's livelihoods because they enable households to produce, to participate in labour markets and to collect sufficient household income (Ellis, 2000). Livelihood assets are the stocks of capital that can be used by households to create the means of living or to improve the household welfare level. Within the livelihood framework, five different livelihood assets can be distinguished: natural capital, human capital, financial capital, physical capital and social capital.

According to Ellis (2000), natural capital refers to water, land and natural resources in the environment of people that are used to create means of

survival. The profits of these sources can be direct or indirect and they are related with user regimes and property. Human capital comprises labour, health, education, skills and everything that is required for able-bodied and talented labour forces. Human capital can increase by training, education and job experience.

Furthermore, physical capital refers to machines, transportation vehicles, buildings, roads, electricity, communications, et cetera; all assets that are produced by industrial production processes. Consequently, financial capital has to do with all the financial resources in the form of accessible stocks and regular inflows of money that people use to attain their livelihood outcomes, like savings, loans and credits. Finally, social capital can be defined as the social resources through, which people are able to achieve their livelihood objectives (Ellis, 2000).



**Figure 1: Sustainable Livelihood Framework**

Source: Department for International Development [DFID], 2001.

Households can accumulate social capital by interaction and collaboration with other people and by getting membership of official organisations reigned by norms and rules. Here relationships of trust are very important because they enable effective co-operations and reduce transaction costs (Ellis, 2000).

The livelihood framework offers no explanation for the role of power relations and politics. However, these power issues in the form of institutions, laws or policies affect the choices that people make with their livelihood assets (DFID, 2001). For this reason, it is important to include political capital in livelihood research. The importance of policies, institutions and processes cannot be overemphasized, because they operate at all levels, from the household to the international arena, and in all spheres, from the most private to the most public. They effectively determine access (to various types of capital, to livelihood strategies and to decision-making bodies and source of influence), terms of exchange between different types of capitals, and returns to any given livelihood strategy (DFID).

Policies, institutions and processes have a direct impact upon whether people are able to achieve a feeling of inclusion and well-being. Because culture is included in this area whereby, they also count for other 'unexplained' differences in the 'way things are done' in different societies (DFID, 2001). Policies, institutions and processes can determine access to assets and influence decision-making processes.



## **Benefits of the DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Approach**

A sustainable livelihoods approach empowers the poor by considering them not as victims, but as decision-makers with their own sets of priorities. Its transcendence of a sector-by-sector view of development accommodates the variety of economic activities an individual may rely on in order to subsist. To this end, the livelihoods approach takes a more holistic view of poverty, considering multiple resources beyond income levels and productivity. The DFID approach is especially unique in its inclusion of environmental sustainability as a consideration of relevance to poverty. Its flexible design and openness to changes make the Livelihoods Approach adaptable to diverse local contexts. The approach serves as an analytical tool in order to identify development priorities and new activities prior to any development activity. Further the Livelihood Approach might be used as a checklist or means of structuring ideas or can be applied in the form of a livelihood analysis to assess how development activities suit in the livelihood of the poor. (DFID, 2001)

The core concepts of the Livelihood Approach represent its strengths as well. On top of all, it places the main focus on the poor people by involving them in all the planning processes and respecting their opinions. The poor people define their strength, potentials and goals. This is done by adapting a holistic view to include all the aspects of poor people's livelihoods, and by considering that they are dynamic. It focuses clearly on short and long-term changes and allows pointing out the various processes that enduringly

influence one another. By openly linking problem causes, like for example political programs at a government level, with their effects on individuals.

The Livelihood Approach does not contradict to other current development approaches, rather tries to merge and take advantage of their strengths. It relies on involvement and pays special consideration to gender specific or ecological issues. A livelihood analysis thus applies a broad range of conventional methods and instruments, as for example from Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Good Governance Assessment techniques” (DFID, 2001). Thus, the Livelihood Approach provides a clear and practical view on how to reduce poverty and has generated good way of combining the four pillars of development (economic, social, institutional and environmental).

### **The criticisms of the DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Approach**

Much emphasis is not given to the informal structures and processes that affect access within the community. For Krantz (2001), while the frameworks make note of gender considerations, attempts to increase the voice of women are difficult to achieve successfully in practice. The livelihoods framework is incongruent with the conditions of the existent context: government ministries are grouped by sector, as are most standing development projects. It is impractical to employ a framework that does not take into account the nature of these structures (Krantz).

Local organisations may not have the capacity to carry out the type of analytical research integral to the sustainable livelihoods approach to development (Krantz, 2001). Though the sustainable livelihoods approach has

a number of weaknesses to be remedied, the approach marks a positive change from the previous approach to poverty alleviation. Its holistic view of individuals' sources of income and critical resources for households departs from the traditional income-centric view of livelihood promotion. Likewise, its approach to development gives due attention to the ways in which people may rely upon multiple income generating sectors at once.

### **Application of DFID Livelihood Framework**

The DFID carries out livelihoods approaches in many different contexts. Broadly speaking, it aims to promote sustainable livelihoods by providing poor people with better access to the assets that serve as a foundation for their livelihoods. They again support the more effective functioning of the structures and processes (policies, public- and private-sector organisations, markets and social relations) that influence not only access to assets but also which livelihoods are open to "poor people". If people have better access to assets, they will have more ability to influence structures and processes so that these become more responsive to their needs (Carney, 2000).

### **Conceptual Framework**

The concept of a livelihood strategy has become central to development practices in recent years. Nonetheless, given the uncountable possible proportional mixes of activities undertaken by a household, it is not always clear regarding the constituents of a distinct livelihood rather than just a slightly different mix of activities within the same general livelihood (de Haan, 2000). A precise operational definition of livelihood remains vague, as

does an associated method for identifying livelihoods in quantitative data (Ndambiri, Okello, Ng'ang'a, Ritho, Minyacha, & Omboto, 2012). This probably helps explain why the more quantitative development scholars (e.g. economists) have been slower to adopt the concept as compared with the most qualitative ones (e.g. anthropologists and sociologists).

The ability to operationalise the concept of a livelihood strategy becomes especially important when one speaks of 'improving' livelihood to paraphrase much current development discussion (Hugo, G. Champion, A. & Lattes, A., 2001). To understand the concept of 'improvement' is the suggestion that certain strategies offer households a higher return on their assets, not least of which is household labour migration (de Haan, 2000). Thus it is quite important in choosing distinct livelihood strategies that earn high returns for households, especially in rural agricultural areas.

Frameworks have been put forward to enhance the understanding of migration and rural livelihood (Tacoli, 2002). However, the one that has received much attention in recent times is the concept of "sustainable livelihood" (Carney, 2000). The livelihood approach views the world from the point of view of the individuals, households and social groups who are trying to make living in volatile conditions and with limited assets (Mabogunje, 2000). It provides a framework for understanding the opportunities and assets available to "poor people" and the sources of their vulnerability, as well as the effects of external organisations, processes and policies on such vulnerabilities (de Haan, 2000). As explained in the ensuing discussion, this study has adopted the "migration as a livelihood strategy" as its conceptual framework

which was originally adapted by Thiemes (2005) from the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. This framework is seen to be the appropriate framework for this study because it clearly shows relationships between migration and livelihood outcomes taking into consideration how vulnerable households are to external effects.

Chambers and Conway (1991) argue that the ability of households to have access to sustainable livelihood strongly depends on whether or not they have access to five forms of capital assets, that is natural, physical, human, social and financial assets. The idea of a livelihood framework as a tool for analysis is simply to capture the main elements, which comprise the complex livelihoods of people at a given point in time, as well as the course and dynamics of change in livelihoods (Carney, 2000). The basic elements of most livelihood frameworks are: livelihood resources: what people have, variously referred to as stocks and stores, assets and capital (both tangible and intangible); livelihood strategies: what people do, livelihood outcomes: what goals they are pursuing, and the living that results from their activities.

Human assets refer to knowledge, skills, formal education and good health that empower people to engage in diverse strategies to attain their livelihood outcomes (DFID, 2001). In the urban setup, these assets are the labours that a particular household makes, based on the household members in the workforce, their educational background, skills acquired, health status, age and gender of the household members (Conway & Chambers, 1991). In any household, the number of labours may differ depending on the health, education, leaders and skills available. It is stressed that human capital can

always be improved by the households as and when they want to through education and training (DFID).

Social assets are those social means through which people rely on to satisfy their livelihood goals (Scoones, 1998). According to the DFID (2001), social assets are ensured through networks and connectedness, between individuals; belonging to a formal group with common rules, norms and sanctions; and trust. Thus, the capabilities through social networking in which households have access to resources such as time, information, money and gifts (Ellis, 2000). Social capital compensates for a lack of other types of capital (e.g. shared labour groups compensating for limited human capital within the household) (DFID).

Natural assets are natural resources from which useful livelihoods are derived from the flows and services of nature (Ellis, 2000). These include access and quality of lands, forest, marine or wild, water, air quality, protection against erosion and storms, waste absorption and changes in the biodiversity (DFID, 2001). Natural assets are of particular importance because most of the vulnerabilities are also natural that cause havoc to the assets supposed to be used by people. We might be tempted to believe that it is only the rural poor who entirely depend on nature to survive are at risk of natural shocks, it must be noted that there would be no life without these natural resources (DFID).

The physical asset is viewed to be much important because studies have shown that most poor population lack certain physical assets in life, a typical example is accessibility to quality drinking water (Chambers &

Conway, 1991). This is made up of assets that have been acquired by households in the course of production. They include means of transport, buildings, kitchen utensils, jewellery, energy consumption, quality water supply, sanitation etc. (DFID, 2001). For the integration of rural areas and urban areas, transport and communication routes are of crucial concern which will not just provide them with communication means but also livelihood opportunities.

Financial assets refer to all the economic resource base of households in general, that is, accessibility of income opportunities and stocks that ensure regular supply of money. This asset happens to be the most versatile because it can be transformed in many ways considering the fact that institutional structures can be used directly or indirectly to influence situations (Carney, 2000). In the urban context, networks and reciprocity are usually more fragile and unpredictable due to high fragmentation and heterogeneity of urban populations.

As a component of the framework (Figure 2), livelihood strategies differ with regard to whether people have to deal with gradual changes or crises (Carney, 2000). These are agricultural intensification, livelihood diversification and migration (Carney; Scoones, 1998). Agriculture is notably the most important economic activity of rural households in most developing countries (Carney). In the past, it has often been assumed that increased in farm productivity would create more non-farm income earning opportunities in the rural economy via linkage effects (Ndambiri, et al., 2012).

However, this assumption is no longer tenable for many poor rural families as it is obvious that farming on its own is unable to provide a sufficient means of survival (Johnson, 2001). As a result of inadequate income from agriculture, most households are compelled to embark on livelihood diversification strategies such as migration, in order to vary the sources of household income (Afsar, 2003). In sub-Saharan Africa, most household level diversifications are not just non-farm, but also non-rural in character, such as rural-urban migration (Mahama, 2013). It is widely agreed that the capability to diversify livelihood is more beneficial for poor rural households (Toulmin, 2000). In spite of this notion, Guest (2003) argues that having alternatives for income generation can make the difference between sustainable livelihood and destitution. However, diversification does not have an equalising effect on overall, rural incomes as families, that are relatively better-off are typically more able to diversify their livelihoods than poorer rural families (Ellis, 2000).

In light of this thesis and for that matter Figure 2, livelihood strategy will focus on migration. According to de Haan (2000), throughout history, migration has been a common practice and has been adopted by households or communities as a livelihood strategy globally. Demographic data from certain districts such as those in Bihar show that for every two households, one would have a migrant since the early 2000s (Dang, Goldstein, & McNally, 1997). In relation to the theory of sustainable livelihood, migration as a livelihood theory will likely raise some debate in terms of rural livelihoods sustainability but it has been admired by academicians since it gained ground (Dang et al.). This concept lay emphasis on the fact that people's livelihood may depend on



migration. Migration is said to reduce poverty in the migrant's home of origin. But Francis and Hoddinott (1993) argue that it is the migrants themselves who's level of poverty reduces as they find themselves with good jobs and hence contribute more to the area of the destination than the origin.

According to Knowles & Anker (1981), uncertainties surrounding income of families, savings and investments are reduced by migration. For instance, remittances from migrants have for a long time provided generations with an inseparable source of income among the Bihari migrants in Calcutta (de Haan, 2000). It has also been found in Kenya that income from migrants plays crucial role in the lives of the less endowed as compared to the wealthy ones since the less endowed have little livelihood opportunities (Francis & Hoddinott, 1993) most of the remittances from migrants are geared towards payment of households' debts.

