

**GENDERED STRATEGIES AMONG
MIGRANTS FROM NORTHERN GHANA IN ACCRA:
A CASE STUDY OF MADINA**



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ACCRA:**

A CASE STUDY OF MADINA

By

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**THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE AWARD
OF
MASTERS OF PHILOSOPHY IN RESOURCES AND HUMAN ADAPTATIONS**

Spring, 2010

DEDICATION

*To my late Mum (Madugi Gominah) and to my Sister Mrs. Esther Sugri Ayimbilla
(Guardian)*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When you have prayed every prayer that you know how to pray, just remember the answer is on its way. For the lord never sleeps and slumbers.

I sincerely thank my supervisor Professor Raghild Overå for introducing me to the topic and constantly directing me throughout this thesis. God bless you for your insightful comments and support throughout the writing of this thesis. I am very grateful to Peter Andersen and Tor Halfdan Aase, your criticisms during my presentations helped to structure this thesis. To the administrators of the department for constantly updating us on events at the department.

To the Norwegian Government without the Lanekassen I would not have come far with my thesis. I am very grateful for the opportunity that was given to me to study at the University of Bergen. To the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Bergen, thank you for the field support.

To the Nordic African Institute (NAI) for the study grant to use the library and interact with other researchers and visiting researchers to the institute. I thank Ilda Lindell, Knut and Mats for taking time out of their busy schedules to offer advices before I left for my field work in Ghana. Your comments helped a lot during my field work.

To Dorte Thorsen, I was supposed to meet you at NAI but unfortunately did not meet you there but rather met you in Ghana before I began my field work. Though a very busy researcher and a breast feeding mother, you took time off your busy schedules to constantly respond to my e-mails. I am very grateful for taking time to read through my research proposal and sending me insightful comments to help me in the field. God bless you.

It is not all professors who respond to students sending them e-mails to ask for intellectual advice and some information on the same study interest. The quickest response I ever had from my numerous e-mails was Professor Gariba Abdul-Korah; you were happy about the study and sent me interesting materials for my literature review and your constant advice on this work has brought me far. You are not only a professor but you became a father and a stepping stone to greater opportunities. God bless you.

To my undergraduate level mother Dr. Mariama Awumbila, my success has always been your concern and you never hesitated to give me recommendation letters for my numerous

applications to schools. As I arrived for field work in Ghana, you were again my source of inspiration and you opened the departmental doors for me to come in at any time to access any information I wanted from the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS). Through you, I was able to attend the workshops organised by your centre and I met Dr. Dorte Thorsen. I also had the opportunity to interact and had a lot of information from Thomas Antwi Bosiako. God bless you all. To the staff of Centre for Migration studies (Stephen, Francis, Simple man, Edgar etc) I say thank you for sharing your office with me during my field work. To the staff and lecturers of Research Institute for Population Studies (RIPS), I am very grateful to you for allowing me access to your library and attending workshops and presentations during my field work.

To my guardian family Mr. and Mrs. Ayimbilla, you saw me through the thin and thick of the academic lather. You provided me not only shelter but the best key to the success of every individual and that is education. I will forever be very grateful to you. To my growing up siblings Hillary, Dennis, Mark and Emmanuel thank you for being there for your sister (auntie), your prayers and support have brought me far. To my elder sisters, many of you did not know much about education but you supported me with your prayers and the assurances you gave me helped me to come this far (Vida, Salimu, Azara, Ibrahim, and Fati).

To my wonderful and inspirational friend Daniel Appiah, I am lost for words to describe you in person but all I can say is God bless you for helping me through the sorrowful and cheerful moments of my life in Bergen. To Mahamadu Abdul-Razak, what should I say, you have been my brother and friend in Bergen, we have been through a lot but you still stood by me and never gave up on me as a friend. I am most grateful for your friendship, may God bless you.

To my research assistant, the Faliania Association and respondents, I say thank you for the opportunity you offered me during my field work, I will miss my Sunday afternoons with you. To my friend Hellen Enyonam Seshie, I am indebted to you for offering me accommodation when I sent you a short notice that I was coming down for field work. You readily gave me a place not only to lay my head but a friend to confide in when things were not working well in the field. God bless you.

To Gerald and Michael, thank you for helping me with the maps and page covers, God bless you.

To my numerous friends in and outside Norway who in one way or the other I have contacted for some information in writing this thesis, I am very grateful for your countless contributions during the write up of this thesis. God bless you all.

To my colleague students in the Geography department especially Francis Nkushi Shombong, it was nice knowing you and studying with you and your constant encouragement have brought me this far. Thank you.

ABSTRACT

The high level of migration of people from Northern to Southern Ghana is rooted in historical antecedents. The general objective of this study is to explore the gendered strategies of migrants from Northern to Southern Ghana through social networks for the purpose of gaining access to the informal economy. The specific objectives are to examine (a) gender differences in the reasons for migration from Northern Ghana to the study area in Madina (a suburb of Accra); (b) gender differences in types of, and support from, social networks; and, (c) examine the differences in the economic opportunities and constraints that migrants encounter in the study area of Madina.

The conceptual framework I used in this thesis have been derived from theories of gender (Cope 2002; Moore 1988), ethnicity (Barth 1969; Cohen 1969, 2004), and social networks (Granovetter 1983, 1995). From a gender theoretical view, women and men are affected by migration differently. So, with the feminist epistemology the reasons of migration and social network used are looked at. The concept of ethnicity was used to analyze how diverse ethnic groups from the Northern Region support migration process and also help migrant's adapt to their new environment. The concepts of 'strong ties' and 'weak ties' within the social networks theory is used to identify and analyse the extent to which migrants made use of the *strong ties* (kinship relations) or *weak ties* (which includes friendship and ethnic groups).

A sample size of 58 migrants, comprising 37 females and 21 males, were interviewed. The emerging findings from the study include the following. There are gender differences in (i) access to social networks; (ii) occupations available to migrants and, (iii) opportunities and constraints opened to women and men. With regards to social networks, the social ties women used were kinship relations (such as parents, cousins, siblings) in migrating. However, when they arrived in the study area, many of them moved out from these kinship ties to join friendship ties and ethnic group membership. In contrast, the men migrate normally with friends and seek the help of their ethnic groups in Madina to have access to economic opportunities. When it comes to the role of ethnicity in migration, both women and men relied on ethnic ties in getting access to accommodation and jobs in the study area. These and other empirical findings are discussed in the thesis.

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Abbreviations

GSS: Ghana Statistical Survey

NGOs: Non Governmental Organisations

NAI: Nordic African Institute

PRB: Population Reference Bureau

SAP: Structural Adjustment Programme

SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Sciences

UNFPA: The United Nations Population Fund

Glossary

Banku: prepared from corn dough and cassava dough

Chop bars: local restaurants

Fitoo: a name given to the local drink *pito*

Fufu: a local dish in Ghana prepared from cassava and plantain

Kaya: Hausa language which means load

Yoo: the Ga language which means female.

Kaya yoo (yei): name given to female head porters: *Kaya yoo* (singular) *kaya yei* (plural)

Khebab: roasted meat

KIA: type of truck used in carrying goods

Kiosks: wooden structures of accommodation

Olonka: type of bowls used to measure items in Ghana

Pito: local name for the local beer brewed in Ghana

Susu: a form of savings

Twi: language of the Akans

Vuolung: a green leafy slimy plant

Wala: One of the languages spoken by the people from the Upper West region of Ghana

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Migration has become a worldwide phenomenon. For the last few decades, no part of the world can claim to have remained untouched by the deepening and widening reach of migration processes. This has been a response to the forces of globalization and interconnectedness of places facilitating movement of people. The forces of globalization offer demands for labour service which has made the movement of people across boundaries much easier. However, the interconnectedness of places has opened diverse opportunities of labour across space making it possible for migrants to compare between labour services outside the home and within the home (UNFPA, 2006).

Empirical evidence indicates that over the last century, migration trends are on the increase and almost half of these migrants are women. Internal migration movement within a country and international migration movement across borders could have various reasons. An individual may migrate for political, social and economic reasons. The variation in movement could be either 'voluntary' or 'forced' in nature (Martin 2005 in Jolly and Reeves 2005:5).

According to Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008:171), Ghana is not an exception as migration has become a common household survival strategy and the 'basic survival' strategy for individuals and families to enable them cope with difficult economic conditions. However, migration from the Northern Regions (comprising the Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions) of the country to the economically rich regions in the Southern part of Ghana (particularly the Greater Accra Region) has been taking place for a very long time due to environmental problems, ethnic conflicts and endemic poverty.

According to Abdul-Korah (2004:121), British colonial policies used the Northern Regions (hereby referred to as the 'North' as in Ghanaian common usage) as a labour reserve to employ unskilled labour. This has created some ethnic antagonism between Southerners and Northerners. The Southerners felt a kind of superiority over the Northern people and as such the word 'North' still carries this negative connotation. These factors have led to a North-

South disparity in development in terms of infrastructure (industries and roads) and provision of social services such as schools and hospitals. As a result, majority of people living in the North are using migration to the South as an economic strategy.

Men have dominated the process of migration from the North to the South to supply labour in the cocoa farms, industries and mining centres. Historically, the few women involved in the migration process have usually migrated to join their husbands. However, the trend has changed since the 1980s with more women migrating independently to urban centres in Southern Ghana to work as head porters (*kaya yei*) and in other jobs such as petty trading and housemaids (Awumbila and Ardayfio Schandorf 2008:171).

Research indicates that the migration of women in Ghana is also not a new phenomenon because most women in the South migrated to trade and offer other business services across borders (Anarfi 1990 in Chant 1992: 96). The patriarchical¹ system in the Northern Regions, migration was limited to the men and women could only migrate to join their husbands. However, in recent times female migrants are migrating independently to seek their own economic gains and to better their livelihoods, from ages as early as eight to twenty-two years (Awumbila 2005 in Awumbila and Ardayfio 2008:171).

However, the household as a decision-making body (which involved women and men, young and old) is a contributing factor to the recent trend in migration. Household or family resources and decision-making structures, the culture of the community and the gender-segregated labour markets available determine migration. Issues of both reproduction and production need to be considered to understand migration as part of a livelihood strategy of not just the individual but also the family. Migration has varying impacts on women and men which may result in opening possibilities for changes in gender roles and the status of women, as migrants realise that gender dynamics vary across cultures, rather than being a biological reality (Chant 1992 in Jolly and Reeves 2005).

The three Northern Regions have patriarchal societies in which families are headed by males with one or several wives and children. The traditional gender roles comprise of the husband

¹ 'Patriarchy has been defined as a set of social relations between men, which although hierarchical, establishes an interdependence and solidarity between them which allows them to dominate women, maintaining that women's interests are subordinate to the interests of men' (Jenkins 2005:9)

acting as the head of the family who also controls resources (such as land) in the family. Within the household, there is a gender division of labour on the basis of age and sex. Women, men and children have their roles clearly defined in their contribution towards the upkeep of the household. An example could be seen within farming communities where the men are traditionally engaged in weeding and clearing the land while the women are engaged in sowing, harvesting and childcare. Children are in charge of driving away birds and animals from the crops planted. Political and religious roles in the community are primarily assigned to the men. Allocation of resources, status, roles and duties between women and men are determined by factors such as descent, succession and inheritance, paternity and economic potential (Abdul-Korah 2004:28).

According to Jolly and Reeves (2005:6), “Gender refers to the differences and commonalities between women and men which are set by convention and other social, economic, political and cultural forces”. In this thesis, the question that arises is whether these gender roles change as Northern migrants migrate to the South where the system of inheritance is mainly matrilineal and where women and men can change gender roles depending on the situation they find themselves. In the Southern Regions, men can work in the ‘chop bars’ (local restaurants) and other areas associated with women’s work. In the North, men are not allowed to undertake such women’s jobs because it is not part of the gender socialization. Differences in gender strategies of women and men labour migrants from the North to the South will be explored to find out how these differences are constructed.

Notwithstanding the diminishing rate of economic opportunities for Northern migrants in Ghana, most men and women migrants are involved in providing for the basic sustenance of the family in the face of rising costs of living (Wrigley-Asante 2008:162). Even though Accra has been developing at a rapid rate which will mean that there will be more jobs available to migrants, it is rather sad to realise that there are more people migrating to these capital towns and this renders new migrants not able to get access to jobs that they would have engaged in (example construction works etc). Women’s poverty has however been identified to be directly related to the absence of economic opportunities and independence; lack of economic resources (including credit, land ownership and inheritance); lack of access to education and support services; and their minimal participation in the decision making process (ibid).

1.1 Problem Statement

Empirical research in Ghana has shown that men are more mobile than women in the Northern Region (Awumbila and Ardayfio Schandorf 2008; Abdul-Korah 2004; Nabila 1975; Songsore 2003; Geest 2005 in Lobnibe 2008). However, in recent times (1980s to date), the trend has changed in terms of gender relations in the informal labour market in Accra – Ghana’s capital (Awumbila and Ardayfio Schandorf 2008; Overå 2007). Most Northern female migrants are moving towards the South to offer labour services in the informal labour market.

This study seeks to examine reasons why women and men in the Northern Region migrate to the South, the social networks involved in the migration process and the different strategies they employ in the informal economy to achieve the reasons for migrating. This raises the following questions: do men and women use the same type of social networks in acquiring jobs in the informal economy and do female and male migrants employ the same strategies when they migrate?

There have been various studies of female migration as head porters (*kaya yei*) (Awumbila 2005 in Awumbila and Ardayfio 2008). Most of these research studies have concentrated on the activities of the female head porters (*kaya yei*) and survival strategies employed when they migrate to the South. Few studies have concentrated on the social networks which these migrants make use of before and after migration.

In this study, I will contribute with information on the current trend of migration in terms of the reasons for North-South migration, the social ties or networks involved in the process of migration, and the strategies that Northern women and men use to achieve their aims when they migrate to the South.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to explore the gendered strategies of migrants from Northern to Southern Ghana through social networks for the purpose of gaining access to the informal economy in Madina, Accra.

The specific objectives are as follows:

- Examine the differences in the reasons why women and men migrate from Northern Ghana to Southern Ghana.
- Examine the gender differences in economic opportunities and constraints of Northern migrants in the informal economy in Madina.
- Examine the gender differences in type and extent of social and economic support from social networks.

1.3 The Study Area (Madina)

Madina is a fast growing sub-urban settlement located in the Accra plains 10 miles north-east of Accra on the Dodowa road. It lies 2 miles north of the University of Ghana, Legon. It is geographically located between longitude 5° 39'30'' and 5°40'30'' and latitude 0°9'30'' and 0°11' on a general elevation of about 200 ft above mean sea level. The population of Madina is 76697 with 37625 being male and 39072 female (Ghana Population and Housing Census 2000).

Madina is a heterogeneous society comprising of people from different social, religious and ethnic backgrounds. The ethnic composition of Madina includes migrants from the Northern Regions (Northern Region, Upper West Region and Upper East Region), Ga- Adangmes, Ewes, Akans and non Ghanaians from Cote d'Ivoire, Togo, and Nigeria. Religious groups include Christianity, Islam and African traditional religion. Madina is one of several areas in Accra with high concentrations of migrants from the North.

Madina has a big market which serves the other surrounding communities. Wednesdays and Saturdays are the two major market days of the week for trading in Madina. Madina is provided with facilities such as a police station, a number of banks, post office, clinics, day care centres, primary and junior secondary schools, senior secondary schools and secondary-technical schools.

