

Perceptions of return migrants and non-migrants to female migration: Case of Ghana

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Abstract

The past three decades have witnessed a phenomenal increase in female migration especially in developing countries where females now migrate independently. These forms of migration now challenge the stereotyped male migration from rural to urban areas. This paper focuses on the perceptions of return and non-migrants to the emerging independent female migration from the Wa District in the Upper-west region of Ghana to the two main cities, Accra and Kumasi. Using both questionnaire and focus group discussions, 94 return migrants and 86 non-migrants were interviewed in four villages in the Wa district of Ghana. The study shows that lack of job opportunities and more especially, access to farmland at the place of origin compelled the women to migrate to Accra and Kumasi for the *kaya yei* business. Both return migrants and non-migrants perceived migration as an opportunity through which women acquire basic material items that they need in later life. In particular, the return migrants claimed that their socio-economic status has improved through migration. Although the women benefit in diverse ways through migration this has been at the expense of domestic, conjugal, maternal and kin role in their place of origin. It is partly for this reason that some community members, especially males do not support autonomous migration of women to Accra and Kumasi for the *kaya yei* business. Nonetheless, given the demonstration effects of return migration and the relatively poor environment of the place of origin, autonomous female migration from the Wa district to Accra or Kumasi for the *kaya yei* business is going to continue within the foreseeable future

Keywords: Migration, gender, marriage, livelihoods, *kaya yei* and perception

1.0 Introduction

The expansion of the informal service sector in sub-Saharan African countries after independence has generated internal dynamics, including rural-urban migration for various reasons (Adepoju, 2004). With the introduction of modern market economy, the needs and responsibilities of women in the agrarian household have changed considerably and moved beyond stereotype traditional roles for males and females (Olurade, 1995). For instance, female migration has changed from associational migrants to independent ones (Synnove, 1999).

This autonomous migration of females has generated debate as to its benefits to the individual and household. One strand of the debate is that women, when they migrate, are able to obtain some basic needs and are also able to acquire new perspectives which benefit both nuclear and extended families (Abur-sufian, 1994). Compared to males, females are more likely to send remittances and also devote higher levels of their earnings to the needs of the households back home than males (Chant, 1998). A second argument is that female migration disrupts household chores at place of origin as well as creates conditions for moral corruption at place of destination. Migration of females then is not in the interest of the women themselves, their children (if any) and their husbands/households (Tanle, 2003).

This paper examines the perspectives of return migrants and non-migrants to female out-migration from the Wa district to southern Ghana (specifically to Kumasi or Accra) (Figure 1). The intention is to explore the changing perception and the social tension surrounding the

migration of females. Specifically, the paper is focused on women who migrate from the Wa district in the Upper-West region of Ghana to either Kumasi or Accra in southern Ghana to engage in the *kaya yei* business.

The term 'kaya yei' (Singular 'Kaya yo') refers to women who engage in carrying wares for a fee. Etymologically, the term is derived from two words, 'kaya' a Hausa word meaning wares or goods, and 'yo', a Ga word meaning a woman (Attah et al 1997). The term *kaya yei* therefore refers to female commercial head porters (Abur-sufian, 1994; Attah et al 1997).

Figure 1

2.0 Perspectives and issues on female migration.

In earlier studies of rural-urban migration in Africa, women were generally regarded as associational migrants who accompanied their husbands or close relations to urban centres (Lean, 1993; Olurade, 1995). As associational migrants, they did not exercise autonomy in the choice of occupation and social responsibilities. Given the fact that migration became a continuation of the traditional biased sex roles, people tended to tolerate it. Within the last three decades however, autonomous female migration has been observed with some of the migrants now moving over long distances, and some others engaged in international migration (Pittin, 1984; Khoo et al. 1984; Abur-sufian, 1994; Synnove, 1999; Todaro, 2000; Boyd and Grieco, 2003).

For this study the household strategy and core-periphery theories have been adapted. The household strategy theory has been used to explain migration, especially for females. The theory contends that migration decisions are not made by individuals but by the household. The proponents have argued that people act collectively to maximize expected benefits and to minimize vulnerability of its members (Oishi, 2002). As a strategy to survive or to accumulate savings for investment in non-farm activities at home, some households tend to encourage some of their members to migrate. In such situations household resources could be used to finance the cost of migration so that in the long run, the entire membership of the household could benefit from the migration (Adepoju, 1985; Synnove, 1999). While in some countries males have been favoured to migrate, in some other countries it has been females, based on expected returns. For example, in the Philippines, Oishi (2002) noted that young single women are encouraged to migrate to work as househelp or nurses, occupation dominated by females. Thus, independent female migration becomes a major survival strategy in response to changing socio-economic conditions and increasing scope for self-development.