Material gains are the commonest form of assets migrants returnees are often seen with, but these are found to be just part of what they bring home while it has also been considered as the main assets they return with (Schiff, 1999). On the contrary, education or training is one of the common motives of migrants and hence many migrants (labour migrants) come back home well reformed and refined in knowledge and in skills (Schiff). In this case, the capabilities of the migrants may have been broadened and hence would be able to have more livelihood alternatives than before. At times, migrants acquire other foreign languages, practical skills in trading and entrepreneurial abilities or knowledge to increase agricultural production and to invest in the education of their communities (Ballard, 1983).

Even though migration is often linked to insecurity in the literature because of break of family ties, labour repatriation and retrenchment due to economic failures and political reasons, it reduces risks, seasonality and shocks (Francis, 1999). Migration of young ones from a household reduces the household's tendency to face food insecurity in times of hardships because dependency ratio would have been reduced (Francis). And young women who migrate tend to save and invest their earnings in preparation to their marriages and in so doing may not contribute physically to the household but they also do not rely on their households (Turner, 2010). These contribute vitally to the reduction of insecurity, shocks and seasonality. Migration also reduces tensions that exist within households and keep families longer in the long run (Hugo et al., 2001). Francis opine further that for vulnerability reasons, families should not be kept together because when there is death or disaster, they all die but they all cannot die at the same time when in a different environment.

Furthermore, migration as a means of diversifying livelihood will also favour households, due to their higher level of education relative to that of poor households, which subsequently translates into their higher propensity to obtain employment (Toulmin, 2000). The evidence is mixed regarding the gains and losses of household diversification strategies to agriculture (Toulmin). Negative effects are associated with the withdrawal of critical labour from farming activities, while positive effects include the alleviation of credit constraints and a reduction risk to income (Ellis, 2000). However, it is still important for rural households to diversify their livelihood. This is

because diversification of economic activities contributes to the sustainability of rural livelihood, by improving its resilience in the face of adverse economic trends. In general, diversification is more advantageous as an option for rural poor than for rich households. However, due to socio-economic constraints, it is the rich households who tend to migrate in larger numbers, not the poor (Banerjee, 2007).

Efforts made to make the standard of living better for the migrants than before are known as enhancement strategies (Thieme et al; 2005). It is hoped that these efforts will make households better in comparison to their situation before leaving as it is believed to make them wealthy. Mitigation strategies however are the actions of individuals to defend themselves from persistent risks. Mitigation is thought to raise the ability of migrants to fight stresses and shocks in their lives. Lastly, coping strategies are reactions to contingences and processes of improvement. Ellis (2000) defines coping strategy as the methods used by households to survive when confronted with unanticipated livelihood failure. He adds that livelihood strategies are dynamic; they respond to changing pressures and opportunities and they adapt accordingly. When people are exposed to shocks, such as people fleeing from war and other immediate disasters like floods, they can be said to pursue a coping strategy, a livelihood strategy where their choices are limited. Livelihood strategies of people change in response to the constraints and opportunities they are exposed to, likewise the decision to migrate or not.

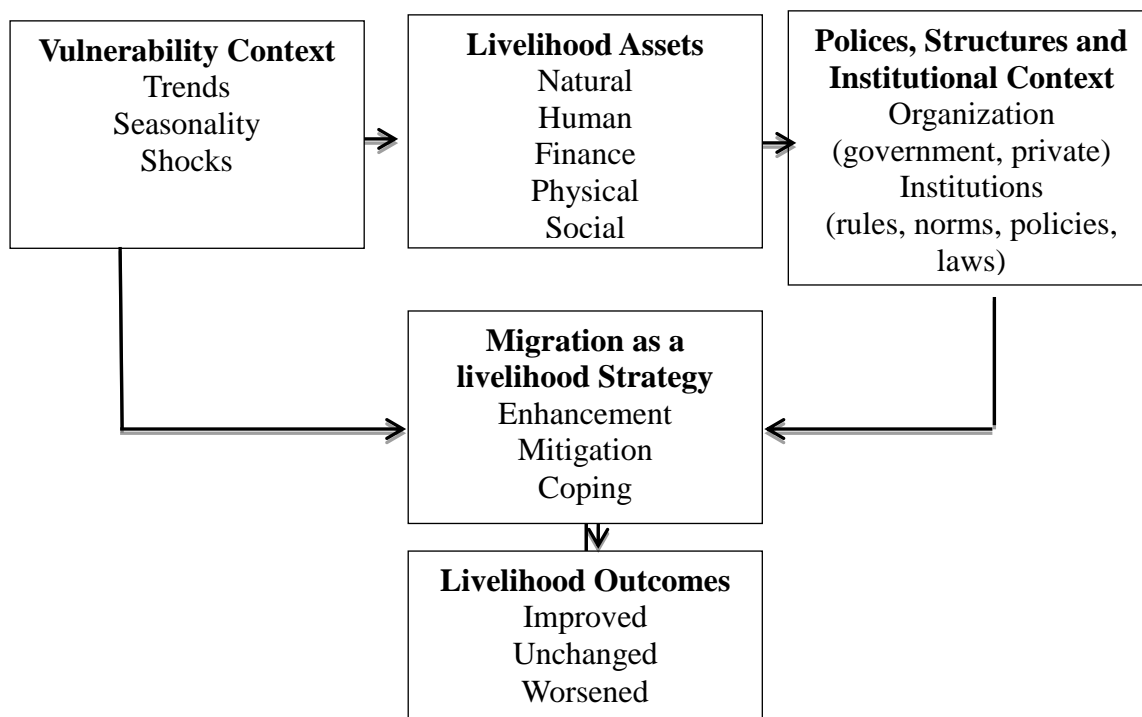
They are applied after loss or damage, especially when loss forces an individual or household to live below a minimum economic or social threshold (Koberlein, 2003).

Policies, structure and institutional context are some of the many factors that shape the decisions which correspond to household's migration. They have powers at all levels in the society whether domestic or international levels, private or public situations (Tsegai, 2005). They control the accessibility of livelihood options and influence decision-making agencies, conditions of assets trade and can also influence the returns of the various livelihood strategies (DFID, 2001). For instance, a policy like the resettlement program in Ethiopia affects not only people's livelihood strategies but their access to assets and every other aspect of their livelihoods. It is important to understand the effect of policies on livelihoods since migration policies can limit or encourage migration and shape the extent of movement (Tsegai). Although people adopt migration as a livelihood strategy it does not follow that their livelihoods will be improved, migration can lead to both improvement and decline of livelihoods.

According to Chambers and Conway (1991), vulnerability involves the surroundings in which people find themselves. Things or events happening around human beings tend to affect their way of life in which they hardly can control. These vulnerabilities include shocks such as health, natural disasters, production, war and conflict, agricultural failure (DFID, 2001). These have the power to displace people or prevent them from using a particular asset. And in the end, rural poor is highly affected (Chambers & Conway). Trends, on the

other hand, are not limited to population, resource, national and international, economic, politics etc. (Carney, 2000), In spite of the fact that they are predicted, they can affect an economy or international economy at large. Seasonal changes in prices of goods and services, employment opportunities and food security are part of hardships that rural poor experience (DFID, 2001). In line with the framework, livelihood strategy such as migration is available for the rural poor as a means of improving their lives. Though they are vulnerable to all the shocks, trends and seasonality, they equally have the assets to cope, mitigate, and improve.

The outcome as the utmost of the components in Figure 2 could either be improved, worsened or unchanged. Because the framework is human centred, it identifies opportunities and how people use them but also how externalities influence their usage. The outcomes in most cases are in the form of income, well-being, vulnerability, and food security which could either be improved, worsened or unchanged due to migration. Taylor (1999), states that although individuals migrate, they do not sever ties with their source households because at times source households may pay migration costs and support migrants until they become established at their destinations. Family members who remain behind may reorganize both their consumption and production activities in response to the migrant's departure, and migrants (often children) share part of their earnings with their household of origin through remittances.



**Figure 2: Migration as a Livelihood Strategy**

Source: Adapted from Theime, 2005.

Continuing interactions between migrants and rural households suggest that a household model would be more appropriate than an individual level model of migration decisions.

Consequently, migrants become involved in the economic development of their places of origin hence being considered as agents of development. They can contribute to development not only through remittances, investment and entrepreneurial activities but also through the transfer of newly developed skills and knowledge, or through fostering democratisation and the protection of human rights in their countries of origin (Murphy, 2002). The current study has adopted a modified version of the sustainable livelihood framework considering migration as the only livelihood strategy. The Migration as a Livelihood Framework is shown diagrammatically in Figure 2.

## **Transfers of Resources between Migrants and Rural Migrant Households**

In the last decade, there has been increasing focus on the impact of remittances in migration studies. But in the 1970s, it was highlighted that migrant households who receive remittances mainly spend on consumptive purposes, there was more attention to the fostering impact of remittances on investments in agriculture and entrepreneurial activities (de Haas, 2007). There is no general agreement on the impact of remittances on agriculture because it is very dependent on the context. Some studies show positive effects in terms of an increase in agricultural production and farm investments, while other empirical researches show the opposed effect (Dugbazah, 2012). At times, remittances flows can have a compensatory influence on the negative effects of the lack of human capital because they enable households to hire additional labour forces.

However, in other cases, the transfer of resources from the migrants may result in a decrease in agricultural production, for instance, because it reduces the motivation of rural people to participate in poorly paid farming activities and it stimulates non-agricultural activities (IFAD, 2008). Rural households can use the received money for different purposes. Households can choose to spend it on basic needs like increased consumption and investments in housing, health and education. But they can also decide to use the remittances for enhancing their agricultural production or for investments in commercial activities, like small enterprises or business. The impact of the remittances depends on the spending behaviour of the receiving households. When the received financial capital is used to improve farming activities and non-farm investments, the impact has been proven to be positive for both rural

employment and agricultural production (Lindley, 2008). According to Lucas (2006), rural-urban migration to mines in South Africa initially had a reducing effect on crop production in the rural sending areas, but on the long term money transfers from the migrants resulted in a growing livestock and higher agricultural productivity.

Also in China and Ghana, remittances flow appeared to be compensative for the loss of labour forces, because they led to higher incomes and increasing crop productivity (Tsegai, 2005). However, Jokisch, (2002) found that in Ecuador the money received from migrants mainly was used for improved housing, instead of improved farming. Furthermore, in Mali, it was found that there was little difference between households with and households without migrants in terms of agricultural productivity and on-farm investments (Jokisch). Finally, some studies showed that remittance-flows can foster employment in sending areas and can have positive impacts on both migrant and non-migrant households (Lindley, 2008). The general affinity seems to be that remittances have a stimulating effect on off-farm investments and employment outside the agricultural sector (IFAD, 2008). Rural areas with an abundance of farm land surface, sufficient water sources and developed infrastructure are more likely to experience investments in agriculture than densely populated areas with small and infertile farming plots and a shortage of irrigation water. In densely populated areas, investments in agriculture are not profitable and people tend to search for occupations outside the agricultural sector (de Haas, 2007).

Furthermore, most empirical studies on remittances show a positive impact on the well-being of sending households. Remittances often result in



higher and more diversified household income, increasing food consumption and food security, better access to health and increasing educational opportunities (Dugbazah, 2012). However, there is no general agreement on the impact of migration and related resource transfers on education and health. Some researches reveal that children of migrant-sending households score better in terms of health and education than non-migrant households, whilst other studies show that remittances also can have negative effects on health and educational status and do not compensate the high social costs of migration. However, the majority of migration studies show positive impacts on households' health and education (de Haas, 2007; IFAD, 2008). Lu and Treimann (2007) found that in South Africa children from money-receiving households are much more involved in education than children from households that do not receive remittances. The same appeared to be the case in Guatemala where remittance-receiving households spend over 50% more money for educational purposes than households without remittances (Adams & Page, 2005).

Also in Mexico children from migrant families appeared to be more frequently involved in education and more successful in school than their classmates from non-migrants families (Hanson & Woodruff, 2003). If the remittance sender or receiver is a household head (father or mother), receiving households seem to invest more in education than in other cases. In addition, female remittance receivers generally spend a larger part of the money on education than male receivers (International Organization for Migration, 2010). However, there are also similar studies with contrasting results. For instance in Albania, children from rural remittance-receiving families were not

successful at school, as a result of the disturbing effects of migration on families (IFAD, 2008).