1.4 Relevance of the Study

The migration of people from North to South of Ghana has received some research attention. Most of the research has traced the North-South migration from the British colonial times where men were recruited to work in the mines and cocoa plantations in the South, to the time these Northern migrants migrated in search of their own economic gains and to satisfy their curiosity of urban centres and also in search of fertile lands to farm. Current research taking place from the 1980s to date is on the female porters who migrate to the South to work in the informal labour market as head porters and the men as truck pushers (carrying load on trolleys and carts). But little research has been done on the gendered strategies of these migrants and the social networks involved in the migration processes.

It is important for policy makers to know the strategies both women and men use in migration in order to offer the necessary support or policy interventions. Social networks play a major role in the integration of new migrants into a new community and this makes it an important area that detailed attention needs to be focused. This research then aims at contributing to knowledge on gendered dimensions of migration from the North to the South, the underlying reasons for women and men migration, social networks and survival strategies of North-South migrants in the informal economy.

1.5 Organisation of the Study

The thesis is organised into eight chapters. Chapter one comprises the introduction, problem statement, objectives of the study, the study area and relevance of the study. Chapter two is a review of the literature on migration issues in Ghana. Chapter three explains three theoretical frameworks that are used for the study: the concept of gender and gendering social networks, theories about ethnicity and social networks theory. Chapter four looks at the methodological approach used during the field work. Chapter five examines the reasons why women and men have migrated and the work of Northern migrants in Madina. Chapter six looks at gendered social networks. Chapter seven provides discussions of findings. Chapter eight then concludes the study by highlighting the findings of the study and some recommendations for governmental policies.

CHAPTER TWO

MIGRATION IN GHANA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter takes a look at migration in Ghana. North-South migration has been taking place for a very long time in the country and has been researched into by many scholars. However, this chapter will throw more light on the gendered aspect of migration trends in Ghana as they have received less research attention.

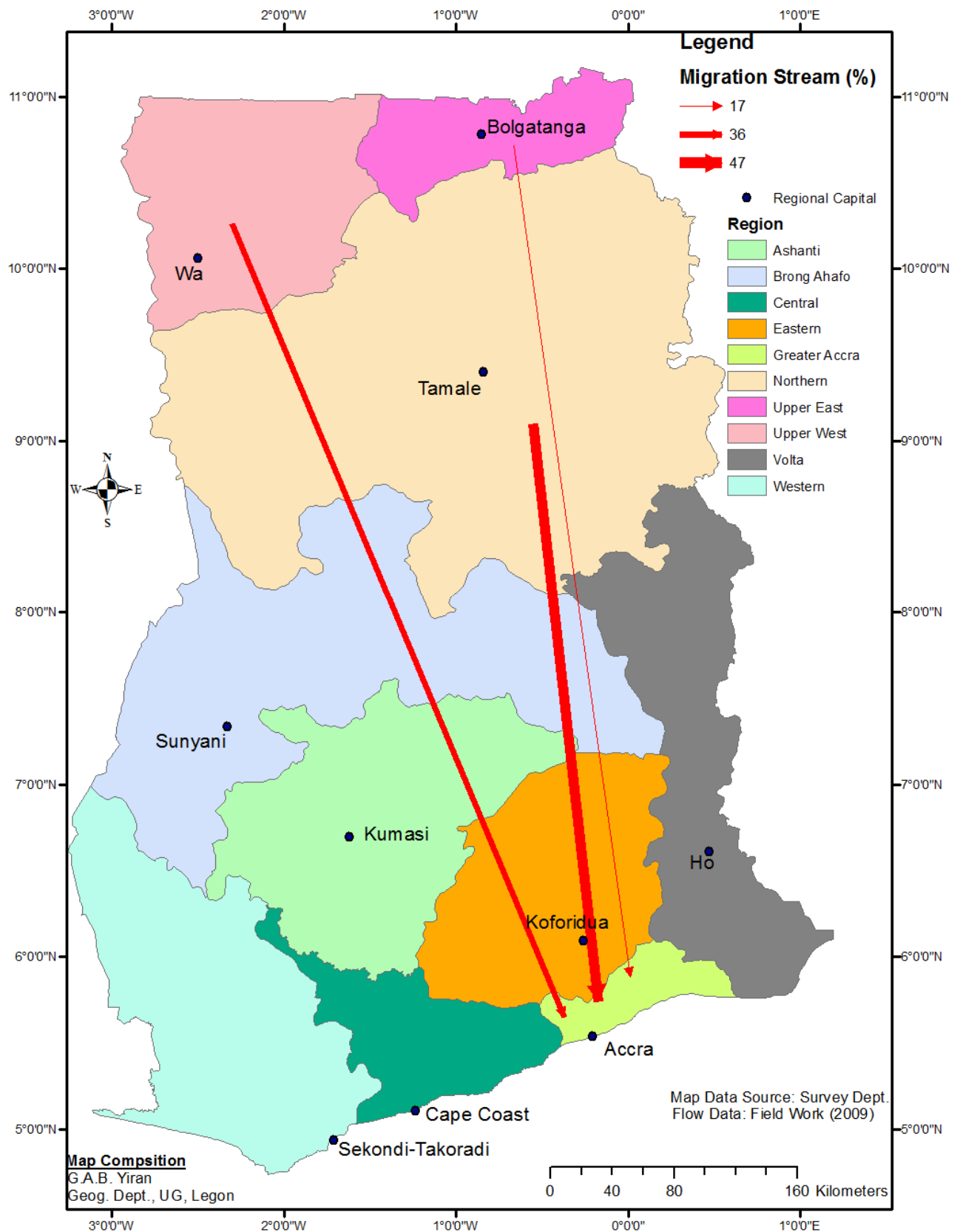
2.1 Patterns of Migration in Ghana

Ghana's land area of 238,537 sq. km is located in West Africa and shares boundaries with Burkina Faso in the North, the Gulf of Guinea in the South, Togo in the East and Cote d'Ivoire in the West. The population of Ghana in 2000 was 18,845,265 (GSS 2002 in Awumbila et al 2008:3). But there are current estimates of 23 million in 2007 (PRB, 2007) and 23.9 million in 2008 (ibid). Administratively, Ghana is divided into ten regions (see the map of Ghana on page 8). Ghana currently has one hundred and seventy districts.

For the purposes of my thesis analysis, Ghana is divided into two halves: the Northern and the Southern Regions. 'The North' comprises the following regions: Northern Region, Upper East Region and Upper West Region. The Southern Regions comprise the following regions: Ashanti, Western, Brong-Ahafo, Eastern, Central, Volta and Western Regions. The study area (Madina) is located in the Greater Accra Region. Therefore in the analysis, the use of 'South' is mainly in reference to the Greater Accra Region where the study area is located.

Two patterns of migration identified and discussed below are: a) North-South migration, and b) gendered migration.

Map 1: A Map of Ghana Showing Regional Origin of the Sampled Migrants in Madina



2.1.1 North-South Migration

Migration from the North to the South is not a new phenomenon in Ghana. It is embedded in historical antecedents. Authors such as Songsore and Denkabe (1995) and Abdul-Korah (2004) have explained that the North-South pattern of migration is due to the spatial inequalities in the levels of development. Unequal levels of development were brought about by a combination of factors such as unfavourable colonial and post-independence economic policies and environmental factors (climatic conditions and lack of fertile lands).

Natural conditions such as climate, soil and over population have been used by many anthropologists and historians to explain the underdeveloped nature of Northern Ghana (Plange, 1979:4). Plange argues that such explanations did not take account of the labour the colonial rulers required to feed the mines and cocoa plantations. He goes on to say that, rather than the lack of resources in the Northern part of Ghana, the demand for labour from the Northern Regions led to migration of people from the North to the South (ibid).

In pre-colonial times, there was very little migration from Northern Ghana to the South. Prior to the conquest of the Northern Region by the British colonial rulers, the North was the heart of 19th century trade routes and food production (Nabila 1975; Abdul-Korah 2004). The Northern Regions became a meeting point for trading with the Dyula and Mande traders with various wares acquired from North Africa, Southern Europe, the ports of Dahomey and Nigeria (Anarfi and Kwankye 2005:5). Traders from the Southern Regions came with gold, salt, fish and other European imports. In view of this trade, Salaga in the Northern Region became an important centre for both the subsistence economy and the petty commodity economy (ibid).

The differences between the Southern Regions and the Northern Regions include education, urbanisation, income levels, social services and health facilities. The British colonial policies which promoted the Northern Regions as a labour reserve for the mines and plantations in the South led to little investment in infrastructure in the North. Efforts were made to promote the resource-endowed regions such as the forest and coastal belts of the South with the development of infrastructure to the neglect of the Northern Regions. The labour from the North was used to help produce minerals, cash crops and timber products for export. The export of these products led to the establishment of ports and harbours in the coastal towns of Southern Ghana (Abdul-Korah 2004).

However, according to Sutton (1989 in Van der Geest 2008), the underlying reason for the concentration on the cash crop development in the forested regions of the South was that the lands in the Northern Regions were not suitable for the cultivation of cash crops. The introductions of the cash economy also made Northern men think that migration to the South was the only way to earn cash to improve upon their status in the society. As a result, the reasons for migrating changed from psychological to economic reasons in order to achieve wealth and property. The duration of the stay of migrants changed from short term to long term and to permanent stays to achieve their aim of migrating.

Migrants generally moved from resource-poor to resource-rich areas (Anarfi and Kwankye 2005). This goes a long way to affect the movements of people from the Northern parts of the country to the Southern cities. The Northern Regions are less endowed with resources and infrastructure than in the South. To improve standards of living, people in the Northern Regions usually migrate to the Southern cities.

Focusing on the Upper West region, Abdul- Korah (2004:17) explains the trend of migration from 1901 to 1936. In this period, British activities in the Gold Coast were extended to the North (known in the colonial era as Northern territories) as a result of the protectorate treaties Ferguson signed with the chiefs of the area. The annexation of the Northern territories enhanced trade in European manufactured goods and introduction of taxes along the caravan routes. As part of the colonial development policies, the Northern territories were used as a cheap labour reserve for the recruitment of people to work in the mines in the South. The British were able to achieve their aim by neglecting development in the area in terms of providing health facilities, infrastructure, educational facilities as well as failure to develop the resources such as cotton, rice, cattle and shea butter available in this area. The first batch of the recruited labour arrived at the Tarkwa mines in 1907 and this recruitment continued until 1936 (Lentz 2006:140). This explains the first generation of migrants from the Upper West region of Ghana. As time passed, more labour was recruited to work in the mines, cocoa plantations, harbours and railways.

From 1936 to 1957, the movement of the ‘second generation’ of migrants from the Northern and Upper West regions occurred (Abdul-Korah 2004:19). Following the abolition of the recruitment of labour policies, a new tax was introduced to the North. This tax made many people to migrate in search of jobs to fulfil their tax obligations and to pay for their bride price (ibid). The British Colonial policies changed after the Second World War when they

moved from a policy of exploitation to development with the unfortunate thing being that it did not include the Northern territories (ibid).

Following the neglect of the development of the Northern Regions and earlier migrants being exposed to European consumer goods in the South, most of the Northern people continued to migrate to have a taste of European goods and to have a feel of development in the South. Most Northern migrants were drawn to the 'golden triangle' of Kumasi, Accra and Takoradi (ibid). This signifies a change in the major underlying reasons for migrating to the South when compared to the earlier migrants who were forced under colonial labour policies to migrate.

Therefore, Abdul-Korah (2004:20) terms the period of 1957 to 1980 as the 'third generation' migration of 'willing economic migrants'. Following the inception of the Nkrumah government in 1957, the government still adopted a policy of developing the Southern Regions to the neglect of the Northern Regions. The North was still used as a labour reservoir for work in the mines, harbours, cocoa plantations and little attention was paid to the health, education and other infrastructure development in the North. The uneven development encouraged Northern migrants to move to well developed Southern Regions in search of wage labour (Abdul-Korah 2004; Lentz 2006).

The implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) by the Government in 1983 resulted in many Northern migrants who were employed in the mines and other agricultural sectors in the South to be laid off (Abdul-Korah 2004:22). Agricultural subsidies were also removed and this adversely affected the Northern Regions because agriculture is the main means of livelihood of the people in the North. Without infrastructural development in the North, people in the North then saw migration to the South as the major means of improving their economic situation. Migration this time was not only a male occupation but the women also joined in the migration process to search for jobs in the South. Around this time, the destination for migration also widened from the mining towns to include farming areas such as the Brong Ahafo region in the South.

Abdul-Korah (2008:6) has also argued that most research works (Hilton 1966; Hunter 1967; Dickson 1968; Thomas 1973; Plange 1979; Songsore 1983; Brukum 1998) have explained labour migration as a direct consequence of colonial policy to under-develop the North. He however also came out with the finding that not all people migrate because of economic reasons which have often been the simplistic assertions researchers give to most North-South

migrations. After Abdul-Korah researched Dagaaba male migration to the South, he came out with the conclusion that not all the migrants moved because of economic reasons but some migrated first, “to see the world” – a world that was “created” for them by the colonial state in the South and secondly, to satisfy their taste for European consumer goods (ibid: 6).

2.1.2 Gendered Migration

Gender has played a major role in the migration history of Ghana. Men have continuously migrated both in the pre-colonial, colonial and after colonial times. According to Anarfi (1989,1990 in Chant 1992:95-96), a study of migration of Ghanaian women to Abidjan (the capital of Cote d’Ivoire) showed that most of the women who migrated were unmarried and the few who were married did not migrate with their husbands - only 1.1% of respondents interviewed migrated to join their husbands. According to Anarfi, over 75% of the women he interviewed were prostitutes and majority of them came from the Southern Regions specifically the Krobo’s in the Eastern Region. However, Anarfi’s study could not inform us about the kind of occupations Northern migrants engaged in. But he did mention that due to the Islamic religion in the North, women might not have been encouraged to get involved in the prostitution business as it is outlawed in Islam (ibid).

The gender form of migration has changed during the 18th and 19th centuries with women also engaging in the migration processes. In the pre-colonial days, men migrated in search of fertile lands to farm and feed their families (Geest 2005 in Lobnibe 2008). The British colonial rulers introduced men’s labour in the plantations, mines and industries and women constantly migrated to join their husbands or relatives to offer both social and economic help. Women were also usually left behind to take care of the family and farms when the husbands migrated (Abdul-Korah 2004; Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008).

In the 20th and 21st centuries, women have increasingly migrated independently in search of economic opportunities. Female migrants from the North migrate independently to engage in head portage in the urban cities in the South (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). The carrying of goods on the head from one place to the other is termed head portage. This has been one of the means of transportation in Ghana. The head portage business is termed *kaya yoo* which is from two languages; the Hausa language word *kaya* which means load and the word *yoo* from the Ga language which means female. The *kaya yoo* carry loads on their heads either by using the head pan or on the bare head. Things they carry range from farm produce,

wares, boxes, tubers of yams and cassava dough which customers and market women buy in the market. Head portage is done by both men and women but women are in the majority since men have adapted to the use of trucks in carrying heavy goods instead of carrying it on their head. Many of these young female migrants, as we shall come to see, migrate from the North through a network of friends and also family relations.

Historically, head portage was introduced in Ghana by male migrants from the Sahelian countries in West Africa (such as Mali) during their trade with people in Northern Ghana. After the Aliens Compliance Order of 1969 gave all foreigners without working permit in Ghana two weeks to either obtain a working permit or leave the country, the head portage business was adversely affected because they had to move back to their various countries (Peil, 1974). Due to the vacuum created by the order in 1969, Ghanaians then began to engage in the head portage business. With time, Northern migrants joined the portage business. The men usually use hand pushed or pulled trucks to transport goods and the women porters also use their heads to carry goods.