Migration as a survival strategy invariably originates from areas of relatively low socio-economic development (Periphery) to areas of relative affluence (Core). With an underlying dependency relation between the two areas, the core offers goods, services and job opportunities to the periphery which in turn supplies low-cost productive resources including labour (Fik, 2000).

In this study, the Wa district constitutes the periphery (the migrant-sending area) with less endowed resources and poor socio-economic development and serving as the place of origin, whilst Kumasi and Accra are the most developed areas attracting migrants (Nabila, 1974).

3.0 Situation of women in the study area

The study area, the Wa district in the Upper-West Region, located in the northwestern corner of the country, is bounded in the west by Burkina Faso, in the north by the Nadowli and the Sissala districts and in the east and south by the Northern region. Wa is both the district capital and the regional capital of the Upper-West Region. It is the main commercial town dominating a largely rural landscape. The major ethnic group in the district, the Walas, operates clan-based system with clear division of labour along sex lines (Songsore and Denkabe, 1995). Although they practice both matrilineal and patrilineal inheritance, women do not inherit property, especially land which is the main means of production in the area (Ouedraogo, 1995; Songsore and Denkabe, 1995).

With no access to land, women assist men during the farming season either as daughters, sisters or wives in planting crops, weeding, harvesting and transporting farm produce to the village. Very few women, mostly widows, may own land temporarily on behalf of their sons who might be too young to claim full ownership of land that their late father had bequeathed to them. Men have absolute control over the use of farm produce and, in some instances, may even sell out some of the produce even though it might not be adequate to cater for members of the household until the next harvest (Songsore and Denkabe, 1995). Therefore, women are highly dependent on males either as daughters, wives or mothers.

Over the past two centuries, the northern part of the country has been an area of heavy out-migration of men to cocoa farms, mines and constructional sites in the southern half of the country (Caldwell, 1969; Nabila, 1974; Songsore and Denkabe, 1995, Adepoju, 2004). Because most of the farms in the north depended on rain-fed agriculture during the six-month rainy season (May to October), people become 'idle' during the six-month dry season (November to April) creating conditions for the men to migrate to the south to work and return to farm during the rainy season. The harsh environmental conditions which push people was exacerbated by the policy of the colonial government to concentrate on agricultural, mining and industrial developments in the south which already had locational advantage(Songsore and Denkabe, 1995). While the men developed a pattern of seasonal migration which enabled them to obtain additional income, the women were left behind with little or no economic activities to enable them meet some of their basic needs.

In an attempt to survive, some of the women depended on minor economic activities such as collecting fuelwood and/or processing of charcoal for sale, petty trading and animal rearing. With their husbands away, some of the women became the *defacto* heads of households who had to cater for all the other members of the household as well as be responsible for the property of the household, especially livestock (Waddington, 2003).

As daughters, parents had the right to choose their own husbands for them. Although changes have occurred, there are still instances, especially in rural areas, where young girls are persuaded or forced into marriage by either parents, relations or suitors. With marriage

ceremonies being elaborate and expensive, coupled with patrilocal residence, married women are virtually regarded as the 'bonafide property' of their husbands whether alive or dead. Once a man has been able to pay the expensive dowry to the father-in-law, the assumption is that he has 'bought' the right and freedom of the woman (Goody, 1967). As a result, the power relations between men and women is asymmetrical, with men controlling the allocation of resources within the household and the community.

Although formal education is widespread in the Upper-West Region, school enrolment is generally low compared with other regions in the country. Over the years, much attention and priority were given to the education of boys at the expense of girls, especially beyond the basic level. Table 1 shows school enrolment by age and sex in the Upper-West Region and the total for Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). In both the Upper-West Region and total for Ghana, the enrolment rates for females are generally higher than those of the males at ages 5-9 and 10-14 years. At age 15 and beyond (i.e beyond the basic level), the enrolment of males far exceeds that of females: at age 20-24, enrolment of males in the Upper-West Region is one and half times (32 per cent) that of females (19 per cent). For total Ghana the proportions are 45 per cent males and 41 per cent for females. The low enrolment rate for females in the region after age 15 is partly due to the fact that some parents sometimes influence their daughters to marry after basic education while others feel reluctant to educate their daughters beyond that level. Some parents claim that it is the future husbands and their family who will benefit from any investment in the education of females and therefore they need not invest in the education of their daughters (Songsore and Denkabe, 1995 and Bekye, 1998).