Also, findings of research on migration impacts on health are varying. Studies in Latin-American migration areas, for instance, show an improved health of children of remittance-receiving households, especially among money-poor households (Ajaero & Onokala, 2013). Remittance-flows as a result of migration can improve people's access to health services and medicines. In Mexico, this resulted in reducing infant mortality and decreasing frequency of the disease, especially among children of migrant families (Morales, Lara, Kington, Valdez, & Escarce, 2002). At the same time, there are also scientists who have cautioned the general populace on the negative impacts of migration on health. Often they highlight the psychological effects of the departure of parents in terms of rejection and feelings of loneliness (Health, 2010).

Furthermore, several studies found a higher prevalence of diseases like HIV/AIDS or malaria among migrant households and neglecting behaviour in terms of health care towards migrant children living in families of relatives (Health, 2010). Moreover, the health of members of migrant households can be deteriorated by the use of alcohol and drug caused by feelings of abandonment (IFAD, 2008).

### **Impact of Migration on Household Livelihoods**

In the beginning of the 21st century, more than seventy-five percent of the labour forces in Sub-Saharan African countries were still employed in the agricultural sector (International Fund for Agricultural Development [IFAD], 2008). Yet, in an increasing number of places, rural livelihoods are becoming less and less dependent on agriculture. This is partly the result of the appearance of rural-based alternative employment and income opportunities (Murphy, 2002). In general, employment in the agricultural sector of developing countries is decreasing (Gollin, 2012).

In the last decade, there appeared many academic studies that confirm this change in rural areas. This includes, for instance, the industrialisation of rural areas in the Philippines as a result of the development of metal craft industries (Stalker, 2000). Tacoli (2002), investigated substantial livelihood diversification in the form of artificial fruit and flower production in Vietnam's Red River Delta. Many rural regions are affected by a process of so-called de-agrarianization, resulting in an increasing group of young labour forces searching for non-farm occupations and pushed by the low rural wage rates and agricultural constraints. More and more people in rural areas diversify their livelihood and reduce risks by working in or outside their place of living. Literature shows that especially in rural Africa, non-farm income sources account for a considerable share (42%) of rural household income, more than in other regions of the world (Tacoli). When rural people seek to diversify their income sources and occupations, they often go quickly in temporary or long-term migration. Several recent studies show that remittances as a result of migration are increasingly important for the sending

areas and have surpassed farming as the major income source for rural household (Willis, 2000).

There is also no agreement on the impact of migration for rural development. Migration processes are not only positive for the sending households, but also for whole communities, regions and even countries. Supporters of this idea support policies aimed at the strengthening of financial, social and economic relationships between migrant and their areas of origin, because they consider migration as a household strategy resulting in economic and social flows and networks (Willis, 2000). Highlighting the positive impact of the resource flows from migrants to the sending areas, like money transfers, in-kind remittances and innovative techniques and ideas. These resource transfers result in improvement of the livelihoods of rural households and in some cases used for investments in non-agricultural activities which in turn lead to a higher employment rates (de Haas, 2007).

Focusing on the negative effects of migration for both sending and destination areas, they emphasised the disturbing effects of the departure of labour forces from rural areas and the overloading impact on the urban sector in terms of increasing employment rates, booming informal sectors and growing poverty (de Haas, 2007). There are a variety of factors that influence the extent to which migration has a negative or positive impact on sending areas. The effects of migration, for instance, are dependent on the duration of the migration, the local context and the amount of remittances (IFAD, 2008). Most of the recent studies on the impact of migration are in line with the discussed livelihood approach and New Economics of Labour Model. They consider migration as a strategic household response to scarcity and poverty

conditions in order to reduce vulnerability and increase income and investment opportunities. Remittance flows play a central role in these studies and are mainly seen as a poverty-alleviating strategy (de Haas, 2007).

The extent to which loss of human capital affects the sending households depends on different factors like family structure, duration of the migration, the migrant characteristics and the relationship between migrant and sending household. For instance, in areas with high population density, the out-migration of people may result in relief in terms of less underemployment and less pressure on natural resources. In this way, the departure of human resources forms a protection of rural livelihoods of the remaining rural households (IFAD, 2008).

Also, rural out-migration has important consequences for rural labour markets. Out-migration reduces the supply of labour in the sending areas which sometimes can lead to higher wages and less under- or unemployment. Whether this is the case or not depends on the presence of an oversupply of labour, flexibility of wages and the replacement possibilities in sending areas (Lucas, 2006). In some regions, rural-outmigration results in higher wages while other regions have no gains, because the lack of labour is replaced by unemployed people (Lindley, 2008).

Some empirical studies reveal that the resource which flows from the migrant to the household of origin can compensate the lack of labour forces (Dugbazah, 2012). However, in other cases, the remittances are insufficient to replace the departed labour force (IFAD, 2008). The lack of labour may also be fulfilled with inexpensive labour forces from other rural areas. A study in Morocco revealed that many rural households use hired labourers for their

agricultural activities, besides sharecroppers and family members (de Haas, 2007). This process resulted in higher wage rates in rural Morocco.

According to a recent study by Rizzo (2011) and Tacoli (2002) in Rwanda and Tanzania, there is a highly diversified and lively rural labour market in these countries, furthered by the migration of young able-bodied people. These studies reveal a high number of people who work for other people as their major source of livelihood. Rural wage labour plays a crucial role in the survival of the poorest. Rizzo and Tacoli both concluded that the current focus of poverty and employment policies in Rwanda is highly problematic because they consider the rural poor as a homogenous group of small-scale subsistence farmers, working on their own land with the support of members of their own household. The duration of the migration has a significant influence on sending migrant areas particularly in terms of employment. Long-term migration to urban areas usually means that migrants do not regularly return to their original place of living. This type of migrants especially causes labour shortages, resulting in the destabilising of the traditional household and farming structures (Tacoli, 2002).

In several rural regions, migration of young people has resulted in an increase in the mean age of labour forces. This aging has a negative impact on agricultural production and revenues. Another consequence of migration is the loss of well-educated and highly-skilled people. Yet, there is still no agreement on the impact of this 'brain drain' on rural development, because there is a lack of scientific evidence (Nunn, 2005). According to Skeldon (1997), the negative effects of the loss of human resources can be

compensated by a later return of the most skilled migrant or by structural investments in the destination area.

In contrast, temporary or seasonal migration can enhance the allocation of labour because, during the labour-extensive periods outside the farming seasons, migrants work in urban areas elsewhere and return during the farming seasons to help with harvesting. In this way, their migration offers extra income sources while it does not affect their farming activities (Skeldon, 1997). Moreover, migration can have an important impact on task divisions and work load within sending households. The remaining family members often have to replace the tasks performed by the migrated household members, such as household tasks, care of the children or agricultural activities on a household parcel (Dugbazah, 2012).

The departure of especially young and physically powerful man often results in an increasing workload for women in the household (Turner, 2010). These increasing responsibilities can be an emotional burden for these women. de Haas (2007) noticed that women in Morocco did not automatically appreciate the sudden changes in responsibility and work tasks but rather valued the traditional gender roles in their society. Also in Burkina Faso, women did not apprise new working times and tasks because they experienced a shortage of time to perform all their tasks (IFAD, 2008). Finally, the departure of parents or husbands can cause feelings of loneliness and emptiness in remaining household members. Especially in the case of long-term migration, family structures and relationships can erode and children can get feelings of abandonment or rejection when they never see their father or mother (World Bank, 2006).

## **Summary**

The chapter reviewed literature that is of core importance to the study. The chapter opened with a discussion on the theories of migration. The effects of rural-urban migration were also discussed. Concepts of livelihood were covered. The final part of the chapter dealt with the conceptual framework on how rural households make migration livelihood strategy which included the factors that inform their decision. The next chapter discusses the methodological issues of the study.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter presents the research approach and the methods employed to collect the data for the study. It comprises the study area, the research philosophy, data and sources, target population, sample size sampling procedure, research instruments, pre-testing of instruments, training of field assistants, and fieldwork and challenges. Others included ethical issues and data processing and analysis.

#### **Study Area**

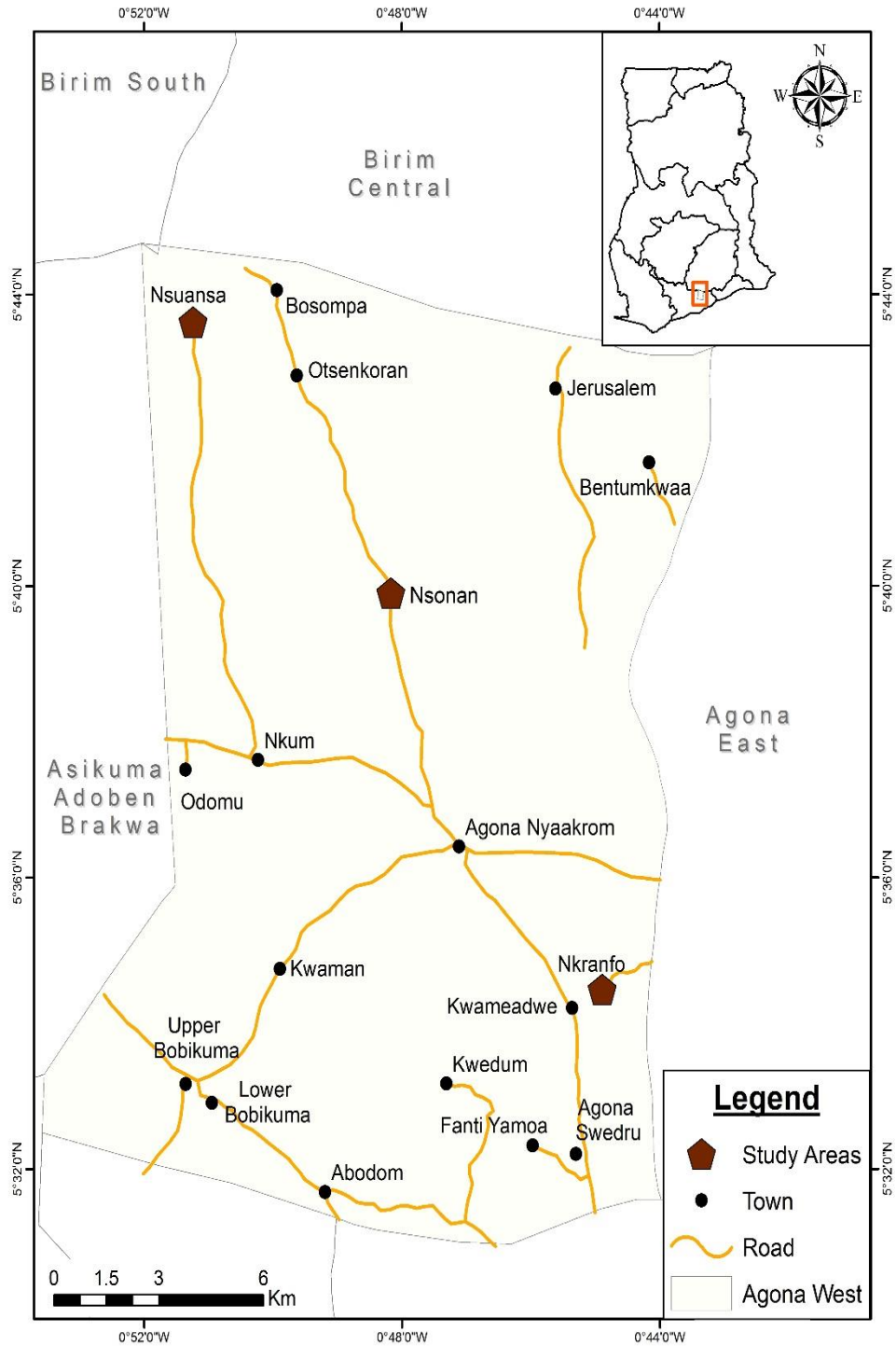
The Agona West Municipality was created out of the former Agona District Assembly (ADA) on 25<sup>th</sup> February 2008 by LI 1920. The Agona West Municipality is situated in the eastern corner of the Central Region within latitudes 5<sup>o</sup>30' and 5<sup>o</sup>50' N and between longitudes 0<sup>o</sup>35' and 0<sup>o</sup>55'W. It has a total land area of 447 square kilometres (Figure 3).The Municipal capital, Swedru, is a nodal town (AWMA Profile, 2010).