According to Adepoju (2004), there has been a changing trend in the labour migration process in the sense that people used to migrate to seek employment in the commercial sectors and not to engage in self-employment as is presently the case. For instance, the female migrants from the North often migrate with the aim of engaging in the *kaya yoo* business, which offers immediate employment. According to Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008), young female migrants engage in head portage when they get to the city centres such as Accra and Kumasi. Poverty, lack of education, lack of employment possibilities, the desire to purchase items for marriage and some socio-cultural factors have contributed to the mass migration of Northern female youth to the South (ibid:171).

2.2 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed two patterns of migration in Ghana: North-South migration and gendered migration. It also discussed the determinants of these forms of migration and the historical antecedents that make people to migrate from the Northern Regions to the Southern Regions of Ghana. Reasons for migration stemmed from a combination of factors ranging from climatic conditions to infertile soils. The legacy of colonial policies as in the creation of Northern labour reserve for the mines and plantations in the forest and coastal regions of the

South has also shaped modern day North-South migration. Moreover, women and men in the North migrate to the urban centres in the South to offer their services as *kaya yoo* and truck pushers. The next chapter discusses various theoretical perspectives that are later used for empirical analysis of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical framework I will be using to address the research study: Feminist theory (the gendering of social network), ethnicity theory and social network theory. In section 3.1, early feminist work within geography has challenged the discipline for its failure to adequately incorporate women as subjects of research and for the lack of women in the profession (Valentine, 2007:11). With this in mind, the study will incorporate the feminist epistemology which advocates for the gender sensitivity in research. This section also looks at the concept of gender and gender networks of migrants. In section 3.2, ethnicity informs us that ethnic groups are forms of social organisation which assign, give, or ascribe statuses to the members of the ethnic group. A person is identified as a member of an ethnic group by her or his geographic origin and linguistic background. I will discuss how ethnic groups identified and created what I call ethnic spaces for themselves in Madina. In section 3.3, the social networks theory highlights issues of strong and weak social ties and how migrants benefit from the social contacts they make prior to and after migration.

3.1 The Concept of Gender and the Gendering of Social Networks

According to Spain (2001:5965), gender represents socially constructed masculine and feminine while sex is the biological determined categories of male and female. It then explains that one's sex is determined at conception but an individual gender identity develops over a life course and can fluctuate across a wide continuum of masculine and feminine characteristics. Nicholson (1995 in McDowell 1999:13), the differences between the two terms 'sex' and 'gender', sex is the biological differences between a man and a woman and gender describes the socially constructed characteristics of men and women. It is further explained that gender is the social organisation of sexual difference. It then follows that gender is the knowledge that establishes meaning for bodily differences. In this study, gender plays a key role in finding out how gender is socially constructed and the gender division of labour assigned to Northern migrants within the household and when they migrate to Madina.

McDowell explains how gender is linked to geography, and how men and women live different lives in different parts of the world and since gendered attributes are socially constructed, how does femininity and masculinity vary across space and time (McDowell, 1999:1). According to Moore (1988 in McDowell 1999:7) in analyzing what is to be 'a woman' and the cultural understanding of the category, 'woman' vary through space and time and how those understandings relate to the position of women in different societies. To understand this we need to understand the concept of gender and gender relations: that is 'the different ways in which women and men and the accepted attributes of femininity and masculinity which are defined across space and time' (ibid). She argues that gender is then seen from two perspectives: either as a symbolic construction or as a social relationship.

Gender as a social relation and gender as a symbolic meaning are interconnected and mutually constituted (McDowell 1999:7). We all act in relation to our intentions and beliefs which are always culturally shaped and historically and spatially positioned. The appropriate behaviour and actions by women and men reflect and affect what they imagine a man or a woman to be, as well as women and men who are differentiated with age, class, race or sexuality, and these expected behaviour and beliefs change over time and between places (ibid). How has migration of Northern migrants affected their beliefs and behaviour when they migrate to Madina? Do women still do the unpaid household jobs in Madina or how has migration affected Northern migrants' gender socialisation from their home villages? Can men do jobs which they would not have engaged in their home regions of migration and how has the migration process affected men and women social relations with respect to time and place.

Gender role constraints is underpinned by the social expectation that women's main activities should be close to family care and household maintenance and the assumption that women will interrupt their working lives to care for children and elderly relatives (Tivers 1977 in Jenkins 2005:8). How has these gender role constraints affected married women with children who have left the home to migrate to a new environment to work in the informal economy to provide for the household.

Gender as a major determinant is the way different people experience the world, interact with each other and what kind of opportunities are opened or closed to both women and men. An important element of gender relations is how gender solidifies hierarchies and relationships of

power in a given society through different means such as oppression (violence, discrimination, marginalization) and on the other hand privilege (preferences, favours, power over others) (Cope 2002:45). This is how gender relations will influence the production of knowledge and the active participation of women in the production of knowledge (ibid). However, despite feminist geographers advocating for the inclusion of women in the production of knowledge, Zelinsky et al. (1982 in Jenkins, 2005:9) argue that feminist geography became weakened because they focused on women rather than emphasising the social divisions between women and men. Massey believes that feminist geography cannot be complete because feminist geography should be as much about women as about men (Massey 1994:189 in Jenkins, 2005: 9). It is therefore not possible to look at either men's or women's labour market participation without looking at the position of the other.²

Most research has tended to concentrate on either men or women or largely on men ignoring the women. The feminist epistemology, according to Cope (2002:44), involves how gender influences what counts as knowledge and how knowledge is legitimized and how knowledge is reproduced and represented to others. With this in mind, I focused on both women and men in my study area to enable me to seek the views concerning the strategies both women and men employ and the opportunities and constraints women and men go through in order to be incorporated into the migrant communities. Some of the questions arising from my research will be as follows: are there differences in the reasons why women and men have migrated from Northern Ghana to the study area? Are there gender differences in access to social networks? Are there gender differences in type of support received from social networks? And finally, are there differences in economic opportunities and constraints that women and men migrants encounter in the informal economy?

In Ghana, gender roles differ from place, culture and ethnicity. The role of women in Ghana has mainly been assigned to the household, production of children, and childcares (Ardayfio-Schandorf 2004). Northern women, according to Brydon (1992 in Chant 1992:92), are more likely to be restricted in their life chances such as opportunities to education, freedom of choice in marriage and some financial independence than the Southern women. Women from matrilineal kinship systems in the South (the Akan) seem to be opened to a lot of opportunities especially in trade.

² The researcher 'must view reality stereoscopically, so to speak through the eyes of both men and women since to do otherwise is to remain half blind' (Zelinsky et al. 1982:353 in Jenkins 2005:10)

Recent studies however indicate that women in some parts of the Southern Regions that practice a patrilineal system are financially independent of men due to recent movement from subsistence agriculture to urban-based occupations. Women in Ashanti region have bridged this economic dependency gap by combining household roles with trading activities. Women in the Ashanti region are able to travel to distant places such as Togo, Abidjan, Nigeria and so on to trade. The trend of migration in the North has changed in recent times. Also women from the Northern part of Ghana are now migrating to seek better economic gains in Southern Ghana (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008).

Women play a major role in household management and participate actively in the informal economy (Overå, 2007). As part of women's subsistence-oriented activities, they get involved in petty industries and trade and are able to combine the work with traditional roles of household keeping and childcare. Women are able to explore new areas and they may either succeed or fail in their attempt to explore new areas due to the social construction of gender shaped by cultural worldviews. Women generally have different perceptions of reality than men but they are always faced with certain constraints put on them by the society in which they live in (Lund 1993:141). However, the efforts of women still have to be seen within the overall set of constraints. This implies that even though women respond actively, they may still be subordinated. The implication is that even though women are very active, they are mostly marginalized in the Northern Regions as compared to the South where women are able to take active part in the society.

There are a number of studies that have shown how women's work are devalued and made invisible when they enter into the male dominated labour market (Lund 1993). Some of the jobs in the labour markets are labour intensive and attempts by women to change this are seen as evidence of incapacity (Lund 1993). The gender-based division of labour is seen as a social construct which reflected social customs (practices and beliefs in the society) and gives rise to a substantial local variety in male and female roles and tasks in Sinhala society (Lund 1993:164). Will it then follow that gender-based division of labour is potentially subject to change when both sex migrate from the North to the South. The question arising here is whether Northern women or men can do other jobs that would not have been acceptable in their home areas when they migrate? One of my objectives is to examine gender differences in migrant occupations in Madina. I will examine the changing jobs of women and men from Northern Ghana as well.

According to Davis (2008:70), the most central theoretical normative concern within feminist scholarship is addressed by intersectionality which includes acknowledgement of differences among women. The concept of intersectionality is used to theorise the relationship between different social categories: gender, race and sexuality. It is used to describe the interconnections and interdependence of race with other categories (Crenshaw et al. 1995 in Valentine 2007:12). Intersectionality is also seen as ‘the way in which any particular individual stands at the crossroads of multiple groups’ (Minow, 1997:38 in *ibid*). Intersectionality theory objects to the notion that all truths are equal and to the notion that individual narratives should not become a basis for shared resistance to oppressive power relations. So, while postmodernism emphasizes deconstructionism, Intersectionality theory insists upon an equal attention to constructionism (Robnett 2001:12681).

According to Robnett (2001:12682), intersectionality theory encompasses a methodological approach critical to the study of social phenomena, and it has been employed by many women of colour social scientists in such areas as the study of family, social movements, race and ethnicity, social stratification, legal institutions and crime, organizations, work and welfare, and politics. In this study I will provide a case study of the intersectionality of age, ethnicity, marital status and job association of a single mother in Madina market. This will enrich the theoretical understanding of intersectionality which addresses how differences intersect within a particular person’s identity or in a specific social practice or location (Davis 2008:75).

Even though many research works have criticised the vagueness of the concept of intersectionality, Phoenix (2006 in Davis 2008: 77) concludes that, there is no single concept that we can say is perfect. Moreover, none of the concept or theories has accomplished the understanding and explanation of all that needs to be understood and explained within the field of women’s studies. But the concept intersectionality opens a lot of opportunities for interrogating one’s blind spots and transforming them into analytic resources for critical analysis. Intersectionality with its vagueness gives feminist researchers the opportunity to initiate a process of discovery which promises to yield new and more comprehensive and reflexive critical insights.

3.2 The Concept of Ethnicity

According to Schermerhorn (1978 in Hutchinson and Smith 1996:6) “an ethnic group is a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood”. Ethnic identity is when a group of people identifies themselves with a cultural collectivity, a sense of belonging to a particular cultural community, whereas ethnic origin defines the sense of ancestry and nativity on the part of the individual through his or her parents and grandparents (ibid:5).

The ethnicity theory that will be used for my empirical analysis has its roots in Barth’s theory of ethnic groups and boundaries (1969). Other scholars such as Cohen (1969, 2004) have contributed immensely to our understanding of ethnic groups in general. According to Barth (1969:198), anthropologist thought that cultural variation is not continuous but it is concerned with a number of people sharing a common culture having interconnected differences that make each culture distinct.

According to Barth (1969:202), ethnic groups are seen as categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and this leads them to have the characteristics of organizing interaction between themselves and other groups. Barth elaborates on ethnic groups as a form of social organization. He defines categorical ascription as an ethnic ascription which classifies a person in terms of his or her basic, most general identity, presumably determined by his or her geographical origin and linguistic background. This is largely used by actors as ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for purposes of interaction to form ethnic associations in the organisational sense.

Handelman (1977 in Hutchinson and Smith 1996:6) has distinguished four levels of an ethnic group. Handleman identifies ‘ethnic category’ as the loosest level of incorporation where there is a perceived cultural difference between the group and outsiders which they interact with and this creates a sense of boundary between them. The second stage which he termed the ‘ethnic network’ is where there is regular interaction between ethnic members where members of the same network can distribute and share resources among its members. Thirdly, he mentions the ‘ethnic association’ where group members develop common interests and political organizations to express these at a collective corporate level. Finally, he identifies the ‘ethnic community’ which possesses a permanent, physically bounded territory over and above its political organization. The concepts of ethnic network and ethnic

association are very important to my study of Northern migrants in Madina. It is interesting to find out how these migrants form ethnic networks and ethnic associations to get access to accommodation, information and jobs in the migrant community.

These definitions inform us that ethnic groups have an identity which identifies the individuals coming from one ancestry and sharing the same culture. In Northern Ghana, there are twenty-nine (29) languages (see Table 1).

Table 1: Linguistic and ethnic groups (ethnic groups in brackets)

Northern Region	Upper East	Upper West
Bimoba (Bimoba)	Bissa (Busansi)	Chakali (Chakali)
Birifor (Lobi)	Buli (Builsa)	Dagaare (Dagaaba)
Chumburung (Nchuburu)	Farefare (Frafra)	Konni (Koma)
Dagbani (Dagomba)	Kantosi(Kantonsi)	Paasaal (Sissala Southern)
Deg (Mo)	Kasem (Kasem)	Sisaala, Tumulung (Sissala,Tumulung)
Gonja (Gonja)	Kusaal (Kusasi)	Sisaala, Western (Sissala)
Hanga (Hanga)		Wali (Wala)
Kamara (Kamara)		
Konkomba (Konkomba)		
Lama (Lama/Lamba)		
Mampruli (Mamprusi)		
Nawuri (Nawuri)		
Ntcham (Basari/Bassar)		
Safaliba (Safaliba)		
Tampulma (Tampluensi)		
Vagla (Vagla)		
16	6	7

Source: (Lewis, 2009)

These linguistic groups are maintained when migrants relocate to new destination areas. This was confirmed by Hart (1973) when he studied the Frafra migrants in Accra and how they formed ethnic associations which helped them to get access to jobs.

Northern ethnic group associations in the South dates back to the colonial days when Northern people migrated to the South to work in the mines, harbours and cocoa plantations. Migrants defined their own boundaries of ethnic communities along the lines of common language and origin (Lentz 2006:139). These ethnic boundaries could either be defined widely or narrowly depending on the context, either assisting each other in terms of getting a job or access to accommodation, providing aid in times of sickness and death of a member (ibid).

Cohen's (1969, 2004:184) study of Hausa migrants and the formation of ethnic groups or tribal groups also confirmed how Hausa migrants developed tribal groups when they were experiencing rivalry, competition and opposition from other individual Yoruba groups. They had to form an ethnic group to have a strong organizational structure for easy communication and decision making. The formation of ethnic groups was done to create a boundary to prevent intrusion from other ethnic groups. The study of Northern migrants in Madina and the ethnic organization of migrants will help me ascertain whether there are ethnic boundaries created to prevent other ethnic groups from intruding in the acquisition of jobs, accommodation and other social activities.

I use the concept of ethnic group first as being a field of communication and interaction and second as having a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others as constituting a category different from other categories. Since the three Northern Regions are made up of languages such as Sisaala, Dagaabas, Dagbani, Mampruli, Farefare's, Kusaal, Talensi's etc, migrants in Madina needed to define an ethnic boundary to enable them to have easy communication and interaction among their members. The Northern migrants do not speak the same language. Therefore, there is a language barrier in communication. But for a group to be very interactive there should be a common language.