The low school attendance for females has implications for marriage and childbearing. The median age at first marriage among women in the Upper-West Region aged 20-49 years is 19.2 years (GDHS, 2003). Other socio-cultural practices such as women not having access to farmland and also the right to inherit property, have contributed to the high proportion of women who depend on their husbands or other male relatives for their basic needs (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). It is this dependence that some females would like to break through migration.

Table 1

4.0 Sources of data

The main data for the study were derived from a survey carried out between April and June 2001 in the Wa district of the Upper-West Region. The target population was females aged between 15 and 54 years. The assumption was that at 15 the females were old enough to travel on their own and could engage in any economic activity while after age 54, they would not be inclined to migrate on their own.

The sample frame comprised female return migrants—that is females who migrated to Kumasi or Accra, engaged in the *kaya yei* business, and had now returned to their villages of origin--- and non-migrants selected from four villages in the Wa district that are noted for female out-migration to the south for the *kaya yei* business. The villages were Chansa, Diesi, Nakori and Verimpere. Since the exact number of return migrants and non-migrants was not

known, it was decided, though arbitrarily, to interview 100 respondents of each category, i.e. 100 return migrants and 100 non-migrants.

Female return migrants who had returned to the Wa district within the last five years were identified and interviewed through the snowball technique. A five year period was chosen because it was felt that five years was long enough to capture those who might have begun any investment or training since their return. For the non-migrants, a systematic sampling technique was employed; every third house was chosen. In all, 180 respondents, comprising 94 return migrants and 86 non-migrants were interviewed successfully in the four villages.

Two questionnaires were administered separately to return migrants and non-migrants. The questionnaire for the return migrants covered five modules, namely, personal profile, migration network and history ,motives for migrating, experiences and benefits realized at destination and general opinions about migration and the intentions to migrate again in future. Some of the questions in the non-migrants' questionnaire were on the socio-demographics, economic characteristics such as sources of income and whether the income was adequate or not, expenditure on basic necessities, ability to save part of income, borrowing of monies, remittances from relations in the south, and if married the occupation of husband. The others included intention to migrate in future and motives for intending to migrate in future. With the exception of a few open-ended questions, both questionnaires were mostly close-ended.

In addition, two focus group discussions, one for males and the other for females, were held in each of the four selected villages. The male group consisted of chiefs, opinion leaders, assemblymen, religious leaders, male teachers and farmers while the female group comprised

leaders of various women's groups, teachers, farmers and traders. In all the villages, the discussions centred on a comparison between previous (about two decades ago) and current occupation of women in the village, changes that have been observed and factors that caused those changes. Other issues discussed were on the causes of female migration to the south, the general opinion or perception of female migration; whether or not female migration to the south should be controlled and general suggestions on female migration. The discussion that follows deals with the non-migrants and the return migrants interviewed, and the FGDs conducted in the four villages. In this paper the term return migrants or *kaya yei* (plural of *kaya yo*) will be used interchangeably since the return migrants were all involved in the *kaya yei* business at their former destination.

5.0 Results

5.1 Socio -demographic background of respondents.

The socio-demographic background shows a largely young illiterate female population: 61 per cent of the non-migrants and about 80 per cent of the return migrants interviewed were 34 years or below; about 6 out of every 10 return-migrants and more than 8 out of every 10 non-migrants had never been to school (Table 2). The illiteracy level among the respondents is therefore higher than the national average of 50.2 per cent of women with no formal education (Ghana, 2003a). Perhaps this explains why those who migrated engaged in the *kaya yei* business since it does not require any formal knowledge in education.

About 90 per cent of the non-migrants and 88 per cent of the return migrants professed either the Christian or the Islamic religion. Over two-thirds of both the return-migrants and the non-migrants were married. That about three-quarters of both non-migrants and return migrants

have between 3 and 6 children is consistent with the national average total fertility of 5.6 children per a woman among women in rural areas of Ghana (GDHS, 2003)(Table 2).