Generally, the Municipality lies in the wet semi-equatorial climatic zone. It has two main seasons: a bi-modal pattern of rainfall with double maxima occurring in May / June and minor in September / October (AWMA Profile, 2010). The annual rainfall figure lies within the range of 1000mm – 1400mm. The dry season starts in November and ends in March, with the highest mean monthly temperature of 33.8<sup>o</sup>C occurring between March/April and the lowest of about 29.4<sup>o</sup> C in August. The area falls within the moist

tropical and semi-deciduous forest with a lot of valuable timber trees like mahogany, Sapele, silk cotton, Wawa and Odum (AWMA Profile). The area has a diversified relief with altitudes varying between 75-150 meters above sea level, with the highest point being 350 meters. The main river, which primarily drains through the Municipality is Akora River.

The major soil type found in the Municipality is classified as forest ochrosols. These soils are alkaline and richly supplied with nutrients which make them suitable for cultivating varied agricultural produce like cocoa, citrus and coconut. Vegetable and sugar cane cultivation are widespread (AWMA Profile, 2010). The majority of the people in the Municipality are into the production of cocoa and cassava. Agriculture is the major economic activity engaging more than 64% of the Municipal population (AWMA Profile,). The availability of markets in most of the major towns in the Municipality promotes trade and commerce.

The Municipality has a total population of 115,358, out of which females constitute about 61, 199 while males are 54,159 (GSS, 2012). It has a growth rate of 2.8 percent which is higher than the national growth rate of 2.5 percent but lower than the regional growth rate of 3.1 percent. The rapid increase in population is due to both high birth rate and a considerable reduction in mortality as well as high in-migration. The age and sex structure of the Municipality show that the population is predominantly female 53.1 percent with males forming 46.9 percent.



**Figure 3: Map of Agona West Municipality showing the Study Areas**

Source: GIS, Remote Sensing and Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC.

The Municipality has major trunk roads. It has one major government hospital at Agona Swedru and few clinics in the major towns like Nyakrom, Abodom. This is supported by few Ahmadiyya hospitals in the municipality, however, Nsuansa, Nsonan and Nkranfo have none of these health facilities and residents therefore they travel miles to access the few in the towns close to them.

As a nodal town, Agona Swedru attracts migrants from the nearby rural areas as a means of livelihood diversification. The youth and the active working population (40%) dominate the age structure of the area which in a way helps to determine the perceived effects of out-migration in the study area. Given the fact that the Agona West Municipality is found in the equatorial climate and the moist semi-deciduous forest, the rural areas in the municipality have a greater opportunity to undertake agricultural activities.

Moreover, the forest ochrosols soil is rich in nutrients which boost the production of food crops. Rainfall is averagely high coupled with River Akora which could be used for irrigation purposes. It is as a result of the rich agricultural lands that crops such as cocoa, plantain, coffee, coconut, cassava etc., are common in the area. These crops also boost trading activities and earn people incomes. All these characteristics enumerated above contribute significantly to rural-urban migration in the area. Whereas some move for agricultural purposes, others move for non-agricultural purposes such as education, training in employable skills, production and service sectors.

The study was undertaken in three purposively selected communities from the Agona West Municipality namely: Nkranfo, Nsuansa and Nsonan. These communities were chosen for this study because they are well noted for

frequent youth out-migration in the Agona West Municipality (GSS, 2012; AWDA, 2014).

The current observation about the above study communities has also been acknowledged by Arthur (2009), who opined that rural out-migration is a major livelihood strategy among the people of Nkranfo, Nsuansa and Nsonan communities in the AWM. One of the main reasons for the out-migration of youth in these villages is mainly due to the precarious agricultural activities which is the main source of employment in the study area. In order to mitigate the risk to their rural livelihoods, many of the youth in these areas employ migration as a means of livelihood diversification.

### **Research Philosophy**

The study adopted a mixture of the quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis simultaneously. This was based on the positivist and the interpretivist research paradigms. The positivist paradigm leads to a scientific, systematic approach to research and as such lends itself to the use of quantitative methodology. Twumasi, (2001) described the quantitative methodological approach as being a structured approach in which all aspects of the research processes are decided upon before data collection begins. The positivist paradigm began with an assumption that 'the truth is out there'. Quantitative methodology, derived from this, aims to improve validity by 'careful sampling appropriate instrumentation and appropriate statistical treatments of data' (Cohen & Uphoff, 2000). The quantitative methodology aided the selection of the interview schedule which was an appropriate tool to use because it is well structured. This design, however, has

some shortcomings because it is not everyone who agrees that there is a universal truth waiting to be discovered.

An alternative viewpoint was that each individual understands and interprets the world around them differently as it is being influenced by their social and cultural context and that there may be multiple explanations for actions (Hugo, 2001). This point of view belongs to the interpretivist paradigm. Cohen and Uphoff, (2000) pointed out that discussions about reliability and validity be framed by the paradigm and methodological approach taken. The qualitative methodology is usually more concerned with describing experiences, emphasizing meaning and exploring the nature of an issue (Coolican, 2004). The qualitative methodology aided the selection of the Focus Group Discussion where individual opinions were sorted without any restrictions.

The study hence employed the mixed research methods. Mixed methods design allow a researcher to combine quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts, or language into a single study to explore and explain identifiable problems as well as make predictions (Creswell, 2003). While the interview schedule was on quantitative methods, the FGDs were purely qualitative. The mixed method was chosen to address questions at different levels of the study to enable the researcher to explore and explain the intricate connections of the subject matter.

### **Target Population**

The target population for the study consisted of family heads from the three selected study communities (Nkranfo, Nsuansa, and Nsonan). To ensure

homogeneity of the data, respondents for the study were limited to households with rural out-migrants' only and households with migrants were selected through snowballing. The unit of analysis for this study was the individual family head aged 18 years and above found in households with migrants who have been away from the household for a minimum period of one year. The period of one year was used because it was assumed that a migrant who has stayed for more than one year might have secured a job which would enable him or her to remit his or her household. Also, the family heads were assumed to have all the necessary information about their household members who have migrated out of the home. Moreover, the one-year duration was considered suitable for this study because the UN (1998) considered individuals who have been away from their areas of origin for at least one year as permanent migrants.

In addition to the respondents (family heads) for the survey, the opinions and perspectives of elders were also sought qualitatively on the topic under investigation to enrich the quantitative data. The elders were selected based on the assumption that elders in the Ghanaian cultural setting have oversight responsibility for community development affairs and were more likely to be knowledgeable about youth out-migration in the study areas.

### **Sample Size**

The sample size for the study consisted of 169 respondents in the Agona West Municipality of the Central Region of Ghana. This included 121 family heads that had some family members as out-migrants and 48 key

informants from the study communities. The key informants were made up of 8 females and 8 males from each of the three communities.

The above sample size was considered appropriate for the study because Hair, Anderson, and Tatham (1998) argue that a sample of 100 or more is enough to undertake any statistical significant test. In addition to the above, forty-eight (48) key informants were also purposively selected for Focus Group Discussion (FGD). This included 16 elders from each of the three study areas comprising 8 males and females each. The selection of these key informants was based on their in-depth understanding of the topic under investigation which sought to assess the effects of rural-urban migration on household's livelihoods in the Agona West Municipality.

### **Sampling Procedure**

Sampling techniques used to select the respondents included purposive and snowballing sampling techniques. In the first stage of the sampling, the study used a purposive sampling technique to select the three communities out of the top seven communities. These were purposively sampled because they were the most noted for out migration in the Municipality (Arthur, 2009; GSS, 2012). These communities were Nsuansa, Nkranfo, and Nsonan.

In the second stage, a preliminary survey was conducted using the snowballing technique. The snowball sampling was employed to identify households with migrants in each house of the three selected study sites. During the preliminary survey phase a sampling frame of 121 households who met the criteria for the study were identified. In all 50, 39, and 32 households selected from Nsuansa, Nkranfo, and Nsonan communities respectively.



**Table 1: Population, Number of Migrants' Households and Sample Size**

Village	Total Number of Households	Households With Migrants
Nkranfo	78	39
Nsuansa	111	50
Nsonan	68	32
Key Informants	-	48
Total	257	169

Source: GSS 2012 and Field Survey, 2015.

In addition to the above, 48 key informants which comprised the elderly were purposively selected for focus group discussions. These comprised eight (8) males and 8 females drawn from among migrants' household heads from each of the study communities. These key informants were purposively selected because of their knowledge on youth out-migration in the study areas. The males and females were interviewed separately which was to avoid intimidation from either group. Each focus group discussion was made up of eight (8) discussants instead of twelve which is the upper limit because Sarantakos (1998) suggests that FGDs of between 6 and 8 is sufficient to generate the needed information in any qualitative study.

### **Research Instruments**

Both quantitative and qualitative research instruments were used to collect data. Specifically, an interview schedule (researcher administered questionnaire), and focus group discussion guide were used. The interview schedule (researcher administered questionnaire) was used for the survey. The

interview schedule is a quantitative research method commonly employed in survey research (Creswell, 2007). The aim of this approach is to ensure that each interviewer is presented with exactly the same questions in the same order. With interview schedule, the data is collected by an interviewer rather than the respondent who reads and responds to the questions as in the case of a self-administered questionnaire.

The interview schedule is used when the respondent cannot read and understand the content of the interview guide that has been designed. In such a case, the interviewer reads and explains the questions to the respondent and the respondent makes a choice from among the alternatives. Apart from the respondent not being able to understand the content, the language in which the questions are designed is another reason why structured interview is also preferred. Thus, when the respondent cannot read and understand the language in which the questions have been worded, interview schedule allows for the interviewer to read and explain the questions to the respondent. In the case of this study, the interview schedule helped because the questions were worded in the English language while most of the respondents could not read and understand the English language. For this reason, the interview schedule ensured that the interviewer read and explained the questions to the respondents. Another advantage of this method is that it ensured the validity and reliability of the data since the questions were explained to the understanding of the respondents before they offered their responses.

The interview schedule (appendix A) was structured into four main sections. The first section profiled the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. Variables that were measured included sex, age, level of

education, marital status, ethnicity, household size, and religion. The second section of the interview schedule was based on the motives and expectation of migration. Here, questions such as the reasons for migration, employment status of migrant before and after migration and migrant occupation before and after migration were interrogated. The third dimension of the interview schedule captured issues related to the flow of remittances to migrant households such as the volume and type of remittances, and the frequency of migrants' remittances. The fourth section focused on how migrants' remittances are utilized and the effects migrants' remittances has on the livelihood status of migrants' households in the study communities.

The other instrument used in this study is the focus group discussion. A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) involves gathering together people from similar backgrounds or experiences to discuss a specific topic of interest (Creswell, 2007). Generally, FGD is directed at unearthing communal or shared opinions or views rather than individual or personal sentiments. In FGDs, questions are usually put across in order for the participants to express their opinions or views regarding such questions or topics. Each participant is allowed to express his or her opinion as the person deems fit. In order to ensure even participation, participants are not allowed to "attack" the opinions of other participants.

Each group was constituted based on the number of participants available. Once the groups are constituted, the participants are prepared for the discussion by introducing them to the study. The discussions were guided by a moderator (or group facilitator) who introduces topics for discussion and helps the group to participate in a lively and natural discussion amongst them. The

moderator played a key role in the FGDs as he helped to facilitate the discussion by ensuring that the discussions did not deviate much from the substantive topics and also asking the right questions in a clear manner to enhance the validity of the data. In all, six (6) FGDs were conducted two in each community.

In relation to this study, FGD was applied because of its notable strengths including the following. First, the FGD allowed the participants to agree or disagree with each other and by so doing provided an insight into how the group (community elders) thinks about issues, about the range of opinion and ideas, and the inconsistencies and variation that exists in a particular community in terms of out-migration youth and its socio-economic effect on migrants' households. Also, FGD enabled the study to explore the meanings of the quantitative findings that could not be explained statistically.