According to Hutchinson and Smith (1996:24), where there is a group, there is some sort of boundary and where there are boundaries, there are mechanisms to maintain them. These boundary mechanisms are cultural markers of difference. The differences among groups are

index features. The index features must be easily seen, grasped, understood and reacted to in social situations. These boundary marking features may say who is a member of what group and what minimal cultural items are involved in membership. The questions which will arise in the study are whether there are cultural markers and mechanisms in maintaining these ethnic groups; how are these ethnic groups maintained? Do they organize ethnic group meetings to contribute to help each other when there is a problem? The cultural markers in the three Northern Regions are seen in the tribal marks each ethnic group marks on the faces of ethnic members, which give easy identification among ethnic groups. For example while the Mamprusi ethnic group is easily identified with a single mark on each cheek, the Sissalas have double marks on both cheeks in addition to one on their forehead. These cultural marks easily inform you where an individual comes from in the three Northern Regions.

3.3 Social Networks Theory

A lot of research works which have used social network perspectives for the study of migration (Cohen, 1969, 2004; Hart, 1973; Overå, 2005). Mitchell (1969b in Laumann, 1973:7) defines a social network as “a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, within additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved”. It is a widely accepted view among researchers that migrants often make use of social networks and these networks serve as channels for migration (Vertovec, 2003:650). Social networks are very important for migrants in terms of finding a job, accommodation, economic transaction and most importantly for psychological support and access to information (ibid). A social network may include neighbours or others drawn from the category of kin and ethnic group.

Social network is an important concept when it comes to my analysis of migration of Northerners to urban cities in Southern parts of Ghana. A study by Hart (1973:77) of the Frafra and other ethnic groups who migrated to Accra discovered that the Frafra sought employment where they had social contacts because it is unusual for Frafra's to seek jobs where they do not have these contacts already established. Hart's study confirmed that information about various job vacancies travelled through informal social networks and the Frafra migrants from Northern Ghana tend to be in occupational clusters. Hart's research highlights the importance of ethnic ties in the search for job among the Frafra's who are a group of Northern migrants. Overå (2005:5) also examined the networks of Ghanaian

fishermen and fish traders when they migrate across boundaries. Overå found out that almost 71% of the migrants from the Fante town Moree travelled to places where they already knew someone, in most cases a relative. I will like to find out whether this is a similar situation in Madina.

Overå's study of social networks in the informal economy also highlights gendered strategies in acquiring a job through a network of kinship, conjugal and collegial relations (Overå 2007:553). Social networks, according to Overå, were very important in terms of providing new migrants with the start-up capital and other support. In another study on the networks of traders, Overå (2006:1303) explains that markets were organized in the form of networks and women's access to these trader networks stemmed from their social contacts which enable them to get access to capital to be able to start up a business in the market. One either acquires the training through the mother or obtains credit from a family relative such as an aunt (ibid). Overå again explains that even when an individual could get access to the market, the trader will have to further build her own networks based on ethnicity or friends, customers, creditors and so on. The strength of social networks is what Granovetter (1995) classifies into strong and weak ties. I shall later explain the concepts of strong and weak social ties as these are also used for empirical analysis.

In a study of Ghanaian immigrant associations in Toronto, Owusu also points out how Ghanaian migrants rely on ethnicity when they migrate to Toronto (Owusu, 2000:1157). With the ethnic group, the individual feels accepted with a sense of belongingness among same tribes. There was also a feeling of comfort among members of a tribe because they shared the same customs and communicated in the same language. I will be using the strength of the strong and weak ties to find out how new migrants from the North get access to information and whether there is a gender difference with access to information.

According to Holmes-Eber (2003:11), network analyses or approaches have the following modes: the structural perspective that examines the structure of social networks and looks at the nature and content of links in social networks; and the interactionist perspective looks at the interaction between people in terms of power relations. With respect to women, the interactionist perspective focuses on women's network. These include visitation and child care as part of interactions which take place in women networks. Networking by women is sometimes viewed as not having any instant economic effects for the family as compared to the salaries men will bring home. Despite this, women's networks provide some security in

times of economic and personal hardships in addition to emotional and other practical support such as the acquisition of jobs, goods and information (ibid: 9).

There is empirical evidence which indicates that networking serve different purposes for women and men (Travers 1997:2). According to Vinnicombe and Colwill (1996 in Travers 1997:2), networking was more “social” among women and “utilitarian” among men. It was realized that men were able to use networking in an instrumental way in acquiring jobs whilst women used it in socializing purposes. Holmes-Eber (2003) in her study of women in Tunis indicated that women took active part in child care, visitation, and cooking in order to promote social networks between families.

Moreover, an aspect of network studies developed by social psychologists is communication or the way rumours, ideas, and information as a whole diffuse among a group of people at a given time and place. Information flows through a linkage. Coleman, Kartz and Menzel (1957 in Mitchell 1969:4) applied this form of study on how knowledge of new drugs among physicians was able to get across a wider space. The flow of communication is normally among a group of people who already know each other (ibid).

Social networks analyses were also used by Mayer (1961) and Pauw (1963) in Mitchell (1969) to explain the behavior of different types of migrants and settled townsmen in the South African town of East London. It was observed that the behaviour of people who are members of a close knit group of friends are likely to be influenced by the wishes and expectations of these friends in totality, while those whose acquaintances do not know one another will turn to behave inconsistently from time to time without involving themselves in embarrassment (Mitchell 1969:6). I will like to find out in my study area whether the social network one gets associated with, will be able to influence behaviour in terms of dressing, communication etc.

Social networks played an important role in Cohen’s (1969, 2004:20-29) study of the Hausa migrants in the Yoruba towns in Nigeria. He found out that there was a closely-knit network of Hausa traders in terms of the sale of kola and cattle with respect to the packaging, storage and transportation of these goods and services. It was realised that trade took place in closely knit networks among well-established Hausa communities in Yoruba land even though the Hausa did not produce cattle nor kola yet they controlled the trade in both (kola and cattle). Every individual in the established communities of these Hausa migrants is identified as a tribe’s man. However, the identity of an individual can only be accepted when she or he is

able to identify herself or himself with social relationships that arise from mutual interest and trust within the social setting (ibid: 36-37). In my study area, I will find out what it takes for new migrants to get incorporated or accepted as members of the community.

3.3.1 The Concepts of Strong Ties and Weak Ties

Based on the social network theoretical perspective, the conceptual framework I used for the research is grounded in Granovetter's social network theory of "strong ties" and "weak ties" (Granovetter 1983; 1995). Granovetter used the concepts of strong and weak ties to classify and analyse the strength of social networks. According to Granovetter, interpersonal ties could either be strong or weak. He identifies strong ties to be kin-based; that is, from close family members, ethnicity, class and close friends. The weak ties comprise of a collection of friends or acquaintances³. He postulated four dimensions to measure the strength of a tie. These are: a) the amount of time spent in interaction, b) emotional intensity, c) intimacy, and d) reciprocal services. These dimensions do not operate in linear directions but are interrelated and interconnected with role relations.

According to Granovetter (1995), individuals with mostly weak ties are more likely to acquire information than individuals with mostly strong ties. He pointed out that members in a kin-based network will have access to information among the closely knit network but will be limited in the source of information when it comes to information outside the immediate kin group. In these cases, the weak ties then play a major role in the acquisition of relevant information across space. This is because with the weak ties, the network is widespread. That is to say, a friend could be a friend to someone and that someone is a friend to a different person. Therefore, when there is a transfer of information, it moves faster through the weak ties than through the strong ties which are more closely linked (Granovetter 1983:202).

From a study conducted in Philadelphia, it was also found out that people with less education were likely to use strong ties in their acquisition of jobs and begin to use weak ties when the educational level rises up to college levels (Ericksen and Yancey 1980 in Granovetter 1983:206). It was also indicated that poor people tend to use more strong ties than the weak ties. This research will help me to find out the relationships between the tie of an individual,

³ If the person providing the help is identified as a relative the tie here will be considered to be a strong tie and if the person is classified as an acquaintance the tie will be considered as a weak tie

the class and social status of the individual and the acquisition of information about economic opportunities.

Some scholars have however questioned the idea of the strength of weak ties with regards to the strength of social networks. According to research work done by Wellman (1999), the strength of the strong ties is very important and they serve as emotional support as compared to the weak ties. An example given was that family ties and close friends could together offer emotional support when an individual is going through problems in life (Wellman, 1999:256). Wellman argues for both strong and weak ties playing a major role in the social networks (Wellman, 1999:256).

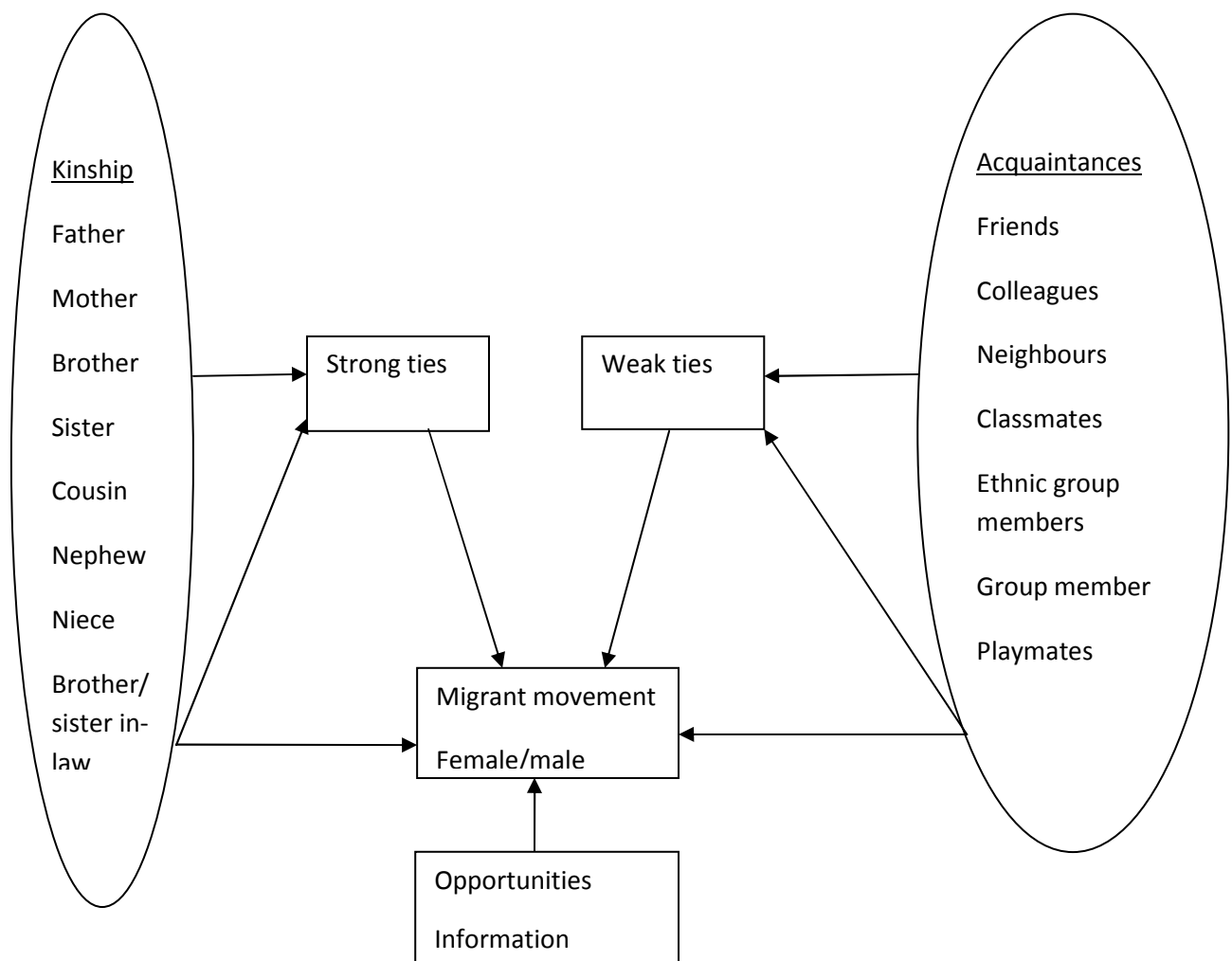
Another study conducted in China by Wellman, also concluded that in the search for jobs within China one needed to make use of both the strong and the weak ties. According to Wellman, the strong ties are mostly efficient because of the mutual trust and reciprocal relations among relatives and friends as compared to acquaintances (ibid: 256). This was confirmed by a study done by Cohen (1969, 2004) among the Hausa migrants in Yoruba and how trade was ensured due to the mutual trust they found when trading with their own people.

Furthermore, a study of German Workers by Wegner (1991 in Wellman, 1999: 257) reported that a social network was seen to be heterogeneous when it comprised both weak and strong ties. According to Wegner, in a society where individuals have low status, they make good use of strong ties in order to get access to the available social resources within a particular network. However, when it comes to people with a higher status, they tend to move out of strong ties to weak ties.

In my own view, the limitation of Granovetter's strength of weak ties being stronger than the strong ties will depend on the context of the individual social networks. People will tend to make use of strong ties to get access to jobs if the family in which the individual comes from have laid down a strong foundation for the kin members and each family member joins in this kind of job. On the other hand, an individual may rely on using weak ties to get access to information through their acquaintances when the person is from a low class family with no laid down foundation of getting access to a job. In conclusion, the use social networks and how closely knit these networks are will greatly depend on the context in which the individual finds herself or himself.

In my study of Northern migrants in Madina, I examine the forms of strong and weak ties that exist among Northern migrants. What kind of ties do they contact before and after migration? The theory of social network analyzed along Granovetter's concepts of strong ties and weak ties that I used for my study is modelled below in Figure 1.

Figure 1: A Conceptual Model of Social Networks: Strong Ties and Weak Ties



Source: Author's model based on the concept of Granovetter (1995).

In my study, I explored the nature of ties used by migrants in getting access to information, jobs, accommodation and other needs. This will help determine whether Northern migrants in the study communities predominantly rely on strong ties or weak ties or both.

3.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, the concept of gender and gendering of social networks as a basis for looking at the gendered strategies of Northern migrants in Madina. The concept of gender was also discussed at length in defining the concept of gender and how it is used inter-changeably with sex and the gender which is explained as a social construct which vary in space and time. The feminist theories advocate for researches to include women and men in their studies without studying one particular category and using it to generalise makes the researcher 'half blind'. The theory of ethnicity will play a major role in this study. The Northern Regions are made up of different ethnic groups and these groups will establish residential and occupational areas or territories in Madina that will be called ethnic spaces and ethnic identities and associations that could shape processes of North-South migration. Migrants may also make use of either strong or weak ties in the process of migration as well as for survival in the migrant community. Investigating how these social networks shape gender strategies before, during and after migration is important for effective government policy interventions.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss how my research work began and the methods I used in producing the data, the role I played during my fieldwork and the outsider and insider perspectives of a researcher. The mixed method, which comprises of the qualitative and quantitative methods, was used. Quantitative methods (descriptive statistics: frequency tables) was used to support the qualitative method. The methods used included participant observation of my respondents both at work and home, interviews and group interviews. The interviews were done by using an unstructured questionnaire which made it quite flexible for me to address issues when they arose during the interview. I used SPSS to analyse the data. I will discuss the challenges, limitations and reliability and validity of the study.

My field work started from June to August 2009 and the study area was Madina, a suburb of Accra. During the fieldwork, I was able to interact with my respondents because I was very conversant in most of the languages in the Northern Regions. I asked questions and observed events in their natural setting while I focused on their different strategies to make a living.