Over 90 per cent of the non-migrants and 83 per cent of the return migrants were engaged in farming as a primary occupation and something else as secondary occupation, indicating the centrality of access to land in the rural economy. The secondary occupation included sale of fuelwood and/or charcoal (48 per cent) and trading (33 per cent) (Table 3). Except trading and sewing, the rest of the activities were environment-based. Among the return migrants, 17 per cent were engaged in weaving and hairdressing, occupations that are minimal among the non-migrants. Involved in relatively higher income earning activities such as trading, sewing, weaving and hairdressing, the return migrants appeared to have relatively high income than the non-migrants. It would appear that the capital and skills the return migrants obtained through the *kaya yei* business provided them with resources to pursue new occupational activities which are non-environmental based.

On the average, 23 per cent of the non-migrant women earned over ₵150,000.00 (\$18.751¹) a month compared to 91 per cent of return migrants. These variations in economic status between return migrants and non-migrants provide part of the backdrop for female out migration in the study area.

Table 2

Table 3

6.0 To move or not to move: views on the migration of females.

In the study, both non-migrants and return-migrants were asked if the migration of females to the south should be allowed to continue. It is expected that return migrants will present two scenarios: they will support female migration since they would want to justify their involvement in the *kaya yei* business or discourage out migration given the experiences they had in the *kaya yei* business. Female non-migrants will be expected to be either ambivalent or not predisposed towards female migration. The results show general support for female migration: 90 per cent of return migrants and 74 per cent of non-migrants were of the view that females should be allowed to migrate. This is because through migration young women will be able to acquire basic material things which will benefit their households as well (80.0 per cent of return migrants and 92.0 per cent of non-migrants) or serve as a means of reducing pressure on household resources which in both cases addresses the concept of maximization of benefits and minimization of cost or vulnerability in the household strategy theory. However, the study also revealed that migration could be an outlet for unfavourable social conditions such as forced marriage and/or family/marriage related problems (6 per cent of the return migrants and 4 per cent of non-migrants) (Table 4). In an environment where females have limited options in life such as acquisition of personal property, out-migration then becomes an avenue for self-actualization. Even non-migrant females favoured the out-migration of females to the south for the *kaya yei* business.

Table 4

In the FGD held in the four villages, the women's groups were particularly in favour of female migration to Kumasi or Accra since it provided the women with avenues for earning income for their personal needs as well as that of their households. General socio-economic

changes have led to changes in the needs of women: Whereas about three decades ago the basic needs of women such as clothing, cooking utensils and cosmetics could be met within the existing socio-economic conditions, it is not the case now. Among the changes are types of dressing, bodily adornments, schooling..... all of which require some resources. As pointed out during the FGD:

*Previously, our basic needs were quite few and we could easily meet some of our needs through the **little** income that we generate here (Abeeta², 40 year old female).*

These days because of the changing lifestyle our basic needs as women are now quite many. Meanwhile, there are no job opportunities here (like Kumasi). We have to be allowed to migrate (to Kumasi) to work and earn some money to buy some of our needs (Duobe, 29 years).

The views reflect the changing perception of females in the area. While people were previously content with meeting basic needs, there is now the desire to acquire other items which were not considered essential a few years ago. The little income which could be said to be enough a decade ago is no longer enough to meet the needs of individuals and households. According to a 34 year old woman in an FGD, their inability to meet their basic needs from farm produce and other sources seems to have been precipitated by declining production.

Many things have changed in recent times. For example,, farm production is always not adequate, we are now compelled to sell fuelwood and/or charcoal to supplement the household food requirement.

For women the underlying challenge is the lack of access to farmland, the major resource in such a rural environment. In any agrarian society access to land is very important for survival. Devoid of access to land, the women do not have avenues to acquire income. Access to land

in the area is through husband or son when he is too young to take custody of bequeathed land. These issues emerged in the FGD, as indicated by Naabu:

Over here the main activity is farming but women have no access to farmlands. The men have full control over land and all the farm produce. Although most of us are engaged in the sale of fuelwood or charcoal, we do not earn enough money from it (Naabu, 36 year old female).