The FGD guide (appendix B) was also structured into four main sections just as the interview schedule. The first section centred on socio-demographic characteristics of discussants such as sex, age, level of education, marital status, religion, ethnicity, and household size. The second section bordered on the motives and expectation of migration. Questions such as migrants' reasons for migration, employment status of migrants prior to and after migration were also explored. The third section of the FGD guide tapped into issues concerning the pattern of migrants' remittance flows such as the volume and various forms of remittances, and the frequency of migrants' remittance flows. The final part (fourth section) focused on the utilization of migrants' remittances and the effects migrants' remittances have on the livelihood status of migrants' households in the Agona West Municipality.

### **Training of Field Assistants**

Two field assistants were involved in the fieldwork. The two field assistants were second year Master of Philosophy students in Department of Geography and Regional Planning. Four of them were initially taken through a three day (1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2015) training on the instrument and method of data collection after which the two most suitable were selected. The procedure for the training exercise was based on interviewing skills and the translation of the contents of the interview schedule (researcher administered questionnaire) into the local language of Fante. The four field assistants were then made to engage in mock interviews on the administration of the instruments and the two best were selected.

### **Pretesting of Instruments**

The research instruments were pre-tested to assess its face and content validity. The study instruments were pre-tested at Agona East District which has similar population and socio-economic characteristics as the Agona West Municipality. For the survey instrument, (interview schedule) a group of 25 household heads with some of their members as migrants were the subject of the pre-test exercise. The pre-testing exercise was conducted from the 30<sup>th</sup> of January to the 5<sup>th</sup> of February, 2015.

After the pretesting of the instruments, it was noted that certain questions and options provided for questions were either inadequate or inappropriate. This led to changes in the instruments before the actual field work took place.

For the FGD guide, a group of 10 household heads in the study areas were involved in the pre-testing. In essence, two focus group discussions were conducted for the pre-testing exercise. The discussions were recorded and later transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were compared to the original intents of the questions on the FGD guide to ensure that the responses adequately reflected the intent of the questions. Subsequently, some of the questions were slightly reworded to reflect the intent of the questions so as to yield the desired data.

### **Challenges Encountered on the Field**

As it is with most research works, this particular study was not without challenges. In all the three villages, for instance, much time was spent on getting the respondents to participate. Household heads showed open displeasure and outright refusal to participate in the study because they were of the view that the researcher was just collecting the data for personal benefit. In some cases, none of the household members obliged to participate in the study. To address this challenge, household heads that declined to participate were immediately replaced using a substitution list and this afforded the researcher to achieve 100% response rate.

Lastly, the issue of arranging discussants for the FGDs was also a difficulty due to their busy schedules. Their free times hardly coincided with the timing of the study, and some of them had to opt out in the middle of the discussion. As a solution, discussions were adjourned to different times and days in favour of the groups, and at times some 30 minutes break to make up for some interruptions in the form of phone calls or family issues. With the

survey, some household heads especially the female heads were absent at the time of data collection, the reason was because the scheduled days for the administration coincided with their market days. This prolonged the time for the data collection but to arrive at the targeted sample size, convenient times were rescheduled in their favour and field assistants kept visiting the villages continuously for as long as the 121 sample had not been reached.

### **Data Sources, Processing and Analysis**

Data for this study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. Interview schedules and focus group discussions (FGDs) were the main instruments used in collecting the primary data from the field. The primary data were collected from household heads and elders from the three communities (Nkranfo, Nsuansa and Nsonan) selected for the study. The FGDs were mainly to authenticate the survey data. According to Blaikie (2000), it is believed that multiple methods of data collection reduce biases likely to arise from research due to the methods of data sources. The primary data was supplemented with secondary information from both published and unpublished literature such as Ghana Statistical Service Reports, journals, textbooks, periodicals, magazines, and official documents from the Agona West Municipal Assembly, libraries, government publications, thesis and other related literature.

The responses from the interview schedule were then numbered serially, edited, coded, and keyed into the Statistical Product for Service Solution (SPSS) Version 21 to generate tables, charts and graphs, frequencies and percentages.

Specifically, descriptive statistical techniques such as frequency tables and charts were employed to process and analyse the data. The focus group discussions (FGDs) were also edited cleaned and manually transcribed verbatim. Afterward, they were organized into themes and analysed manually. Finally, the narrative approach specifically, the direct quotations from the patterns that emerged from the analysis was adopted in the presentation of the findings.

### **Ethical Issues**

Standard ethical concerns in social science research were given prominent attention in the course of the research. Questions in the study were designed to prohibit questions that could harm or threaten the lives of respondents. For a moral and legal reason, informed consent was adhered to. Before the administration of the interview schedule the researcher briefed the elders of the community (community entry protocols were adhered to) and each individual respondent was subsequently given explicit information about the work. This process began with the issue of introductory letter from the Department of Geography and Regional Planning to the community protocols. The purpose of the study and the nature of the interview schedule were made known to them. In the end, respondents were not forced but willingly accepted to participate in the study.

Social research provides possibilities of invading the privacy of participant, as such the sensitivity of researchers to privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality is important (Creswell, 2007). There was no aspect of the research questions which required their names. Their privacy was observed



unless situations where respondents could not read and write where further guidance was given them to personally answer questions. Hence, in the report, issues that could lead or relate to the identification of an individual respondent were not included.

### **Summary**

This chapter focused on the study area, and the procedures that were followed to collect the field data. The research design, sampling techniques, research instruments, and the data processing and analysis have been described. The next chapter presents the results and discussion of the findings.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter presents the analysis, results and discussion of the study. It relates the main findings of the study to the existing literature reviewed. The issues covered in this chapter included the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, motivations for migrating, types and uses of migrants' remittances and the effect of migrants' remittances on households' livelihood status.

#### **Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

Table 2 showed that 22.3% of the respondents were in their young age cohort of 30-34 followed by those who were within the age bracket of 35-39 years (19.8%). The demographic implication was that a large number of the respondents were in the active ages (working age group). In terms of ethnicity, the results indicated nearly 50% of the respondents were Akans (47.9%) followed by Ewes (33.9%) with the least representing the Guans (6.6%). This was certainly expected since Agona West Municipality is predominantly inhabited by the Akans.

With respect to sex, the analysis revealed that 57% of the household heads were females which challenged the literature on household headship by Ghana Statistical Service (2000, 2012) that most household heads in Ghana are males. However, the above evidence could be due to the inheritance pattern of the Akans which is mainly along the female line (maternal

inheritance). This explains why households headed by females were more than those of males in the study areas. These results were consistent with other findings by Brydon (1987) in the area who found that the gender composition of household heads was due to early migration patterns that made more women heads of households as the men travelled to the cocoa growing areas in search of new employment opportunities.

Moreover, about 40% of the household heads were married followed by respondents who were never married (23.1%). This finding is in line with Twumasi (2001) who found that more people in rural areas are likely to be married in comparison to the same population in an urban area perhaps due to their farming activities. Concerning their level of formal education, the findings showed that 38.8% of the household heads had Middle School Education followed by 27.3% who attained Secondary/Senior High School/Advance level education. It was a few (5.0%) who had never attended school in their life time.

As regards religion, Table 2 revealed that a large number of the respondents (76.0%) were Christians and that was followed by those who belonged to the traditional religion (14.0%). This was not surprising because Central region where this study was undertaken was one of the first places in Ghana where Christianity was started by the Europeans. The results also conformed to the findings by GSS (2012) on religion where a large proportion of Ghanaians were found to be Christians. Religion is seen as a means through which people migrate in order to spread their beliefs and enhance their spiritual lives (Dugbazah, 2012). Also with regards to household size, the study has shown that the largest household size in the study areas was between

6-7 members (39.6%) and closely followed by households who had 10 and above (36.5%).

**Table 2: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Age</i>		
20-24	14	11.6
25-29	10	8.3
30-34	27	22.3
35-39	24	19.8
40-44	15	12.4
45-49	14	11.6
50 & above	17	14.0
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
Mole-Dagbani	2	1.7
Other Northern	1	0.8
Guan	8	6.6
Akan	58	47.9
Ewe	41	33.9
Ga/Adangbe	6	5.0
Other	5	4.1
<i>Sex</i>		
Male	52	43
Female	69	57

*Marital Status*

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Single	28	23.1
Married	47	23.1
Divorced	11	9.1
Widowed	8	6.6
<i>Educational Status of Respondents</i>		
None	6	5.0
Primary	12	9.9
Middle/JSS	47	38.8
Secondary/Technical/Vocational	33	27.3
Tertiary	23	19.0
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>		
Christianity	92	76.0
Islamic	12	9.9
Traditional	17	14.0
<i>Household Size</i>		
1- 3	7	5.7
4 – 6	22	18.2
7 – 9	48	39.6
10 & above	44	36.5
Total	121	100.0

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Source: Field Survey, 2015

### **Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Migrants**

Results in Table 3 showed that more than half (54.8%) of household migrants in the study area were predominantly males which go to validate what has been observed earlier (see Table 2) where the majority of those left behind (household heads) were females. This finding is in agreement with what Clarke and Drinkwater (2001) had observed that culturally, men are expected to migrate and remit their households. Moreover, in Ghana men are culturally expected to be the "breadwinners" of their families. The current evidence further supports some revelations by Dugbazah (2012) who opined that in a rural traditional society, women are often expected to stay at home caring for children and cultivating the household farm, while the men migrate.

With respect to the migrants' ages, the results showed that most rural out-migrants in the study areas were within the age cohort of 20-30 (43.8%) and that was followed by the age cohort of 31-40 (30.6%). This implies that in Agona West Municipality, it is mostly the young people who are predominantly involved in rural-urban migration. The above finding supports the literature on internal migration dynamics in Ghana which suggest that most rural out-migrants are mainly males (GSS, 2012). It was also discovered that about 28.9% of migrants who migrate out of Agona West Municipality secure jobs in the service and sales sectors followed by 28.1% who are involved in agricultural related occupations.

**Table 3: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Migrants**

Items	Variables	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Sex</i>	Male	216	54.8
	Female	178	45.2
<i>Age</i>	14-19	13	3.3
	20-30	173	43.8
	31-40	120	30.6
	41-50	55	14.0
	51-60	33	8.30
<i>Occupation</i>	Professionals	27	6.6
	Clerical support workers	73	18.2
	Service and sales	114	28.9
	Agriculture forestry	113	28.1
	fishery worker	34	9.0
	Elementary works	33	8.3
Total		394	100

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

### **Motivations for Migration in Agona West Municipality**

One of the main objectives of this study was to interrogate the underlying causes of out-migration of youth in the Agona West Municipality of the Central Region of Ghana. In that regard, heads of migrants' households were used as a proxy to answer questions pertaining to the motives of migration in the study areas. This was necessary because the literature on internal and international migration indicate that the migration decisions of

individuals have the propensity to influence their migration outcomes, in particular, issues relating to resource accumulation (Anarfi, Kwankye, Ababio, & Tiemoko, 2003; King, 2000). From Table 4, it is observed that the main reasons for youth out-migration in Agona West District were economic (40%) followed by the desire to pursue further education (31.2%). However, escape from conflict was the least reason why people migrated (5.0%). This finding confirms the finding that the most important determinant of migration from rural to urban areas is in search for better economic opportunities (Todaro, 1969; Lipton, 1997). The authors argue that areas that cannot absorb their own employable labour tend to become sending areas as its people seek better livelihood options. In the FGD session, the discussants agreed that due to the vulnerability in farming activities resulting from rainfall failure in the Agona West District, most young people involved in agricultural production consider migration as a risk-averse livelihood strategy.