4.1 Reconnaissance Visit to the Study Area

The first time I visited Madina, I walked through the market. I met a young girl between the ages of 8 and 10 years and tried my unstructured questionnaire on her. The young girl was quite shy and hesitated to give information because I was a stranger to her. Later, I tried the unstructured questionnaire on four (4) Mamprusi⁴ adult women between the ages of 25 – 30 and a group interview was done with them. It was quite easy for my respondents to answer my questions after I had explained to them who I was and what my research entailed. I introduced myself as a student researcher. I also explained that I was not working for any government or Non- Governmental Organisation (NGO).

⁴ One of the ethnic groups from the Northern region

Before my fieldwork began in Ghana, I was given two letters by Lindell Ilda of Nordic African Institute (NAI) to be given to the queen mother of the Madina market and to the leader of the shoe sellers Association. Lindell Ilda had done research about the market women and other shoe sellers in Madina. So on the second day of my fieldwork, I delivered the letter to the queen mother, and this gave me the opportunity to inform her about my research work. The queen mother then introduced me to one of the head porters in Madina who had worked in the market for about four (4) years and currently helps the queen mother to prepare *banku*⁵ for sale. The queen mother became my gatekeeper when she introduced me to the head porter. With that introduction, my fieldwork with Northern migrant head porters began. The head porter (*kaya yoo*) was my key informant. She came from the Upper West region and spoke *wala*⁶. She provided information about the *kaya yoo*⁷ business and how with time it had changed in terms of increase in numbers of the head porters. She was very helpful because she took me to some head porters' places of accommodation, where I was introduced to other head porters. I then began my interviews using snow ball sampling. I used these first respondent's networks to be able to locate other head porters from different ethnic groups.

4.1.2 *Role and Status during fieldwork: Outsider and insider perspectives of research*

According to Linton (1936:113), status is the position an individual occupies in relation to the entire society. Based on the status an individual occupies, comes with rights and duties, an individual performs. For example, my status was a student researcher and so my perceived role was to ask questions and get some data for my study. But I also had the position of an 'insider' where a researcher belongs to the group she or he is studying and have an advantage in gaining access to information. An outsider is not part of the group and has little or no knowledge of the group. Status positions can affect the type of information a researcher will have at the end of a research (Mullings 1999:340).

My status as a student and a person from Northern Ghana provided me with some degree of 'insider status' because I was able to communicate with the respondents in the native languages. This made them trust me to some extent. During my field work, I occupied both positions. Sometimes, I was an insider and at other times an outsider based on where I found myself. For instance, within the languages I spoke fluently, I was readily accepted (insider)

⁵ *Banku* is a local dish made from corn dough and cassava dough

⁶ 'wala' One of the languages spoken by the people from the Upper West region of Ghana

⁷ *Kaya* (Hausa name for load) 'yoo', (Ga name for a female). The plural of *Kaya yoo* is *Kaya yei*.

and at places where I needed an interpreter, I was seen as an outsider. Some of my respondents also saw me as an outsider and to them they assigned me the status of a researcher who needed information about them and could not offer them any help after interviewing them.

I made choices about some aspects of my identity to be disclosed to my respondents. At certain times, I informed them that I am a student from the University of Ghana since it was the nearest University which my respondents are familiar with. At other times I introduced myself as a student from Norway. For instance, my research assistant knew I was a student from Norway because I was going to be working with him for three months so I had to disclose my identity to him.

Sometimes I hid my identity because if respondents realised that I was a student from outside the country (European countries) they would demand some money before an interview. There was a situation where even when I introduced myself as a student the respondent still indicated to me that he knows students are given money to do research and as such I should give him \$7 before he agrees for an interview. This is what one of them said:

You university students always come around and take our knowledge to pass your exams and buy big cars and pass by us when you are driving. I will never give information to any student without taking money from them.

In situations like this, I walked away.

In the associational meeting I attended, I introduced myself as a student from Norway. This was because these people had some basic education and understood what research entailed. I also contributed some amount of money towards the management of their association. I sometimes offered money to *kaya yoo* mothers to buy breakfast the next day. In a particular case, one of the truck pushers complained after the interview that he was hungry so I bought him some lunch.

4.2 Sample population

According to Arber (1993 in Silverman 2005:127), “sampling is done to study a representative subsection of a precisely defined population in order to make inferences about a whole population”. I used the purposive sampling method which, according to Silverman

(2005:129), allows a researcher to choose a case because it offers an explanation to a feature or a process that she or he is interested in.

My sample population was 58 respondents comprising 37 females and 21 males from the three Northern Regions (Northern, Upper East and Upper West). I interviewed forty-six (46) of the respondents without an interpreter. Of the fifty-eight (58), twelve (12) were interviewed with the help of an interpreter. I understood four (4) of the Northern languages and some interviews were also done in 'twi'⁸. I interviewed more women than men because it corresponds to the nature of occupations which were opened to Northern migrants in Madina. Later we shall see that women migrants in Madina have more economic opportunities than the men and this will be discussed in detail in chapter 5. The snow balling sampling was used to get access to the 58 respondents I interviewed. I was first introduced to one head porter and she in turn introduced me to others and from there I was able to get access to the other head porters and other Northern migrants who work in Madina.

⁸ Local language of the Akans in Southern Ghana

Table 2 below is the sample of respondents I interviewed grouped. They grouped according to ethnicity, gender, age and type of work.

Table 2: Ethnicity, gender, age and occupation of the sampled migrants

Ethnicity	Gender	Number	Age (yrs)	Type of work
Builsa (Doninga & Bachonsa)	Female	3	25-35	Sale of groundnuts (boiled & roasted)
	Male	5	15-30	Truck pushing
Frafra	Female	2	35-45	<i>Pito</i> Brewing
	Male	2	20-40	Truck pushing
Dagomba	Female	10	12-35	<i>Kaya yoo</i> , frying of groundnuts
	Male	4	15-30	Butchers, sale of goats and sheep
Sissala	Female	6	12-35	<i>Kaya yoo</i> , sale of charcoal
	Male	3	15-35	Truck pushing
Mamprusis	Female	10	12-35	<i>Kaya yoo</i> , frying of groundnuts, <i>chop bars</i>
	Male	3	20-30	Yam sellers, sale of goat , sheep
Dagaaba/Wala	Female	6	30-45	<i>Kaya yoo</i> , brewing of pito, preparing banku,
Tampluensi/ Talensi	Female	2	12-35	<i>Kaya yoo</i>
	Male	2	25-35	Truck pushing.

Source: Field work data, 2009

4.3 Methods of Data Collection

Research methods comprise of data collection, analysis and interpretation (Creswell 2009:15). In order to be able to comprehend the way people live at a particular place and to have in-depth information of respondents, I used the qualitative method and supported it with quantitative methods which I considered most useful in answering my research objectives. According to Barbour (2008:151), mixed methods enable the researcher to compensate for the perceived shortcomings of stand-alone methods. Triangulation is the application and combination of more than one research perspective in the study of the same phenomenon. I decided to use the qualitative method and support it with the quantitative method.

According to Barbour (2008:11), qualitative research enables a researcher to unpack mechanisms which link up variables, by focusing on the explanations, or accounts provided by the interviewee while quantitative methods help the researcher to identify statistically significant relationships between variables and produce diagrams showing patterns. Qualitative research also allows the researcher to study people in naturally occurring settings in contrast to the quantitative research which is established for the purpose of research in which variables are controlled as it is done in a natural science experiment (Spicer, 2004 in Seale 2004).

Most of my interviews were done in the local dialects of my respondents. I recorded all the interviews with my digital audio recorder and transcribed responses afterwards. The transcription was done by playing back what I taped which I wrote in English to be able to use it to analyse my data. It was time consuming to use this kind of method because I had to use almost two months to finish writing out interviews of what I had recorded from the field before I started to pick out the interesting interviews and group interviews which answered my research objectives. I used an unstructured questionnaire which gave respondents the opportunity to elaborate on questions asked.

Finally, I also made use of secondary data such as literature on migration from the Centre for Migration studies, journals, libraries, websites, thesis works and other relevant literature that was related to my study topic.

4.3.1 Photo Elicitation

Photo elicitation is a qualitative method where photos are taken of respondents and showed or displayed afterwards to offer explanation for the social situation (Harper 2003 in Denzine and Lincoln 2003:188). In my study of Northern migrants in Madina, I used this method and it helped me to understand certain things the respondents did when I observed them.

For instance, anytime I took a photograph of my respondents, I sat with them so that they could offer explanations to the photographs. They were also able to tell me the kind of things they carried and how much they could charge per load. For instance, I took the photographs shown below:



Plate 1: Young girl carrying a wooden box



Plate 2: *Kaya yoo* at work in Madina market

A female respondent gave the following explanation of Plates 1 and 2:

Sometimes we carry things like this [Plate 1], and it contains tomatoes. It is quite heavy for the women to carry but we sometimes manage. This load can be charged \$1 depending on the distance one will carry it. It also earns you more money compared to ingredients that are bought in smaller quantities for us to carry [Plate 2].

4.3.2 Participant observation

According to Mullings (1999:337), participant observation provides an in-depth understanding of the inner working of a particular social group. I lived close to my respondents (only 200 meters away) and participated in various activities with some of them. This gave me the opportunity to interact and observe them both at work and at home. I made friends among them and through this, trust was built and mobile phone numbers were given to me. This became a means of communication between the researcher and respondents.

According to Briggs (1986:41), the concept of social situation refers to the context in which interaction takes place, which includes the time (of the day, of the week and seasonal cycles) and location where the interviews take place. This is very important because interviews conducted in Madina market were different as compared to those done at respondent's homes and work places. My respondents' places of work were very busy times that did not enable me to have a fruitful interaction with them (respondents). So, most interviews were organized at my respondents' homes. Time and venue for having interviews were made easier with the

mobile phone numbers respondents gave me. I could call to visit them either in the evenings or Sundays where most of them were not at work.

I actively participated in some of the work done by Northern migrants. I participated in the brewing of *Pito* (local beer) which gave me an insight into the difference between the Frafra '*Pito*' and the Dagaaba *Pito*. In the course of the fieldwork, I attended funerals and associational meetings with respondents. These events provided me with the opportunity to observe how respondents were involved in social networks in Madina.

4.3.3 Interviews

Interviews enable a researcher to be able to access various stories and narratives through which people describe their world (Silverman 2005; Creswell 2009). I used interviews during my fieldwork. I interviewed fifty eight (58) respondents: 24 from the Northern Region, 16 from the Upper East Region and 18 from the Upper West Region. According to Sack, 'we cannot rely on our recollections of conversations' (Sack 1992b in Silverman 2003: 354). We can only summarize what different people said but it was very difficult to remember at the time of interviews what a respondent said in a passing comment or the laughs of a respondent when some questions were being asked. In view of this, I used a digital audio recorder during my interviews which enabled me to discuss a lot of issues to be able to get much of the information I needed. I also observed things in their natural setting.

According to Silverman (2003 in Lincoln 2003:342), conversation is seen to be the primary medium through which social interaction takes place. This could either take place in households and other public settings, between families, friends or when they are performing their daily activities. Since I was conversant with the local languages, most of my interviews lasted between 1-2 hours.

4.3.4 Group Interviews

I organised group interviews with women, men and children separately. It was very informative to organize these group interviews because one had various viewpoints of an issue raised for discussion. The group interviews enabled me to have additional information about my informants. For example, if one of them in the group says something contrary to

what is happening in the Madina community or market, there is someone who comes in to offer an explanation especially if the first person misunderstood the question or is understating an issue. Below is what happened at one group interview session.

Interviewer: *How much do you earn on a good day and how much do you earn on a bad day?*

1st Respondent: *'I earn \$ 2 on good days and \$ 1 or even nothing at all on bad days'.*

2nd Respondent: *'You are lying; you earn more than \$7 and even when days are bad you can earn \$2. So why are you understating the amount of money you earn? You are strong and can carry much so speak the truth'.*

3rd Respondent: *'I agree with [the second respondent]. [The first respondent] earns more than she stated'.*

The above dialogue helped me realise that I was not going to get correct information about the amount of money or income my respondents actually earned. The true value of earnings of migrants became questionable. Through the group interviews, I was also able to get more information in terms of problems the respondents faced in the market. In case a person forgot to mention something in his or her statements, another could remember it.

Group interviews were also organized at associational meetings for men and women. This gave me the opportunity to interact with women and men respondents separately. I realized that the women had a form of micro-finance scheme (*susu*) they operated while the men had none. Group interviews with children also gave me a deeper understanding of what is happening in the working environments of these children. One of the child respondents said:

We the children do not earn much money in this market because the elderly ones among us always push us aside when there is a load to carry. We get lucky when customers specifically call us because they know we are children and so they just give us any amount of money. To some extent, we are exploited both in this market and even in places of accommodation where we are not given enough spaces in the room.

This information given to me by the respondent who was between the ages of 12 to 15 years could not have been given if the child was interviewed among the elderly ones. This is because she would not have been given the opportunity to speak. There was a situation when I was interviewing a group of elderly *kaya yoo* and a young girl came around and was told to leave because 'the elders' were talking.



Plate 3: Group interview with women



Plate 4: Group interview with young men

4.3.5 Case Studies

There are three types of case studies namely the intrinsic case study, instrumental case study, and collective case study (Sake 2000 in Silverman 2005:127). The intrinsic study is about a case of interest to the researcher. More often than not, it is generalized beyond a single case. The instrumental case study is to provide an insight into a particular issue or try to revise a generalization. The collective study is when a number of cases are studied collectively in order to investigate a general phenomenon (ibid).

For my study, I used the instrumental case study which provided me with an insight into the social networks of my respondents and how ethnic groups have helped most of my respondents. My research interests related to how Northern migrants are able to make contacts prior to their migration and after the migration process. Seven instrumental case studies are used to highlight the role of social networks in migration and the concept of intersectionality. One of the case studies explains how a female migrant plays the role as mother and working in Madina market. Two of the case studies talks about how my respondents made use of strong ties prior to their migration and the kind of help they received from the ties. Two other case studies also identify how a migrant migrates to the study area without making any contacts but were able to survive in Madina through weak ties. One case study looks at how a migrant used strong ties to migrate but later had to rely on the weak ties to survive. The last case study illustrates the use of friendship social networks in migration.

4.3.6 Data Analysis

I used the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) to code the data, to quantify responses, educational background and social contacts made by my respondents before and after migrating. This enabled me to draw up descriptive statistics such as frequency tables to illustrate and my explanation the data. Most of the data was analysed qualitatively to enable me use case studies and direct statements from my respondents for analysis. I analysed my data by first transcribing from the local languages to English language. Secondly, I decided to code them into themes by looking at my research objectives and theoretical frameworks used.

4.4 Ethical Issues in Research

According to Kent (1996:19-20 in Silverman 2005:258), researchers need to obtain informed consent of the respondents under study. This is done by first giving information about the research. This will enable respondents to make decisions about whether to participate or not. It is also important to make sure the subjects understand what the information will be used for, ensuring that participation is voluntary. Where subjects such as children are not competent to agree, a researcher could obtain consent from parents. As I said earlier, I was trusted because I obtained a status of a student researcher and someone from the North. There were 9 languages I needed to use to communicate with my respondents. Out of these 9 languages, I could communicate in 4 languages namely; *Dagbani*, *Frafra*, *Mampruli*, and *Twi* (*Twi* is a language widely spoken in the South). The *Twi* language was often used in cases where respondents did not want my interpreter to mediate between me and them (respondents).