Furthermore, in the traditional system where females had limited avenue to express their views and/or dissent, they bore some of the conditions in silence. Young females rarely protest when they are given out for marriage against their will. Now migration provides an avenue to escape from unfavourable conditions as indicated by Nyala, 38 years:

It is not only poverty and lack of job opportunities in this community which cause some of us to migrate; some migrate because of harassment from suitors or to escape from forced marriages.

Both men and women who were against female out-migration expressed varied views. Ten per cent of female return migrants and 26 per cent of non-migrants were not in favour of female out-migration. Of that proportion, about half mentioned the loss of the services of the females in the household and community, especially during the farming season as a major constraining factor. About a fifth of both groups indicated that female out-migration posed a threat to the stability of marriages. Other reasons given were the temptation of the girls who migrate to lead immoral life or to be seduced at the place of destination and the effects of migration on education of females. A concerned mother noted that:

Some of them, particularly the young girls, become pregnant out of wedlock. One of my daughters returned home with a pregnancy and to

date nobody knows the person who impregnated her (Saafia, about 42 years).

The phenomenon of single motherhood creates problems in a strong patrilineal society. The child in such a system has no automatic inheritance since the mother is not entitled to any property in the system, thus constituting a threat to the system. The views expressed by men in the four villages during the FGD, although many and varied, were generally not in favour of female migration. The main reasons for not being in favour of female migration included the general negative perceptions of female return migrants as people who are morally corrupt and the disruption of farming, marriages and household activities that are commonly associated with females in rural areas. Bashiru and his colleagues explicitly expressed these sentiments as follows:

Sometimes, some of the women come home with problems such as sickness or pregnancy. This becomes additional burden to parents and/or husbands (Bashiru, about 37 years).

Their migration, especially during the farming season, affects our farming activities in many ways. You know farm activities such as planting of crops, harvesting of crops, especially groundnuts, and the transportation of farm produce home is best done by women. Last year for example, my friends' wife escaped to Kumasi in the middle of the farming season. As a result, my friend's farming activities were affected and also he had to take care of the two children the wife left behind. In that desperate situation, I saw that my friend needed support so I assisted him to marry another woman, to ensure that his farming activities went on smoothly. When the first wife returned from Kumasi, my friend accepted her as his wife but her position now was that of a second wife and no more a first wife (Munaano, about 42 years).

The men considered the migration as a cost to their economic activities as well as an affront to their position in the patriarchal system. To them, the major constraint was the loss of the

productive (and reproductive) capacity of the women. Migration denies the men the free labour of females as daughters, sisters and wives. Some also feel threatened by the economic dependence associated with out-migration. Thus one man noted that:

For me, I don't support the out-migration of females. Women are such that when they are economically better than a man, they become less submissive and somehow disrespectful (Dauda, 40 years).

In the men's FGDs, some of the young men also expressed negative views about girls who had ever migrated to Kumasi or Accra for the *kaya yei* business. They had even nicknamed the girls as 'tavama' which literally means *a load carrier, do not push me down with your load*. The general impression they have about these girls is that the girls have no good morals. They feel that, urban lifestyle has corrupted their moral values (Olurade, 1995). One major implication of this attitude is that single girls who return to the villages after some years of working in the south are not likely to get husbands in and around the village because of *the* negative perception the young men have about them. This was underscored in the FGD by Baba (29 years):

In this village, some of my friends feel reluctant to marry girls who have ever travelled because they assume that such girls are 'spoiled'.

Some men who were in favour of female migration to the south, tended to stress the immediate benefits to the household/ family.

Female migration is quite profitable because they occasionally remit foodstuff and/or clothing to some of their household members. Others also need to acquire some basic skills and/or items before they marry. For

example, my sister who returned from Kumasi with a sewing machine last year is now a seamstress apprentice in this village (Adami, 37 years).

The evidence suggests that on the positive side the migration of females tends to benefit individuals as well as some members of the household. It is possibly in this context that the question as to whether female out-migration from the Wa District should continue or be discouraged remains a topic for discussion in the community.

The positive attribute can be situated within the context of household survival strategies. Some households either directly or indirectly support female migration based on returns to household. Being able to acquire personal wealth relieves the household of part of the expectation of setting up a daughter in life. Traditionally, parents are expected to set up a child in life. Within the subsistence agricultural economy, the items included clothing, cooking utensils and other items for females and land, gun/ bow and arrow and farming implements for males.