As put it by a female discussant: *"Rainfall has not been consistent here, whereas it fails in a current year, there will be excess the following year and hence farmlands are flooded. To prevent the yearly agricultural problems some members should try other sources of livelihood. This, in the long run, will work to perfection because we believe that when the farming fails, the non-farm migrants will bring something home"*



**Table 4: Motivations for Out-Migration in Agona West Municipality**

Motives	Frequency	Percentage
Economic	48	40.0
Education	38	31.2
Marriage	22	18.2
Escape from conflict	6	5.0
Adventure	7	5.6
Total	121	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

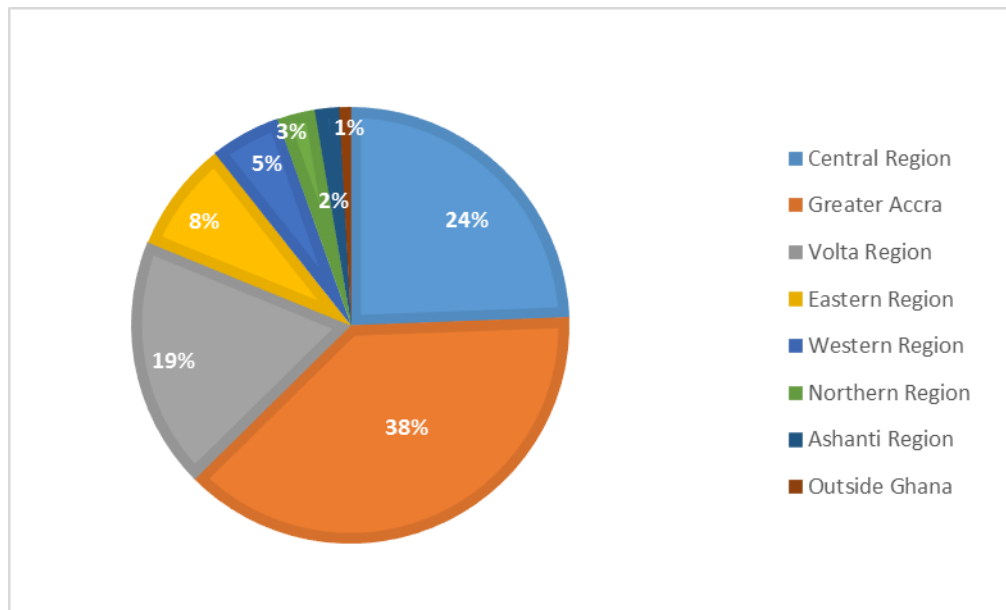
A 60-year-old male FGD participant had this to say about the migration reasons of young people in the study area: *"The decision to migrate is seen as an economic investment and that household members raise funds for transportation cost and use networks to help their household members settle in the city. You see in the city they are able to work and help the family in so many ways"*.

The above evidence lends credence to what Harris & Todaro (1970) had observed that the main reasons for migration among many people to secure urban industrial jobs and the perceived existence of higher wages and differences in expected earnings. It can, therefore, be said that perceived income differentials between rural and urban areas contribute significantly to internal out-migration of youth in Agona West District.

## **Migration Destinations of Migrants**

This section of the study analysed the migration destinations of out-migrants. As it has already been observed in the literature, the destination choice of migrants is influenced by their motives for migration (Agesa & Kim, 2001). The results in Figure 4 showed that the Greater Accra region (Abosokai) (38%) was the preferred destination of most youth from the study areas followed by the Central Region (Cape Coast, Foso and Kasoa) (24%). The respondents' preference for Greater Accra as their main destination could be attributed to the fact that most opportunities for employment and facilities for modern living are concentrated in the Greater Accra region, which functions as the national capital as well as the headquarters of most multi-national companies and government institutions (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). It is thus not surprising that most migrants from the Agona West District migrate to the Greater Accra region to take advantage of the aforementioned opportunities. This to an extent confirms the fact that about 40.0 percent of the migrants from the study area migrated to the cities for economic reasons (see Table 4).

In a FGD held with key informants in the study areas, it was revealed that employment in non-farm sectors in the urban was by far more attractive in terms of income than employment in Accra and other places than the Agona West District.



**Figure 4: Migration Destinations of Migrants**

Source: Field survey, 2015.

On this same issue, this was what a 45 year old female household head said about the precarious nature of working at home (Agona West Municipality): *"Even if migrants find jobs in the municipality, the relatively low wages would make it not possible for them to meet their financial responsibilities such as the payment of school fees, buying uniforms for their children and meeting emergency health expenses"*. [A female household head aged 45].

Another female indicated that: *"The migrants who go to Accra are often better off than the others, so we even advise them to go to Accra. Moreover, in Accra, there are much more opportunities than anywhere in Ghana"* [A 35-year old female participant].

With respect to Central region as the second leading destination for most migrants (Figure 5) from the study area, it could be due to the role Central region (Cape Coast) played and continues to play as the major hub of

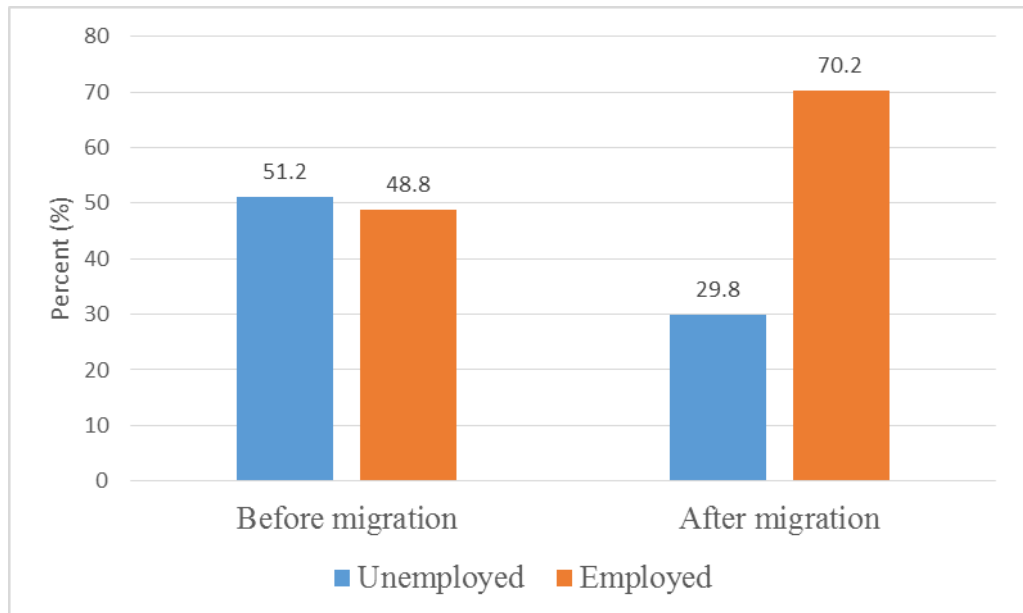
most educational institutions nationwide. In relation to the Central Region, a male discussant stressed: "*Why on earth will I send my child to school in any part of Ghana when Central Region boast of the best secondary schools in Ghana coupled with tertiary institutions, I cannot even bear the extra cost of sending him/her afar when we have the best here*" [A 49-year old male FGD participant]

### **Employment Status of Migrants Before and After Migration**

The literature on migration suggests that migration of people in search of greener pastures in urban settings is largely influenced by the employment status of the people involved in the migration process (Thiemes, 2005). In this regard, the present study assessed the employment status of migrants in the Agona West Municipality before migration and after their migration to their current destinations. Results in Figure 5 shows that before migration, 51.2% of the migrants in the study area were unemployed while after migration the percentage of migrants employed at their respective destinations increased from 48.8% to 70.2% with the number of migrants unemployed decreasing from 51.2 to 29.8 percent.

The revelations above suggest an apparent existence of more job opportunities at the destination than at their places of origin and this is in tandem with findings by Lipton (1997) who opined that migrants tend to have access to employment opportunities at their destinations than their hometowns or places of origin. In addition, urban areas offer many economic opportunities to rural people for changing jobs and becoming upwardly mobile even with a low asset base and few skills (Adepoju, 2003; GSS, 2000; Tanle,

2003). Even if urban wages are not higher, work seems to be available more regularly than in subsistence agriculture. Hence, although rural-urban migration requires more capital and contacts, a general advantage is that work can be found all year round independent of the season.



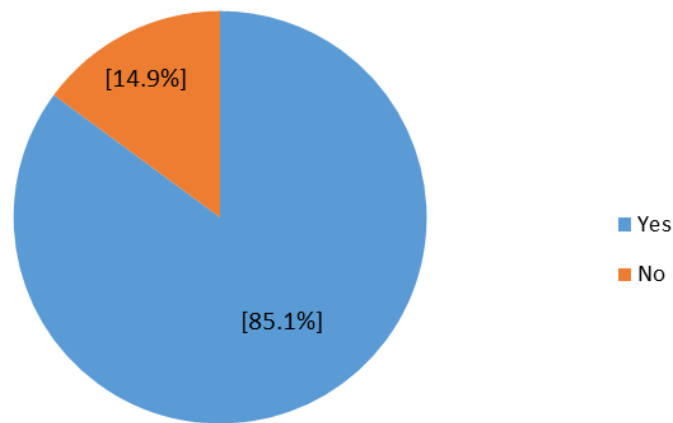
**Figure 5: Migrants' Employment Status Before and After Migration**

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

### **Remittance Behaviour of Households' Migrants**

Remittances can be a valuable source of income for a household livelihood, and can also serve as a means of risk diversification as it compensate for a loss of labour (Tsegai, 2005). These remittances can significantly assist the purchase of consumer goods, and in some cases, raise household savings and may, in turn, change the local household income distribution in a positive direction (de Haas, 2007; Dugbazah, 2012). To unravel some of these nuances, this study analysed the uses of remittances by households in the study areas.

To begin with, the respondents were asked to indicate whether they have ever received any form of remittances from migrants. The result in Figure 6 showed that majority (85.1%) of households indicated that they receive remittances from migrants with only a few (14.9%) respondents saying otherwise.



**Figure 6: Flow of Remittances to Households**

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

This result is supported by the findings that majority (80%) of migrants remit (either in cash or goods) their households back home after migrating and this remittance is what help them in catering for the labour lost ( Castaldo, Deshingkar, & Mckay, 2012; Tacoli, 2002). However, this finding contrasts Adams (2007) findings in Ghana that only 49 percent of internal migrants remits their households. But Adams (2007) parallels that of Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare & Nsowah-Nuamah (2000) that only about 44 and 24 per cent of the migrants' households in the Greater Accra / Brong Ahafo; and the Eastern

regions respectively were reported to have received remittances from migrants around the year 2000.

The frequency of remittances was also measured. The essence was to understand the remittance pattern of household migrants in the study areas since the frequency of remittances from migrants has implications on the livelihood status of migrants' households. Table 5 showed that out of a total of 121 household heads surveyed, 60.3% confirmed that they received remittances from migrants every month while 7.4% said they received remittances on an annual basis. It was also found that nearly 15% (14.9%) of household heads said they received remittances once a while from migrants. This implies that most migrants from Agona West Municipality remit their households members on monthly basis perhaps due to the kind of occupations the migrants are engaged in.

**Table 5: Frequency of migrants' remittances**

Period	Frequency	Percentage
Monthly	74	60.3
Quarterly	21	17.4
Yearly	9	7.4
Once a while	17	14.9
Total	121	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

This was summarized in the FGD where participants indicated that: *“This is our government work where we also receive our monthly remittances, by receiving it on a monthly basis you feel like you are a monthly salary*

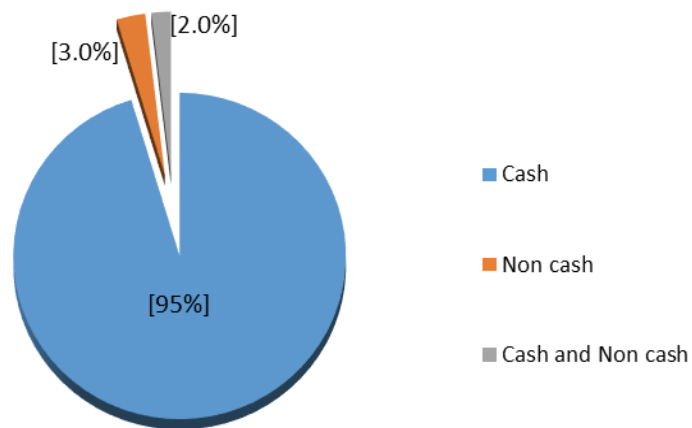
*worker. It is because of this remittance that I have understood how joyous it is to be receiving a monthly salary as a government worker [A 35-year old female FGD participant].*

But a male household head indicated that: *“I only feel pressured when the remittance does not arrive on time (monthly) as has been agreed because the household depends on it and plan on it every month. Besides that I think the monthly basis is really helpful to us in the village [A 44-year old participant].*

### **Types of Remittances Received and Amount**

The literature on remittances revealed that migrants often remitted their household with cash than any other material items (Afsar, 2001). This study sought to explore the various forms of remittances migrants send home. The results in Figure 7 showed that cash (95.0%) was the main form of remittances sent by most migrants. The above findings support what Afsar’s observation that most migrants’ households receive cash as remittances compared to other forms of remittances. The findings also parallel that of Sam, Boateng, & Oppong-Boakye (2013) who found that majority of the remittance receivers prefer cash remittances rather than goods or combination of both.