The ethical issues here were addressed by informing respondents about the nature and purpose of the research. Before I started an interview, I introduced myself by mentioning my name and what I was going to do with the information acquired from them. There were cases where I realised that people would demand some money if I informed them that I came from Norway. Therefore, I decided to give my identity as a student from the University of Ghana doing a research and only introduced myself as a student from Norway when I had the opportunity to attend respondents' associational meetings. This is because my respondents were often exposed to research activities of students from the University of Ghana (located a few miles away from my study area).

I also told my respondents that their participation was voluntary and they could decide to participate or not to. After saying this, some of them decided to walk away. Among my own ethnic group, I needed to mention where I come from and they quickly accepted me as one of them and therefore decided to cooperate in the research. But they always concluded by saying that: *'we are giving you all these information to go and pass your exams so that you can come back after school to help build our village especially our children who are still young'*. The elderly women were also happy to hear that I was a student in my final year and a young woman from their hometown who had gone far in education. So, in such cases they did not hesitate to give out the information I needed.

Because I was going to record my interviews, I sought the consent of my respondents before using the digital audio recorder. They were even happy for their voices to be played back to them after the interview. The photographs I presented in this study were also taken with their consent, as I informed them about what the photographs will be used for. However, I did not take photos of those who objected to their pictures being taken. I also used the method of photo elicitation where I went back to the place after a day or two to show them the photos I took. They further explained to clarify some things on the pictures and requested for some to be printed out for them (respondents). They however cautioned me not to use the photos on television because some of them did not want the village people to see them. I assured them I would not use the photos on television or any form of media. Furthermore, in order for them to be sure that the photos were not going to be used to tarnish their image, they sometimes asked me to be part of the photographs taken. Some of my respondents built trust in me and we exchanged mobile numbers and communicated from time to time. In the associational meetings I attended, they took my Norway number and have called to actually verify whether what I told them (that I was a student from Norway) was the truth.

4.5 Reliability and Validity of Data

A major characteristic of social research is to comprehend that society, culture and humans are not 'objects' but subjects who are capable of describing their own reality. Reliability is the consistency with which research procedures deliver their results relating to whether they are true or not (Seal 2004). Validity is the truth-value of a research project (ibid).

The gender of the interviewer and the gender of the respondents are very important elements to the success and validity of research data. My gender as a female rather facilitated my research. Men readily accepted to be interviewed and wanted to communicate with me directly rather than through my research assistant. The women were rather reluctant to grant me an interview with them which I found quite strange during my field work. But despite these challenges I was able to go through with my study and produce data for the analysis.

During my fieldwork, I encountered some challenges and limitations. I also experienced some problems with my research assistant (interpreter) during the field work. The problems related to issues of research interest and language translation. After we interviewed some respondents, my research assistant knew the order of the questions and he could therefore ask the questions before I did. At other times when he realised that the answer a respondent gave did not sound good to him he kept it to himself. An example of such a problem with the research assistant is presented below:

Interviewer (me): Why did you migrate to Madina?

Respondents: I do not have any reason for migrating.

Interpreter: [Laughs!]: How can you say you did not have a reason for migrating, then why are you here?

Interviewer (me): What did the respondent say, as I enquired from my interpreter?

Interpreter: Do not mind him (respondent) how can he say he did not have a reason for migrating?

The above dialogue indicates one of the problems I encountered with my research assistant. I used a research assistant during my field work because I could not speak some of the languages my respondents spoke. There were nine (9) languages involved and I could speak only four (4) of the languages (Mampruli, Dagbani, Frafra and Twi). In using an interpreter, I could not ascertain whether my interpreter gave me direct translation from my respondents or not. But I believe that the data I am producing is authentic in the sense that majority of the interviews were done by me and also during my transcription I consulted other students who could speak the Northern languages to verify whether my research assistant had given me a good translation of what the respondents had said. Moreover, my research assistant was from the Builsa ethnic group. Initially, he misunderstood my mission and only took me to members

of his ethnic group to be interviewed to the neglect of the other Northern migrants who belonged to other ethnic groups.

Since my field work was done during the rainy season, most respondents could not speak with me when it was raining. Meeting them at home during the rainy evenings was an inconvenience to them because they did not have good places of accommodation. To complicate matters, during my fieldwork, the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (A.M.A) was undertaking a decongestion exercise to remove unwanted structures from waterways and also to remove slums to make the environment clean. This posed a problem for me because my respondents were scared of giving me directions to where they lived.

Lastly, NGO's and other researchers' had introduced a system of either giving these respondents money or other things before interviewing my respondents. I encountered a situation when a truck pusher demanded a huge sum of money from me before I could interview him. A *Pito* brewer informed me that I had spent her time and therefore should pay for it. I had to explain to her that I was not going to sell the information that she had given me but to write my thesis as a student.

In spite of the above challenges, the reliability and validity of participant observations, interview responses and the research explanations are not in doubt. This is because I have possibly been able to add knowledge to other research works that have been done on Northern migrants. I was able to interact with my respondents to find out about what they interpret as reality from their own perspective. Triangulation with other secondary data sources has confirmed some of the findings from my study.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the mixed approach used in producing this data – qualitative and quantitative methods – has been discussed detailing the shortfalls for using one method of research. Quantitative methods restrict respondents to coded questions without throwing more light on the respondent's own views as compared to the qualitative method.

Through the qualitative approach, I used an unstructured interview guide which enabled my respondents to express themselves in such a manner that made me gain more insight and information. Open-ended questions also enabled the respondents to speak at length about their socio-economic conditions. But the qualitative method also had its own disadvantages

since such methods become time consuming because of very lengthy interviews. This sometimes made the respondents bored especially when they are not interested in the issues being discussed. Notwithstanding the challenges and limitations of the research, there is enough reason to accept the reliability and validity of data collected. The subsequent chapters show how I analyse the data to answer the research objectives.

CHAPTER FIVE

REASONS FOR MIGRATING AND NORTHERN MIGRANTS WORK IN MADINA

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the aims and reasons for migration from North to Madina in the South, nature of occupations undertaken by Northern migrants who live in the study area of Madina. The types of work done by these migrants include women engaging in the frying of groundnuts, brewing of *pito*, *kaya yoo*, washing of clothes, preparation of *banku* and working in *chop bars*⁹. The men undertake jobs such as truck pushing, sale of yam, sheep, goats and *khebab*. The occupation of migrants appears to be influenced by gender and ethnicity. Moreover, the type of work migrants are engaged in is largely organized along ethnic spaces.

5.1 Aims for migration

One of the research objectives was to find out whether migrants had an aim of migrating to Madina. The question which was asked was: did you have any aim of migrating? If the respondent's answer was yes, then the question which followed was what was the aim? Respondents had varied aims of migrating while others indicated they did not have any aim of migrating apart from the desire to migrate from the village to an urban town. 37 of the women and 18 of the men respondents who were interviewed said they had an aim for migrating. 3 (14.3%) out of the 21 male respondents said they had no aim of migrating to Madina. One of the female respondents said:

'I came to Madina purposely to work and take care of my two children. I had no one to help me take care of them since I lost my husband'.

This response explains that the migrant's aim of migrating was to secure a job to take care of the home (two children) since she was a single parent. One male respondent said

My aim of migrating is to get money and go back home to take care of my mother, siblings and child.

⁹ Local food restaurants

This male respondent aim of migrating was to look for work to make him a ‘man’ to enable him take care of his mother, siblings in school and his child. However he was not influenced by any household decision but growing up, he realised that he has become a ‘man’ and needed to take responsibility of taking care of the household since the father was now too old to work and take care of the household.

The research objective for this study was to find out the gender differences in reasons why respondents from the three Northern Regions migrated. Northern migrants interviewed gave various reasons that facilitated their migration to Madina. The reasons ranged from economic and educational reasons and ethnic conflicts.¹⁰ Table 4 shows the breakdown of the reasons why my respondents migrated to Madina. The reasons for migrating are discussed below in detail.

Table 3: Reasons for Migrating

Reasons	Women No. (%)	Men No. (%)
Economic	30 (62.5)	18 (60)
Education	-	2 (6.7)
Ethnic Conflicts	10 (20.8)	-
Desire to travel for sightseeing	-	3 (10)
For experience	3 (6.3)	4 (13.3)
To join spouse	5 (10.4)	-
Total number of responses	48	30

Source: Field work data, 2009

5.1.2 Economic reasons

The respondents said economic hardships forced them to migrate. Economic reasons were the major reasons my respondents gave when they were interviewed. Most of them complained that they had no work to earn income. ‘*No money in our pockets for our upkeep*’, this was mostly said by the young women and men. The young men said they needed to have money in their pockets, and ‘*that is what makes you a man*’. They believed that they could not get

¹⁰ Respondents could mention as many reasons as they could, that is why there is an increase in the total number of responses for each category of gender¹⁰. For example, a respondent could say it was because of economic or educational reasons that caused her or him to migrate to Madina

money if they stayed in the village. This explains the gender ideology of what is perceived to make a person a man, is that he needs money in his pocket. But the women had to be able to acquire cooking utensils in preparation towards marriage and this is what makes you a woman ready to get married.

When they were asked about what they were doing in their villages before migrating, many of the women said they helped their mothers to trade and brew *pito*. Some women said they did ‘nothing’ (not working). Many of the men also said they helped their fathers in the farm. But they added that most of the farm produce is for the family consumption and that even if some of the farm produce is sold out, they did not have access to the money. The money is used to provide for the whole family and households are large because a father usually has 2-3 wives with many children. This caused many men’s decision to migrate to earn their own money and take care of themselves.

30 out of the 37 female respondents interviewed said they migrated to Madina due to economic hardships in their homes of origin. 18 out of the 21 male respondents gave the same reasons as economic factors causing them to migrate to Madina to work. In conclusion, an employment possibility is the main factor that encourages migration of both women and men from the North to the South of Ghana.

5.1.3 Ethnic Conflicts

Ethnic conflicts in the North have increasingly caused people to migrate out of their home of origin to the South. The women traced the reason for their migration to the Konkomba, Dagomba and Nanumba ethnic conflicts in 1994 to 1995 which caused them the loss of property and unbearable suffering and the on-going ethnic conflict in the Upper East region (Bawku). This is why they migrated to work and earn money to take care of the household.

This is a new finding since previous studies have concluded that reasons for migrating is either economic or in search for fertile lands to farm due to the long dry season in the North with poor soils (Abdul-Korah 2004; Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). This is what a respondent had to say about ethnic conflict as reason for migration:

Local language (Dagbani): *‘Ti ntigma mii te pam, kpamba and dagbon nim nii laa zem la. Nyum ka tuo bu maa laa pilgi, kati kyan kakye nema pam. Zaabi ri maa wun laa naa, kati*

lamna, ti la ka bishawu. Tibi toa lami tilabeshem, dinin kye ka te kana kpemaa, ni ti bo kuli nti yuli tibihi'.

English translation: *Our town is full of suffering especially after the war between the Konkomba, the Dagombas and Nanumbas. The war began in the night, so we left without picking our belongings. After the war, when we returned, our farms and other properties had been burnt to ashes. Beginning life again was not easy for us, things became very difficult, that is why we have decided to migrate to work and send some money home to take care of the children.*

From table 3, it could be said that the people who mostly migrated due to conflict from their communities are women. Ethnic conflicts accounted for 11.8% of the reasons given by women for migrating. Meanwhile, ethnic conflict was not a factor explaining the migration of any of the male respondents. This does not mean that men are not affected by ethnic conflicts in the Northern Regions. But, it is simply the case that ethnic conflict was not a reason for the migration of any of the male respondents interviewed. This finding also reinforces the fact that many women in the Northern Regions now migrate to the South independent of their husbands. One of the female respondents had this to say:

We the women and children always suffer a lot when there is war, in my opinion. I wish one day, I will wake up and hear that there is peace in Northern Ghana and we can build a future for the children. I do not enjoy living in another person's land. So, I pray for peace in Northern Ghana, so that development can go on.

This female respondent complains about the effects of the ethnic conflicts on women and children. She hopes to wake up one day and ethnic conflicts in Northern Ghana will stop and peace would prevail.

5.1.4 Other Reasons for Migration

Migrants also migrated to join their spouses. (5.9%) migrated purposely to join their husbands

I migrated to join my husband who worked as ticketing agent at the Madina council and he was able to acquire the space for me to begin the sale of charcoal.

This female migrant migrated to join the husband and through the husband she was able to get access to her job which is the sale of charcoal.

The 2 (4.2%) of men respondents interviewed mentioned that their reason for migrating was to seek for higher education in the South (Madina).

After the completion of form four, I moved to Madina to continue with my education in Accra but when I got to Accra, I could not achieve this aim of coming to Accra so I resorted to truck pushing to make a living in Accra. I came to my senior brother but because he was married he could not help me in my education.

Talensi truck pusher (32years)

This male respondent's aim of migrating was to further his education in Accra through the help of his senior brother in Accra. But this aim of migrating could not be achieved since the senior brother had an immediate household he was taking care of, so he could not help him much. His next aim was to survive in Madina, so he resorted to truck pushing as a survival strategy.

Comparatively, some of the women 3 (3.5%) and 4 (8.3%) of the women and men respectively migrated to Madina to have an experience of life in the South. 3 (6.3%) of the men respondents migrated for adventure. This is what one of the men respondents said:

'I had heard a lot of stories about Accra from returning migrants. They told me there are very beautiful and interesting things to see. So, I wanted to experience Accra and also to find out whether these stories were true. When I came, some of the stories were true in terms of infrastructure, but life in general is the same as compared to Tumu. Because whatever you need to get in Accra you can get in Tumu, so there is not much difference. As I sit here with you, my next migration will be to go to Europe; because I have heard things there are also different and beautiful things to see.

This respondent did not migrate due to a household decision to send money home to take care of the family but based on his personal desire to gain experience and for adventure.

The respondents' marital status was important because there were differences in the use of the income they earned in Madina. The married, widowed and young women and men had different uses for their money. Table 4 gives information on the marital status of the interviewees.

Table 4: Marital status of Migrants

Status	Women	Men
	No. (%)	No. (%)
Single	16 (43.2)	15 (71.4)
Married	18 (48.6)	6 (28.6)
Divorced	3 (8)	-
Total number of respondents	37 (100)	21 (100)

Source: Field work data, 2009

Marital status also played a key role in migrants' decision to migrate. Among the 37 women interviewed, 18 (48.6%) were married and had to migrate to work and earn money to take care of the family at home. The married women migrated because, they did not have any work to do back at home and that the long dry season makes them redundant. So instead of staying idle without going to the farm, they decided to migrate to work before the rainy season begun. The married women also said that the farming does not bring money home. One of the married women said, *'we farm to feed the family but we need money to buy other things and to take care of the children in school.'*

One of the young women said: *I have bought a sewing machine, I am also working hard to get money to learn how to sew and buy cooking utensils to prepare myself for marriage.*

(15year old *kaya yoo*).

The young women between the ages of 12 to 15 (16 out of the 37 respondents migrated) to work and earn income to buy sewing machines to learn dressmaking for a career, and also to buy cooking utensils in preparation towards marriage. This is what a 15year old *kaya yoo* had to say:

I came to Madina because there is nothing at home to live on again, after the death of my husband. I have three children in school (2 girls and a boy) and I need to provide for their upkeep.

(34 year old widow –*kaya yoo*)

From the field study, some single household mothers migrate after the death of their husbands to work and earn money to take care of their children (household) (5 out of the 37 female respondents).