With changes in the economy, the needs have become more diversified. Unable to provide most of the needs, out-migration provides an avenue for the females to acquire wealth, new skills and exposure. This is an opportunity that eludes those who do not migrate. Thus, in this context the return migrants could be considered winners while non-migrants could be regarded as losers (Heering et al. 2004) . Return migrants are able to invest in off-farming activities from the income obtained through migration.

7.0 Discussion

The past three decades have witnessed an increase in female migration, especially in developing countries where females now migrate independently. This is partly due to the emerging socio-economic changes worldwide.

Some few years ago women in the Wa district depended on what they could obtain locally for their lives. According to them, they had fewer needs and life in general was quite simple. However, with the increasing socio-economic changes in society, especially the shift from subsistence economy to the market system, women's needs have not only increased but also vary with time. Unfortunately, within the Wa district, socio-cultural factors continue to inhabit women's socio-economic lives thereby making some of them perpetually dependent on men like children or adolescents. It is in this regard that some females from the Wa district tend to migrate to Accra or Kumasi to engage in the *kaya yei* business as a means of earning some income for themselves as well as their households.

The study revealed that more than 30 per cent of the return migrants were less than 25 years meaning that they migrated at a young age. This is consistent with other findings in the migration literature that females generally migrate at a younger age than men (Anarfi, 1999; Synnove, 1999).

It is also noted that some of the return migrants were married some of whom even have children. The children obviously become victims of circumstances, either because they are left behind or carried along to the destination. Those left behind at home in the care of their fathers and/or siblings or other close relations are not likely to get the best of care as it would have been with their biological mothers. This is one area where further studies will be needed.

Migration involves not only physical movement of people but also changes in the social, economic and political lives of those who migrate, and to some extent, the lives of the relations of migrants at the place of origin. Information from the FGDs indicate that migration is not only beneficial to the return migrants alone but also some household benefit from migration through remittances.

However, owing to the immense role of women in the Ghanaian society, some people in the study communities are against female migration to Accra and Kumasi. In Ghana, the agricultural sector is the dominant sector of the Ghanaian economy, accounting for roughly 40 per cent of the country's GDP and employing about 51 per cent of the economically active population. Of this, women form 51.9 per cent of the agricultural labour force producing 70 per cent of the national food crop output (Awumbila, 2001; ISSER, 2004). In the traditional Ghanaian society, women are expected to assist their husbands or fathers in their work, especially in a patriarchal society where this study was conducted. Women therefore play very crucial roles in production and reproduction ranging from planting through transportation of farm produce to the house for processing, marketing and storage, and basic household chores such as cooking, washing, cleaning, all forms of child care and drawing of water. Given the level of participation of women in the socio-cultural and economic spheres, their absence poses some challenges to the household as well as the entire community. This reflects the tension that is emerging within the society as some women support out-migration of females while some men are against female migration to continue to migration.

Although females had sustained household food production in the predominantly agrarian economy, their contribution had been taken for granted. The migration and subsequent shortage of labour, have brought into sharp focus the role of women in the system. It is partly this challenge to the socio-economic system that has generated concern about female migration. The power relations that put females at a disadvantage appears to be threatened, and the emerging dynamics involved in female migration in Africa present a challenge to traditional leaders, religious bodies, gender advocates and policy makers

8.0 Conclusion

The focus of this paper was to examine female migration from the Wa district to southern Ghana, especially females who migrate to Accra or Kumasi to engage in the *kaya yei* business.

The main objective of the study was to identify the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of both non-migrants and the return migrants in the Wa district, and also assess the perceptions of the non-migrants and return migrants about females who migrate to Kumasi and Accra to engage in the *kaya yei* business. Using surveys and focus group discussions, return migrants, non-migrants and other members of the community including males were interviewed in four selected communities in the Wa district.

The study revealed that the women were mostly young, married and illiterates. The group discussion indicates that unfavourable socio-cultural and economic conditions at the Wa district compelled females to migrate to Accra and Kumasi for the *kaya yei* business.

However, out-migration of females from the Wa district poses both productive and reproductive problems to the women themselves and also to their households. The perception of people in the Wa district about female migration to the south continues to be a debate.

Footnotes

¹ The exchange rate at the time of the survey in June 2001 was \$1 = ₵8,000.00.

² Pseudonyms have been used to disguise the identity of the respondents in the FGD.

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