**Figure 7: Type of Remittances Received by Migrant’s Households**

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

In a focus group discussion, this was what a male household head discussant said about the significance of cash among migrants’ remittances in the Agona West Municipality:

*“Here if you travel and want to send anything back home it must be in the form of cash because we value cash than goods. How can you be in the city working and sending only material things home when you know we pay school fees?”* [A 51-year-old male household head]

*“Even if you send so many goods home without money we will sell the goods for money because it is money we use to do everything, ahh! ... Why do you send me goods when you know I have to provide housekeeping money in the house?”* [A male FGD participant aged 44]

With respect to the amount of remittances sent, it was discovered that about a third (31.4%) of the respondents said the most frequent amount received as remittance was between 201-300 Ghana Cedis followed by 23.1% who

indicated that they frequently receive between 101-200 Ghana cedis (Table 6). Only 6.6 per cent households were remitted 500 Ghana Cedis and above. Whereas evidence on the average amount remitted to a household from internal migrants is lacking in the literature that of international is relatively better. Sam et al., (2013) found that 44.5 per cent of households receive between GH¢4000 - GH¢7000 annually with others (22.8%) receiving GH¢7000 and above as remittances from abroad. But Adams (2007) found that the mean per capita total remittances received from internal migrants is only about 30 percent of that received from international migrant. In line with the above, the finding in the current study contrasts that of the above findings since a mean amount of the dominant remittance is 201-300 per month (2,412 - 3,600 per year).

During the FGD session, a 44-year-old male participant who often receives cash from his daughter had this to say: *“The money is not enough to take care of the household and it does not come as often as we expect so we do a lot to support ourselves back here.* [A 44-year-old male household head]. However, some household heads said they do not receive many remittances from migrants as stated by a 59-year-old female participant during an FGD session: *“Some migrants believe that their left behind households are not used to seeing a sufficient and regular amount of money. Others also believe that when large sums of money are sent home their households might think they are into illegal works (such as robbery) or they would be witch-hunted by their households because they are making progress in life.”*[A 59-year-old female household head].

**Table 6: Average Monthly Amount of Money Migrants Remit**

Amount (GH¢)	Frequency	Percentage
100 and below	15	12.4
101 – 200	28	23.1
201 – 300	38	31.4
301 – 400	21	17.4
401 – 500	11	9.1
501 and above	8	6.6
Total	121	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

In a further discussion regarding the amount of remittances received, some participants indicated that migrants were not mandated to remit their households and that husbands were more likely to remit their households compared to other category of migrants. This was what a 45-year-old female participant said to support their claim: *“My husband sends money very often even though it is not as big as expected and he alerts me anytime he cannot remit on time but my younger sister in the city hardly remits our mother.”* [A 45-year-old female household head]

### **Recipients of Migrants’ Remittances**

Table 7 presents the recipients of migrants’ remittances in the study communities. This is important because a study by Morales et al. (2002) showed that though the flow of remittances through migration has the ability to improve people’s access to other capabilities but this according to the

authors largely depends on the receiver of migrants' remittances. From the analysis, the main recipients of remittances were household heads (44.6%) followed by migrants' spouses (20.6%). The present evidence was expected in view of the fact that household heads are regarded as bread winners in most Ghanaian cultural systems and are therefore expected to receive any form of remittances that flow into the household.

However, this finding contrast that of Adams (2007) who finds that while only 53 per cent of all migrants in Ghana remit, 99 per cent of them rather remit to relatives and friends. It added that migrants prefer to remit through these other relatives so as to take legal actions when they run away with their remittances.

**Table 7: Recipients of Migrants' Remittances**

Item	Frequency	Percent
Household head	54	44.6
Spouse	25	20.6
Other Relatives	21	17.4
Mother	18	14.9
Others	3	2.5
Total	121	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

Concerning the recipients of migrants' remittances in the study area, this was what a 45-year-old female discussant had to say during a FGD: *“My husband used to send the remittance through his elder brother but I was not getting the full amount of what was meant to be mine. This continued for about five*

*months so my husband became annoyed and stopped remitting us through him*". [A 45-year-old participant]

### **Uses of Remittances by Households**

This part of the study assessed the uses of migrants' remittances from the perspective of household heads. Many households use the money to provide for their basic needs such as food, shelter and clothing. According to IFAD (2008), households can choose to spend remittances on basic needs like increased consumption and investments in housing, health and education or on agricultural production or for investments in commercial activities, like small enterprises or business. As such the study sought to find from respondents the main uses of remittances from migrants.

**Table 8: Uses of Remittances by Households**

Item	Frequency	Percent
Food items	33	27.3
Education	29	23.9
Health	14	11.6
Agriculture	30	24.8
Investment in non-farm activities	15	12.4
Total	121	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

Table 8 shows that 27.3 percent of the remittances received were used to purchase food items for households' consumption; this was followed by agriculture (24.8%) which is the primary economic activity of the villages.

Meanwhile, remittance was least (11.6%) spent on health. It is, therefore, clear from the findings that remittance was spent largely on households' up keep. This agrees with the observations of de Haas (2007) and Afsar (2003) that remittances are mainly spent on households' daily consumption rather than investments in agriculture and entrepreneurial activities. But it can be inferred from Table 8 that remittances were largely spent on basic needs as 62.8 percent (27.3 + 23.9 + 11.6) was used for basic needs except housing whereas the rest was on investment. The result also supports the claim that remittances led to increasing in food consumption and food security, better access to health and increasing educational opportunities (Dugbazah, 2012).

However, the finding contrasts Jokisch (2002) finding in Ecuador that money received from migrants were mainly used to improve housing. But the literature further indicates that uses of remittance are subject to the consumption pattern of the households; this is because whereas some households will invest, others will spend on food items and yet others will invest in agriculture, health or education of household member. (de Haas, 2007; Dugbazah, 2012).

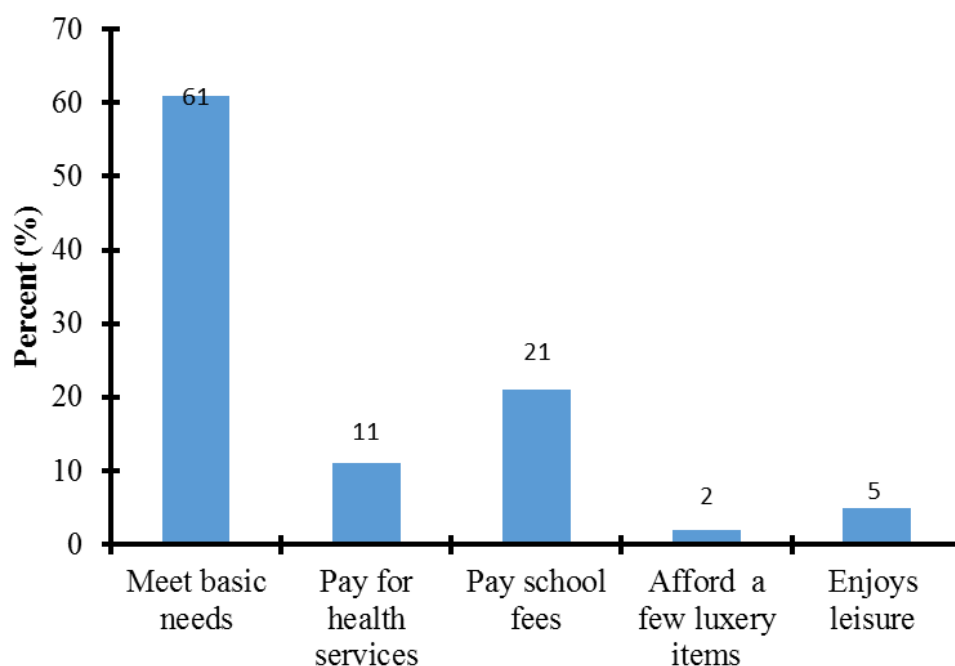
### **Effect of Remittances on Household Living Conditions**

This section of the study forms an important component of this thesis which sought to ascertain the influence of migrants' remittances on household living conditions. In that regard, the respondents were asked to indicate the aspect of their households which have received improvements due to migrants' remittances. The results in Figure 8 showed that 61% of the respondents said that through remittances their households were able to meet

their basic needs of life followed by 21% who said their households were able to pay for their children's education which to them could not be met prior to the migration of their household members. However, only two percent of the respondents indicated that they could afford few luxury goods due to the remittances received from migrants. The above findings support the literature on the uses of migrants' remittances that most remittance receiving households use remittances for consumptive purposes rather than productive investment pursuit (de Haas, 2007; Dugbazah, 2012).

In the FDG, a female household head said: "*Prior to migration, there was no help from anybody and hence at times we were devoid of three square meals per day, on the contrary, due to the remittances, the household can boast of three square meals now. At times when the household is yet to be remitted, we borrow from friends just to ensure we meet our normal daily consumption pattern as has been since the remittances started flowing*" [A 37-year-old participant]

Moreover, a male household head indicated that the household is now enjoying things they could not enjoy prior to the migration of a member: "*We now have television and refrigerator in this house which we could not previously acquire, had it not been this money life would have been same, indeed it is good to travel elsewhere to make a living. My happiest moment with the remittances is that the rest of the children are no longer facing school fees challenges as he (the migrant) did, anytime he remits the house there would be a special allocation for school fees*" [A 45-year-old FDG male participant].



**Figure 8: Effect of Remittances on Household Living Conditions**

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

Even though, the current findings are similar to the one spelt out in an earlier study by Caldwell (1969), who found that migrants sent remittances to pay for schooling and wages of farm labourers and to develop small businesses. In the present study, however, the main use of migrants' remittances was to meet household basic needs such as food requirements for migrants' households. This according to the respondents improved their food security and nutritional status. It was observed that in the case of Agona, the investment in productive sectors was limited, but consumption on basic needs was greater. This situation, however, is not necessarily negative, as improvement in livelihood is broadly defined to include access to basic needs, which in turn have positive effects on the well-being of household members (Schiff, 1999; Ballard, 1983). Findings from this research suggest that remittances make a strong contribution to the provision of households' basic

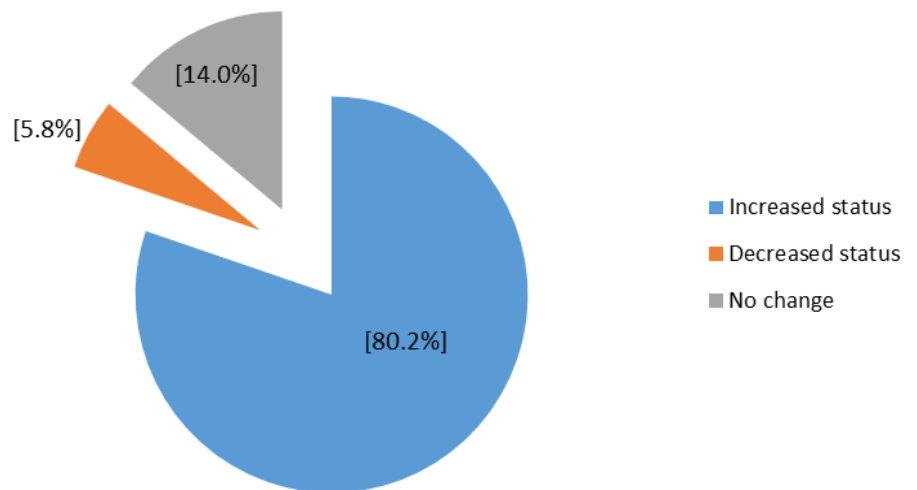


needs in the Agona West Municipality. Helping households to acquire natural capital like water, land and basic resources in the environment for survival. The profits of these sources can be direct or indirect and they are related with user regimes and property. Human capital comprises labour, health, education, skills and everything that is required for able-bodied and talented labour forces is also acquired through remittances by migrants.

Furthermore, physical capital such as machines, transportation vehicles, buildings, electricity, communications like mobile phones radio et cetera; all assets that are produced by industrial production processes.

### **Effect of Remittances on the Social Status of Households**

The literature on migrants' remittances revealed that households that received remittances from migrants have higher social status than non-migrant households. To unravel some of these issues, this study explored the effect of remittances on the social status of households in the study area. From the analysis, Figure 9 showed that 80.2% of the respondents admitted that the social status of their households have improved with only a few (5.8%) who said their status has rather decreased due to the migration of their household members. It was also discovered that about 14% of the respondents also said that there had not been any change in their social status even though have some of their family members had migrated. This was, however, expected because the type of jobs the migrants are engaged in at the destinations and other factors could play a critical role in the ability of migrants to cause a change in the status of their families.