5.2 Gendered occupations and ethnic spaces of work

I use the term ‘gendered occupations’ because from the findings, women and men did different kinds of work. Even within the same occupation of porters, while women used head pans to carry load on their heads; the men used the trucks or carried it on their bare heads. I define Ethnic spaces of work as the space which different ethnic groups of migrants create for themselves in their occupational locations such as in the Madina market. For example, the Dagombas had their own space of work and accommodation just like the other ethnic groups such as the Mamprusis and Sissalas. The work they did in Madina was also organized using these ethnic spaces. For instance, while the Frafra and Dagaaba women engaged in the brewing of *pito*, the Sissalas were engaged in charcoal selling.

Men used trucks to be able to carry heavy loads and get more money than the women while the women worked with the head pans which can carry only a limited number of goods for a small fee. Entry into the head portage business is quite easy for the women since they require a small amount of money to buy a head pan (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008). However, they earn very low in terms of payment of work done. The gendered occupations of Northern migrants in Madina area are discussed below in more detail.

5.3 Work of Northern Male Migrants

Truck pushing was the major occupation of the male migrants interviewed. Truck pusher is a person who uses a truck to carry goods (see Plates 5-7). Other male occupations were the sale of yams on trucks, sale of sheep and goats and sale of *khebab*. The nature of these occupations is discussed below. Out of the 21 male respondents interviewed, fifteen (71%) were engaged in truck pushing in Madina. Truck pushers were from the Sissala, Frafra, Talensi and Builsa ethnic groups. The remaining six (29%) male informants from the Frafra, Mamprusi and Dagomba ethnic groups were engaged in work such as the sale of goats and *khebab*¹¹.

¹¹ Roasted meat cut into simple pieces

5.3.1 *Truck pushing*

Truck pushing is a male job and much energy is required to push the heavy loads on the truck. Most men interviewed said they carried the goods on their heads in the absence of a truck. The acquisition of a truck was quite expensive for the men as compared to the head pan the women used. Due to the difficulty in acquiring a truck, truck pushers were organized into ethnic groups to have access to trucks owned by members of the groups to work with. For instance, there were the Builsa truck pushers association, the Frafra truck pushers association and the Talensi truck pushers association.

The above finding implies that ethnic members have an occupational identity. This interesting pattern of ethnic group occupational development is very important in shaping the cultural collectivity and a sense of belongingness to a particular ethnic origin. This enabled migrants to acquire jobs in their new destinations as confirmed by scholars such as Barth (1969), Hutchinson and Smith (1996), and Cohen (1969, 2004). Some pictures of male truck pushers and trucks used are shown below.



Plate 5: Trucks used by men.



Plate 6: Pulling the truck

5.3.2 *Sale of Yam/Goats/Sheep/Khebab/Fowls*

The yams are sold by arranging them on a truck which is moved around the Madina market for customers to buy (see Plate 7 below). According to the respondents, the yams are bought from the ‘*Konkomba*’ market (‘*Kantamanto*’) in central Accra.

A KIA truck is used to convey the yams to the Madina market. The yam business is organised in a group comprising of four members or more. When the yams arrive at the Madina market,

it is shared among the group members and they in turn moved round with it to sell in the market. About 103 tubers of yam cost between \$114 and \$110 and the variation in cost depends on the season. When yam is in abundance, one can buy it at a cheaper price than when it is scarce. The profit margin ranged between \$17 to \$21 on market days (Wednesdays and Saturdays). But on normal days, it ranged between \$10 to \$13. There is a difference in the profit margin because market days are the busiest days where many customers come to the market to buy and sell.



Plate 7: Yams arranged on truck for sale



Plate 8: Sale of *Khebab*



Plate 9: Sale of goats & sheep



Plate 10: Sale of fowls

5.4 Work of Northern Female Migrants

The types of work done by female migrants from the North include engaging in the frying of groundnuts, brewing of *pito*, *kaya yoo*, sale of charcoal, washing of clothes, preparation of *banku* and working in *chop bars*. Out of the 37 female respondents, 22 (59.5%) of them were into *kaya yoo*, 4 (10.8%) were *pito* brewers, 3 (8.1%) were charcoal sellers, and 8 (21.6%) were involved in the processing and selling of groundnuts. Some of the respondents also

combined the *kaya yoo* business with washing of clothes for rich people in the Madina community. Some others engaged in the preparation of *banku* for *chop bars*.

5.4.1 *Kaya yoo*

This form of work was done by the women from the Northern parts of Ghana. They carry loads on their heads either by using the head pan or on the bare head at a negotiated fee. Female migrants only need a head pan which they either bought from their own resources or brought from the North. The goods they carry are mostly farm produce including tubers of yams and cassava that customers and market women trade in the market. Plates 11 and 12 below show young female migrants with little or no education or employable skills who work as head porters or *kaya yei* in the Madina market



Plate 11: Girls with head pans



Plate 12: Carrying load on the head

The occupation of *kaya yoo* is also organised along the lines of ethnic groups. The Mamprusis, Tampulensi, the Dagombas and some of the Sissalas' worked as *kaya yei*. These ethnic groups were involved in this form of work because it is a generational type of work. Migrants of these ethnic groups engaged in this kind of work when they migrated to the urban centres in Accra. Majority of the *Kaya yei* were Mamprusis and Dagombas. According to my respondents, these two ethnic groups started the *kaya yoo* business in Madina.

5.4.2 *Processing of Groundnuts into Groundnut Paste*

The Dagombas and some of the Mamprusis are the ethnic groups largely engaged in the processing of groundnuts. The processing of groundnuts into groundnut paste was done

locally by using a big pot. The groundnuts are kept inside the pot and kept on fire for stirring until a reddish brown colour was obtained. The cover of the groundnuts is removed and processed into groundnut paste at a grinding mill. During my field work, I observed that a new method was now being used by many people in the frying of the groundnuts. The improved technology in use now is seen in Plates 13-16.



Plate 13: The traditional machine



Plate 14: Pouring groundnuts into the machine



Plate 15: Turning of the machine



Plate 16: Pouring groundnut out of the machine

The groundnut is poured into the simple machine (see Plate 14). It is kept on fire and turned with one hand for it to turn into reddish brown (see Plate 15). It is taken off the fire and poured out (see Plate 16). The cover of the groundnut is removed or peeled off and processed into groundnut paste at a grinding mill. The groundnut paste has various usages. It could be used for groundnut soup or as butter spread for bread in Ghana. The preparation of groundnut paste is very time consuming and takes 3-4 hours to finish. The finished product is then sold. It is important to note that Northern women migrants are usually employed by other wealthy people in the Madina community to prepare the groundnuts into paste. The marketing of the groundnut paste is therefore actually done by the employers.

However, it is important to note that some of the migrants have employed themselves in the groundnut business on a smaller scale. In this small scale groundnut selling business, migrants buy fresh groundnuts, boil it and then sell in head pans (see Plate 17). For example, two *olonka*¹² of groundnuts is boiled and sold on daily basis and the profits are re-invested into buying more groundnuts for sale or sometimes saved to take care of the household.



Plate 17: Sale of boiled groundnuts in a head pan

5.4.3 Sale of Charcoal

The sale of charcoal was done by women of the Sissala ethnic group. They worked in Madina market and had about 20 spaces allocated for the sale of the charcoal. According to the respondents, the sale of charcoal is associated with Sissala women whiles the Sissala men engaged in the processing (burning of wood into charcoal) of it in the Northern Region and in the South where charcoal is produced. The charcoal is transported to Madina for sale. The charcoal is brought from Kintampo, Atebubu and Mampong in the South. A big long vehicle brings the charcoal and it is sometimes sold to one or two persons who then distribute it among the members within the group of charcoal sellers.

¹² Type of bowls used to measure items in Ghana



Plate 18: Young Sissala women engaged in the sale of charcoal.

5.4.4 Brewing and Sale of Pito

Pito is a local alcoholic beverage in Ghana. It is traditionally made from sorghum and one can best describe it in English as ‘sorghum beer’. It has a fruity pleasant sour taste with organic acid flavor and sorghum aroma. It looks cloudy and yeasty with a brownish pink colour and has an alcoholic content of about 1-8%.

Pito making goes through a lot of processes. First, the sorghum is soaked in water for a day (soaked in water overnight). On the second day of soaking the sorghum, the sorghum is removed from the water, drained and dried in the room for four (4) days. On the fourth day, the millet germinates and is dried in the sun thoroughly. The dried sorghum is termed malt. It is taken to the grinding mill to be grinded into powdered form. The powdered sorghum (malt flour) is mixed with water to produce tick malt porridge. On the second day the water is drained and *vuolung*¹³ is added to it. It is then poured into a sieve for the water to be drained from it. The drained water is boiled and kept for the next day. On the third day, the boiled water becomes sour and it is boiled again and sieved. After the second boiling has taken place, it is allowed to cool over night. At dawn, yeast is added to it and by early morning it is fermented and served as *pito*. The finished product called the *pito* is sold. The *pito* could be served without the yeast as a non-alcoholic drink. *Pito* brewing is time consuming and labour intensive. It takes 6-7 days to prepare the alcoholic drink. According to the respondents the

¹³ A green leafy slimy plant

profits are re-invested in the *pito* business. Plates 19-25 show the process of *pito* brewing and sale.



Plate 19: Soaking of sorghum in water



Plate 20: Germinated sorghum



Plate 21: Drying of sorghum



Plate 22: Preparation of *pito*



Plate 23 : Finished *pito* bottled for sale



Plate 24: Calabashes used to serve *pito*



Plate 25: Student and respondent tasting *pito*

5.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the chapter covered the empirical findings of my field work on the gendered strategies of migration among Northern migrants in Madina, their reasons for migrating, and the different types of work they do (to achieve their aims of migration). The reasons for migrating largely stemmed from economic factors. Though some migrants' aim for migrating was for adventure, majority of the migrants migrated to meet social and economic commitments in the North. Whiles the women normally engaged in *kaya yoo*, *banku* preparation, frying of groundnuts, selling of *pito*, and washing of clothes for private houses; the men are engaged in occupations of truck pushing, sale of animals (goats and sheep) and the sale of *khebab*. From the discussions above, gender structures the work for both men and women. Whilst men are not allowed to do certain work in the Northern Region, some work is considered to be a woman's work. For instance, women carried the load on their head using a head pan and the men carried the load on the truck or on their head without using a head pan.

While the women were opened to several opportunities, the men were limited to the opportunities available to them in Madina. Usually, the Northern migrants are able to get self employed when they arrived at Madina through ethnic networks. The subsequent chapters will discuss the social networks involved in North-South migration and the forms of support that the social networks provide for these Northern migrants.

CHAPTER SIX

GENDERED SOCIAL NETWORKS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the findings of the study. Based on the objectives of the study, I present the findings from the fieldwork on the following issues: the gendered differences in access to and use of social networks, the social networks involved in this migration process; and finally, the economic opportunities and constraints that migrants face.

6.1 Gendered Differences in Access to Social Networks

The women and men interviewed had gender differences in the use of either strong or weak ties, before and after migration. It was interesting to know that women could easily find accommodation on arrival in the migrant community because women were more trusted by ethnic group members than men. For example, if a woman migrated to Madina for the first time without knowing anyone in Madina, she always asks for and locates ethnic group members for accommodation. However, the men's situations were generally different. Ethnic group members were quite sceptical in offering accommodation to new male migrants. According to the male respondents, they had to be suspicious because many of the young men among them tend to join robbery groups to steal. So they will have to study a man carefully before you can be part of their accommodation and be part of their working group. Findings on the gender differences in access to these social networks are discussed below.

Table 5: Social contacts made before migrating

Response	Women No. (%)	Men No. (%)
Yes	25 (67.6)	19 (90.4)
No	12 (32.4)	2 (9.5)
Total	37 (100)	21 (100)

Source: Field work data, 2009

She made some contacts before migrating to Madina. She had some friends leaving in Madina and doing this kind of job so she contacted them and they told her she could come and join them. I followed some of them when they came back to the village and were returning.

One of the female respondents said she contacted some friends living in Madina who were into *kaya yoo*. She then decided to join the returned migrants who were her friends to migrate to Madina. From the table above both women and men made some contacts before migrating even though male respondents made the greater contacts as compared to the women. One male respondent said he made the following contacts before deciding to migrate:

I contacted a friend from Janga [Northern Region] before migrating to Madina. I contacted this friend through the use of a mobile phone. I contacted my friend because we knew each other from the village. I came to my friend, who sold Coca Cola on a trawler (wheel bicycle) so I joined him to sell the Coca Cola and I did this kind of job for nine months and decided to use the money I earned from the sale of the Coca Cola to buy a truck and I use this truck to sell yam in this market [Madina].

The above statement by the male respondent informs us that, the respondent contacted a friend (weak tie) to migrate to Madina and this friend was able to get him a job where he saved enough money to buy a truck to start selling yam.

The nature of the social ties between the migrant and the persons contacted is presented below in table 6.

Table 6: Social Ties and Contacted Persons (Strong and Weak ties)

Nature of social ties	Contact persons	Women No. (%)	Men No. (%)
Kinship	Father	4 (10.8)	1 (4.8)
	Mother	2 (5.4)	-
	Siblings	7 (18.9)	3 (14.3)
	Uncle/Auntie	2 (5.4)	5 (23.8)
Friends		9 (24.3)	6 (28.6)
Ethnic group members		3 (8)	4 (19)
No contacts		10 (27)	3 (14.3)
Total		37 (100)	21 (100)

Source: Field work data 2009.

Some of the women facilitated migration through kinship relations in the South. Interestingly, none of the men contacted their mothers to help them migrate. The respondents who contacted ethnic group members were 3 (8%) women and 4 (19%) men. Interestingly, the difference between women and men and the social contacts made prior to migration was not that great but increasingly women did not make any contacts before migrating as compared to the men who made contacts before migrating to Madina. 10 (27%) of the female respondents did not make contacts prior to migrating. A closer examination of the contacts made by migrants shows that many migrants, 9 women (24.3%) and 6 men (28.6%), directly contacted their friends than any other individual family member or ethnic relations to help them migrate to Madina. Generally, from the findings, kinship ties served as the main initial channel for migration for most of the respondents. In the next chapter, I discuss in some detail the nature and role of these social ties in North-South migration.

6.2 Gendered differences in support from social networks

After the initial contacts have been made by potential migrants, how far did these social networks support new migrants when they arrived in Madina? This section looks at the extent to which these social networks help new migrants in their adaptation and assimilation into Madina. It was interesting to find out that there were gender differences in the support these Northern migrants had in Madina. It was also interesting to find out how ethnic relations came out as the major social ties migrants used when they arrived in Madina.

6.2.1 Accessibility to jobs through social networks

In my study, I wanted to find out the role of social networks in helping new migrants to gain access to jobs. The question I asked interviewees was: *How did you get access to this job?*

There were gender differences in the extent to which women and men relied on social networks to get jobs. Table 7, gives a breakdown of the kind of social ties Northern migrants used to get access to the work they did in Madina.

Table 7: Accessibility to jobs through social networks.

Access to jobs	Women No. (%)	Men No. (%)
Family relations	7 (18.9)	4 (19)
Friends	5 (13.5)	3 (14.3)
Ethnic group relations	16 (43.2)	14 (66.7)
Nobody	9 (24.3)	-
Total	37 (100)	21 (100)

Source: Field work data 2009.