**Figure 9: Effect of Remittances on the Social Status of Households**

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

The fact that most of the respondents said their social status has improved could be what de Haas (2007) had observed that only when economic status (poverty level has reduced) of households improves that societal status is seen to also improve.

In the FGDs, it was found that there was some prestige associated with being a member of a migrant household and that the prestige increased with the quantum of remittances. This was the response a male discussant gave during a FGD session : *“When your household migrant remits your household enough and as frequent as possible, your status in the society is gone up, people tend to associate with you the more and you become highly respected and honoured”.* [A 50-year old male household head].

The remittances receive in the form of cash from migrant serve as financial capital in the form of accessible stocks and regular inflows of money that households use to attain their livelihood outcomes. The increase in social

status is a clear indication that households in the Agona West Municipality have attained social capital or asset or resources through, which people are able to achieve their livelihood.

### **Summary**

This chapter discussed the socio-demographic characteristics of households in Agona West Municipality as well as the migrants. The chapter threw light on motives of migration of rural household to the cities and also, the remittance behavior of migrants, were investigated

Furthermore, effects of rural-urban migration on households' livelihoods were discussed. Again, using qualitative approach (Focus Group Discussion) households' heads were able to come out with the various effects of rural outmigration on household livelihood in the Agona West Municipality. The next chapter provides a summary, draws conclusions and offers recommendations for possible intervention.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter reflects on the results of the study which includes a summary of the major findings, conclusions drawn from the findings, and policy recommendations. It presents areas for further research and concluded with the contribution of the study to knowledge.

#### **Summary**

This study employed the mixed method research approach to assess the effect of out-migration on the livelihood status of migrants' households in three rural communities of the Agona West Municipality. A sample size of 121 migrants' household heads was used for the survey while two separate FGD made up of 8 males and 8 females in each study area were purposively sampled for focus group discussions (FGDs). The results showed that migrants from the study areas are mostly young adult males who are within the age cohort of 20-30 years and their main reason for migration is largely due to economic factors constituting 40% of the total.

Most migrants from the study areas migrated to the Greater Accra region (38%) as their preferred destination perhaps due to the predominance of economic opportunities in Accra, which is the national capital. The results also revealed that majority of migrants while at their destinations remitted their household members. About 85.1% of the respondents (household heads) confirmed that they receive remittances from their household members who

had migrated to the city. Concerning the frequency of migrants' remittances, a little over sixty percent (60.3%) of the respondents said they received remittances every month mostly in the form of cash (95.3%). As regards the amount of money migrants sent home, the results showed that most migrants remitted between 201-300 Ghana Cedis per month.

The main recipients of migrants remittances were household heads (44.6%) followed by migrants' spouses (20.6%) which were expected in view of the fact that household heads in the Ghanaian cultural system are regarded as bread winners in most households. It was also found that most migrant households used their remittances for households' up keep (27.3%) followed by investment in agricultural production (24.8%) which is the primary economic activity of most villages in the Agona West Municipality. The results further indicated that 21% of migrants' households were able to pay their children's school fees due to remittances received. Overall, 80.2% of migrants' households in the study communities admitted that their social status and living conditions have improved due to the migration of their household members.

### **Conclusions**

The following conclusions are made based on the findings from the study:

- A large proportion of rural out-migrants from the Agona West Municipality are mostly young males within the age group of 20-30 years.
- Even though migrants have various motives for migrating, it was gathered that most of them migrated mainly because of economic reasons such as

employment opportunities at the destinations.

- The level of employment increased after migration since unemployment was high among them prior to migration than after migration.
- Remittances were frequently sent by most migrants to their households members on monthly bases mainly in the form of money. The highest amount of money remitted was between 201-300 Ghana Cedi per month.
- A large proportion of remittances received by migrants' households were used for household up keep.
- It was generally found that remittances from out-migrants contributed to the improvement in the livelihood status of migrants' households in the Agona West Municipality.

### **Recommendations**

The study has revealed a number of interesting results upon which useful policies could be developed. In line with the main findings of this thesis, the following policy recommendations were made:

- Since the majority of the migrants are young people within their active age segment and migrate out of their communities mainly because of economic reasons, it is recommended that the Agona West Municipality (AWM) should provide enough education through the various stakeholders such as chiefs for young people in the area to take advantage of the numerous social interventions programmes implemented by government such as the National Youth Employment Programme which seeks to provide jobs for young people in the country.
- Moreover, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Agona West Municipality

should make agriculture attractive to young people to go into agricultural production so as to stem the frequent out-migration from the municipality. Provision of agricultural extension services and reliable supply of agricultural inputs, for instance, improved seedlings; fertilizers could attract young people to go into agriculture.

- As observed in the study, most migrants were able to support their households financially which improved their livelihood status. This implies that out-migration could no longer be viewed as a drain on origin communities but a mutual benefit. It is therefore recommended to city authorities in Ghana such as the Accra Metropolis to invest seriously in infrastructure to prepare for new arrivals from the countryside since migration is an enduring phenomenon that is sometimes beyond control.
- Lastly, the study recommends that future research should be carried out to compare the differences between the livelihood status of migrants' and non-migrants households in the study areas.

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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A**

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE STUDY COMMUNITIES ON  
RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AND HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOOD**

**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST**

**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND REGIONAL PLANNING**

Dear sir/Madam

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study on the above topic. The purpose of the study is to assess the effects of rural- urban migration on households' livelihoods in the Agona West Municipality. The study is primarily for academic work (partial requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy), and therefore you are assured of confidentiality and anonymity in all the information that you provide. Your opinions could either be positive or negative; note that there are no rights or wrong answers. Thank you once again for your time and participation.

**Please write or tick [√] where appropriate.**

**A: BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS**

1. Age in years at last birthday  
.....
2. Marital status
  - a. Single [ ]
  - b. married [ ]
  - c. separated [ ]
  - d. divorced [ ]
  - e. widowed [ ]
  - f. others (please specify) .....
3. What is your highest level of education?
  - a. Never attended school [ ]
  - b. primary school [ ]
  - c. middle/JHS [ ]
  - d. secondary [ ]
  - e. tertiary [ ]
4. What is your religious affiliation?
  - a. Christianity [ ]
  - b. Islam [ ]
  - c. Traditional [ ]
  - d. Other (specify) .....
5. What is your ethnic group?
  - a. Mole-Dagbani [ ]
  - b. Guans [ ]
  - c. Other Northerners [ ]
  - d. Akan [ ]
  - e. Ewe [ ]
  - f. Ga / Adangbe [ ]
  - g. Others (specify) .....
6. How many people are there in your house (Household size)?  
.....
7. Name of community .....
8. Main occupation of respondent .....

**B: MOTIVES AND PATTERNS OF MIGRATION**

9. Sex of migrant (s)



- a. Male [ ]                      b. female [ ]
- 10. Age of migrant (s) .....
- 11. Employment status of migrant prior to migration
  - a. Employed [ ]   b. unemployed [ ]   c. unknown [ ]
- 12. Main occupation of migrant prior to migration .....
- 13. What is the main reason for migrating to the current destination?
  - a. Economic [ ]   b. to escape from conflict [ ]   c. adventure [ ]
  - d. education [ ]
  - e. marriage [ ]   others (please specify) .....
- 14. Current destination of migrant .....
- 15. Employment status of migrant after migrating?
  - Employed [ ]   b. unemployed [ ]   c. unknown [ ]
- 16. What is his/her current occupation? .....
- 17. What was migrant's position in the household?
  - a. Head [ ]   b. helper to head [ ]   c. member [ ]   d. others (specify)
  - .....
- 18. How often does migrant return to the village?
  - a. Monthly [ ]   b. quarterly [ ]   c. yearly [ ]   d. rarely/never

**C: FLOW AND USE OF REMITTANCES TO HOUSEHOLDS**

- 19. Does the migrant remit the household?
  - a. Yes [ ]   b. no [ ]
- 20. If yes, how often?
  - a. Monthly [ ]   b. quarterly [ ]   c. yearly [ ]   d. once a while [ ]
- 21. What is the type of remittance received?

- a. Cash [ ]                      b. non-cash [ ]                      c. both [ ]
22. What is the average amount (in Ghana Cedis) of the remittance received?
- a. 100 and below              b. 101-200 [ ]   c. 201-300 [ ]   d. 301-400 [ ]   e.
  - 401-500 [ ]      f. 500+ [ ]
23. Who receives the remittances?
- a. Household head [ ]    b. Spouse [ ]    c. Relatives [ ]
  - d. Others .....
24. What are the remittances mainly used for in the household?
- a. Food items    b. Education [ ]   c. health [ ]   d. Agriculture
  - e. Investment in non-farm activities [ ]
25. Does migrant maintain contact with household members?

**D: EFFECT OF RURAL URBAN MIGRATION ON HOUSEHOLD**

26. Does anyone help you with your household chores?
- a. Yes [ ]              b. no [ ]
27. If yes, indicate your relationship with the person
- a. Child [ ]              b. Relatives [ ]   c. friends [ ]
  - d. Others .....
28. Who takes decisions now in the household?
- a. Head of household [ ]   b. head of family unit [ ]   c. Adult migrant [ ]
  - d. Others (Specify) .....
29. Has migration of the household member affected decision-making in the family?

- a. Yes [ ]            b. no [ ]

30. In your opinion has migration improved the economic status of your household?

- a. Yes [ ]            b. no [ ]

31. If yes, how?

- a. Household is able to meet their basic needs [ ]
- b. Household can pay for health care services [ ]
- c. Household can pay for school fees of children [ ]
- d. Household can afford a few luxury items [ ]
- e. Others (specify) .....

32. In your opinion has migration increase or decrease the status of your household in the village?

- a. Increased status [ ]    b. decreased status [ ]    c. No change [ ]

33. Would you consider it necessary to control out-migration in the village?

- a. Yes [ ]    b. no [ ]

34. If yes, what measures do you should be in place?

.....

35. If no, why?

.....

**Thank you all for your immense contribution towards the success of my studies.**

**APPENDIX B**  
**FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR HOUSEHOLD**  
**HEADS**  
**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST**  
**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES**  
**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE**  
**DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND REGIONAL PLANNING**

Dear sir/Madam

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study on the effects of rural-urban migration and households' livelihood. The study is primarily for academic work, and therefore you are assured of confidentiality and anonymity in all the in any information that you will provide. I am interested in learning from you in terms of all your experiences and opinions about the above topic. Your experiences could either be positive or negative; there are no rights or wrong answers. To enable me record all comments, I want to use a tape recorder to record the discussion which will take place.

Date of discussion:

Place of discussion:

Name of moderator:

**BIO DATA**

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Marital status

4. Educational attainment
5. Religious affiliation
6. Average monthly income
7. Number of people in your household
8. Number of migrants in your household
9. Occupation

**General issues**

What do you consider to be the main social and economic activities for men and women in this village? PROBE

Have there been some changes in these activities in the community since the last decade? PROBE FURTHER BASED ON THE ANSWERS

**Introduction;** Migration of the youth of this community to the towns is very common.

What are the factors that encourage the youth to migrate to the towns? PROBE  
WHY

At what age do the youth migrate? PROBE FOR WHY

What proportions of the youth who migrate to the towns are married or unmarried?

Do families support and encourage migrations from this village to the towns.  
PROBE WHY

What occupations do they normally engage in after migrating? PROBE

Do migrants' households receive remittances from their migration? PROBE  
BOTH "YES" & "NO" and on TYPE OF REMITTANCE

What are the uses of the remittances? PROBE

Does migration of the youth from this community pose any problems to the

migrants' households? PROBE & DISCUSS

In your opinion, what is the impact of migration on the time spent on household activities and responsibilities? PROBE

How would you describe the relationship between women/men/children within your household before migration?

Do you think migration has affected social relationships within your household between women/men and children? PROBE

In your opinion, has migration increased or decreased the respect that people afford your household (social status) in the village? How is the change in the social status? DISCUSS

Would you consider it necessary to control migration of the youth of this community to the towns? PROBE WHY

What measures do you expect from the government to put in place to control migration to the towns?

***Thank you all for your immense contribution towards the success of my studies.***