Accessibility to jobs in Madina had gender differences. While some women and men interviewed had access to their jobs through kinship relations (see table), majority of both women and men had their jobs through ethnic group relations. However, there was a gender difference in the extent of support of social networks. It could be seen that 9 (24.3%) of the women got their jobs independent of kinship, ethnic groups or friendship social networks. But all the men had to rely on social networks to have access to jobs. This is what a male respondent had to say in response to the acquisition of a truck:

Contacts are very important because it is difficult to get access to a truck and you cannot buy one yourself because it is very expensive but with your ethnic brothers you can either hire from them to work with and pay them or join them to work when there is a heavy truck with a lot of load to carry. Sometimes we work in a group of four to five people. The ethnic group brothers are very necessary because you feel a sense of belongingness when you are with them. The ethnic brothers advise you on how to behave in the market and to our customers.

(Truck pusher- Builsa ethnic group)

This gender difference in the extent and use of social networks to have access to jobs is explained by the type of work that these women do as compared to the men as already discussed in chapter 5. While the men engaged in truck pushing found it quite difficult to acquire a truck because it was very expensive to buy in the absence of support from ethnic group members of a social network; the women could easily find work by themselves with a head pan as a *kaya yoo*.

There was however not much gender differences in the type of social networks migrants used in accessing jobs. Also women and men used almost the same type of networks in acquiring their jobs through family relatives, ethnicity and friends. Migrants also acquired their information about jobs and accommodation from the same forms of social network.

I contacted my ethnic brothers because we are all from the same village and they use to come to Madina and return. So one day I asked whether I could join them and they said yes, so I came to Madina with them. I joined them to work as a truck pusher the next day

(Sissala truck pusher)

This migrant made prior contacts to his ethnic brothers who according to him come from the same village. According to him he joined some returned migrants to migrate to Madina. His story informs us that, his assimilation and adaptation to his new environment were made quite easier because he migrated with ethnic group members he knew prior to his migration and in terms of access to accommodation and job was quite easier for this migrant.

6.2.2 Access to Accommodation

An important finding from the field study was that migrants tended to use ethnic ties in acquiring accommodation. There was no difference in the processes of getting access to

accommodation. Each migrant from the Northern Regions was able to identify the ethnic members and immediately identified herself or himself with this ethnic group and offered accommodation. When the question was asked why this was the case, a respondent answered:

Local language (Dagbani): *‘ti bi yi tin yini na, ti womni taabi yetwa, so ti mamprusi mali ti be yashiela, ka dagmba gba mari ba daa shi ya, ka Frafra nem gba mari ba daashie ya’. daa wa puuni kati nyari taaba ka tumina.*

English translation: *We are all not from the same village or town, so in the first place there is a barrier in communication. We the Mamprusis do not understand the language of the Sissalas and vice versa, so the Frafra’s have their place of accommodation, and the Dagombas too. So in terms of accommodation, we are separated and this enables peaceful coordination. We only meet in this market to work and have different places we sit to work.*

Ethnic group members play an important role in providing new migrants with accommodation and some form of emotional support. One of the respondents from the Upper West region had lived in Madina for about five years and had acquired a parcel of land to build dwelling/ sleeping places for her ethnic group members at Nkwantanang and Riis junction. A female respondent said:

Local language (Twi): *‘wo busuafo bɔ̃ tumi aboa na wɔ̃ ya bɔ̃ bia ada, ade kye a na woni omu ako adwuma.*

English translation: *Your ethnic group members can offer you accommodation if you are able to locate them (ethnic group members), and you can join them in the business the following day’.*

However, accommodation was supposed to be paid for. A fee was charged for staying in these wooden structures of accommodation (*kiosks*) see plate 26 (pg 69). The amount paid for the accommodation depended on the number of people in a room. For example, twenty (20) people in a room were supposed to pay 50 cents a week per individual. The fewer people sharing a room, the higher the rent paid for accommodation.

6.3 Economic Opportunities for Women and Men Migrants

The economic opportunities opened to Northern migrants in Madina were varied and the work women did was different from what the men did. The question I asked my respondents was *what are some of the economic opportunities opened to you as a migrant in Madina?*

My respondents answered that they could work as *kaya yoo*, truck pushers, sale of yam etc. These are jobs in the informal economy. Some of the interviewees said they could have been opened to other opportunities that required high level of education. But most of them were not educated and so they were limited in getting access to such jobs. One respondent also said because he was able to go to school to the senior high level, he could read an advertisement and got access to a job which lasted for 6 months. However, after the 6 months he had to return to truck pushing. This is what this respondent said:

The first job I had was with a Geology company which employed me on contract basis. The contract lasted for 6 months and after the job was completed I was laid off. I was able to raise money to buy the Accra Polytechnic forms to apply to go to school.

The question I asked was, *do you think women and men have equal economic opportunities when they migrate to Madina?*

There was a gender difference in respondents' perceptions of economic opportunities open to the Northern migrants when they arrived in Madina. From the findings, more women agreed to the fact that there were many opportunities opened to them in terms of access to various types of jobs in Madina. As much as 70.2% (26) of the women as compared to 47.6% (10) of the men answered in affirmative that there were equal economic opportunities opened for women and men in Madina. The main reason given to the equal economic opportunities for women and men was that they were allowed to do any type of work they wanted to do. The only limitation, according to respondents, was their educational level which was not high enough to enable them to change jobs.

However, 29.7% (11) of the women and 52.4% (11) of the men interviewed said there are 'No' equal opportunities for women and men in Madina. This is what one female respondent had to say:

'A woman can easily find any job to do but with the man it is difficult to get access to a truck to start work'. A woman can either work as a kaya yoo, preparing banku in chop bars,

washing clothes for the rich people in Madina, frying groundnuts, brewing pito etc; but with the men, aside truck pushing, it was difficult to get access to other jobs’.

This respondent agrees that there are limited economic opportunities for the men when they migrate to Madina because acquiring a truck to work with was not easy and also other jobs were not easily available to the men as compared to the women.

From a different perspective, another female respondent gave the following interesting reason on why there are ‘No’ equal economic opportunities for men and women migrants:

‘I do not think men and women have equal economic opportunities because the men can carry heavy loads both on the trucks, on their head, and at their back, and this earns them more money than we the women’.

This female respondent thinks that men have better economic opportunities than women because of higher income earned by men. For her, men are able to carry the heavy loads on their head, truck and at their back. So, the men earn more income than the women. To this respondent, equal economic opportunities meant the rewards or payment of services that a male migrant received from labour rather than access to jobs.

In the following response, a male interviewee however sees women as having more economic opportunities than men:

‘Women are very lucky in getting access to job. They can either carry the load on their head with their head pans which is easy to acquire with \$1.4 but the truck cost \$139. It is not easy for a man to raise such an amount of money unless you work with your ethnic brothers for sometime’.

Thus, although the overwhelming numbers of women think that there are equal economic opportunities for both male and female migrants; this is not a perception that finds support among the majority of men. The reason for the differences in perception of equal economic opportunities appears to be the amount of money that a migrant needs to start a job. Moreover, it could be that there are underlying cultural reasons that inhibit the men from doing available jobs such as *kaya yoo* that are generally considered to be women’s work. I discuss below the constraints faced by migrants in Madina.

6.4 Constraints of Migrants

Even though Northern migrants were opened to economic opportunities in Madina, they were faced with other constraints in Madina. The question I asked was, *mention some of the constraints you go through in Madina as a migrant?* From the responses, the constraints faced by these migrants among women and men were almost the same. They all complained about verbal abuse by market women and customers at the market, arrests by the police, accommodation ejection threats and a place to sit to rest when they were not at work in the market. One of the female respondents had this to say:

We are not paid very well for the services offered to customers, when you carry the load and you charge customers, they do not want to pay you the exact amount. Secondly the market women accuse us falsely that we steal their products and it is always the kaya yoo who has stolen something and sometimes we end up in police stations and our ethnic colleagues will have to contribute money to come and bail us out.

One of the male respondents also had this to say:

We go through a lot of problems because someone's hometown is not your own. Where to sleep is a problem. I use the truck to move around the market to sell the yam. Space to move about to sell out the yam is a major problem I am facing in the market. I have tried to acquire a place to sit and sell so that I do not move round. But we still have not acquired a place yet. So I do not have any other option than to move about.

I intend to discuss in some detail the gender differences in the constraints faced by the Northern migrants living in Madina.

6.4.1 Difficulties faced by women in finding jobs in Madina

The responses of migrants to the question of whether it was difficult for women to find a job in Madina.

From the responses, it could be seen that a slight majority of female respondents, 59.5% (22), as compared to the overwhelming majority of men, 81% (17), said that it was not difficult for women to find jobs. A significant percentage of the women, 40.5% (15) however thought that it was difficult for women to find jobs. This compares to only 2 (9.5%) out of the 21 men who thought that it was difficult for women to find job.

Interestingly, some of the male respondents, 2 (9.5%) interviewed, could not say whether it was difficult for women to find jobs or not. Perhaps, it is because they were not women to know the difficulties that women go through in getting access to jobs. We shall see that when it comes to the difficulties encountered by the men in getting jobs, some of the women could also not tell whether it was difficult or not.

The responses above appear to confirm the perception among men and women, earlier discussed, that the women were opened to a lot of economic opportunities, because they could engage in jobs such as *kaya yoo*, frying of groundnuts, *pito* brewing, washing of clothes and preparing *banku* for *chop bars*.

6.4.2 Difficulties Faced by Men in Finding Jobs in Madina

The responses of interviewees to the question of whether or not it was difficult for men to find jobs in Madina. Out of the 37 women, 18 (48.6%) of them said it was difficult for men to find jobs in Madina. The overwhelming majority of the men, 20 (95.2%) agreed that it was difficult for them to find jobs. Only 1 man disagreed as compared to 17 (46%) of women. 2 (5.4%) of the women interviewed said they had no idea as to whether it was difficult for men to find jobs or not because they were not men.

From the findings of this study, men were generally perceived to face more problems in getting access to jobs in Madina. It could be a problem from the gender roles assigned to them back at home in the Northern Regions where men are not allowed do certain jobs such as *kaya yoo*, pounding of *fufu*¹⁴ in *chop bars* and frying groundnuts. The men therefore carry this ‘cultural luggages’ with them as they migrate to the South. In other words, the gender roles ascribed to men in the Northern Regions appear to have limited their access to other jobs aside the truck pushing, sale of yams, sale of goats and ‘khebab’ in Madina.

6.4.3 Labour Wages and Payment Modalities

Most of my female respondents complained about the labour wage disparities between men and women. The female respondents had a major problem in getting paid after they had offered their labour services to customers. The reason given by them was that, they could not

¹⁴ *Fufu* a local dish in Ghana prepared from cassava and plantain

place a standard value on the things they carry on their heads for traders (mainly women) in the market because of the diversity of goods carried for any particular customer. The things carried for a customer may comprise tomatoes, cassava dough, and cooking ingredients in different sizes and weights. One of the female respondents said:

‘Sometimes, customers do not want to pay or they reduce the amount you charge them. Because of that, most people who come to the market prefer to use the young ones to carry their load because they cannot charge much like the adults who have been in the system for quite some time.’

This female respondent explained how customers (usually market women) paid less amount of money after the service has been rendered. Many respondents also explained that because of this problem, many traders prefer to use children as porters when they come to the market. This is either because the children cannot charge much or the customers could also give any amount of money to the children.

One male respondent also said that even a male porter is not always paid the agreed amount of money charged. This is what this male respondent had to say:

‘sometimes after you finish the work and you go back for the money, the market women will not pay you, or sometimes the market women even insult you that you are a dirty boy’.

Thus, according to both male truck pushers and female *kaya yoo*, more often than not, after a porter had agreed with the customer on how much is to be paid, the customer later pays the porter a reduced amount of money after the services has been rendered.

6.4.4 Police Arrests and Verbal Abuse

Both female and male migrants faced the problem of police arrests. Most of my respondents complained of how they spent huge sums of money on bailing their ethnic members out of police cells. The respondents said anytime there is an armed robbery in the market, the market women blamed it on the truck pushers and the *kaya yoo* in the market. Sometimes when a *kaya yoo* or truck pushers accidentally destroy some goods in the market, they are sent to the police station until they pay for it. One of the male respondents said:

‘When it comes to being reported to the police station, justice does not prevail there. This is because when the customer or market woman reports you to the police, the police are always

thinking of how much money they can get either from the truck pushers or from the market women. The police therefore do not listen to our side of the story. The police man just arrests you and your ethnic group members and friends have to contribute money to bail you out’.

Both women and men migrants also mentioned the verbal insults and abuses that they always had to endure from the market women and other customers they worked for. Some of the respondents mentioned some of the insults as follows:

Local language (*twi*): ‘*kaya yoo wo y3 aboa, ekom na edi mo aba Madina*’.

English translation: *kaya yoo you are an animal, it is hunger that has brought you to Madina.*

6.4.5 Accommodation and place of work

The constraints that men and women face also included the problem of finding a suitable accommodation as well as a location to operate their businesses. Women and men complained of lack of accommodation especially during the rainy season. For instance, some of the makeshift wooden houses used by some *pito* brewers had been marked for demolishing by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) (or the city council) and private developers without re-location. This is because most of the wooden structures of accommodation are located on lands owned by other people who now want it back.



Plate 26: Gathering of *kaya yoo*’ at home



Plate 27: Constructing a dwelling place

The migrants complained that although they paid taxes of about \$6 to the AMA for using the trucks in the market, their needs are ignored by the Local Councils. Notwithstanding the numerous constraints that Northern migrants in Madina face, many of them are able to achieve their aims for migration. Their achievements are discussed in turn.

6.5 Achievements of Migrants

As already discussed above, almost all the migrants had an aim of migrating to Madina. The aims ranged from earning money to take care of the children back at home, to further education, to work etc. Some of them migrated to help improve their economic standards of living and others also migrated for experience. Have they been able to achieve the economic reasons that led many of them to migrate to Madina? To all those who had some aim for migrating to Madina, I further asked the question, *Have you been able to achieve these aims?*

Out of the 58 women and men interviewed, only 2 (5.4%) of the women and 2 (9.5%) of the men said they had achieved their aim of migrating. One of the female respondents said:

'I started selling bread when I migrated to Madina. And I have been able to save money to add the selling of drinks such as beer, fanta, coca cola and so on. When the business back at home (Wale wale) is quite bad, I come back to Madina to carry load for some time and when I make the money I get back home to continue with the sale of bread and the drinks. I used the money I earn to re-invest in my drinks business.'

The majority of the respondents, 35 (94.6%) of the women and 19 (90.5%) of the men said they had not achieved their aim of migrating. One female respondent said:

'I hope to earn about \$ 346 to enable me start my own business in my hometown'.

The above responses from the migrants show that the process of North-South migration is considered by migrants as an opportunity for them to earn income in the South in order to improve a person's standard of living in the North. Although many of them had been sending money back home to their families, they did not classify the sending of money to their families back home as an achievement. Rather, many of them wanted to save some amount of money to return home to set up a business on their own.

6.6 Gendered Ethnic Spaces of Northern Migrants in Madina

I now return to the important issue of the creation of ethnic spaces as an important social network that facilitates the process of North-South migration and entry. Accommodation for Northern migrants in Madina was organized based on ethnic spaces and ties. The Mamprusis

lived at Atima and Adenta junction, Dagombas at Atima, whiles the Sissalas and Frafra's also lived at Madina zongo junction and Nkwantanang respectively.

Table 8 is a detailed breakdown of the ethnic spaces of work and accommodation.

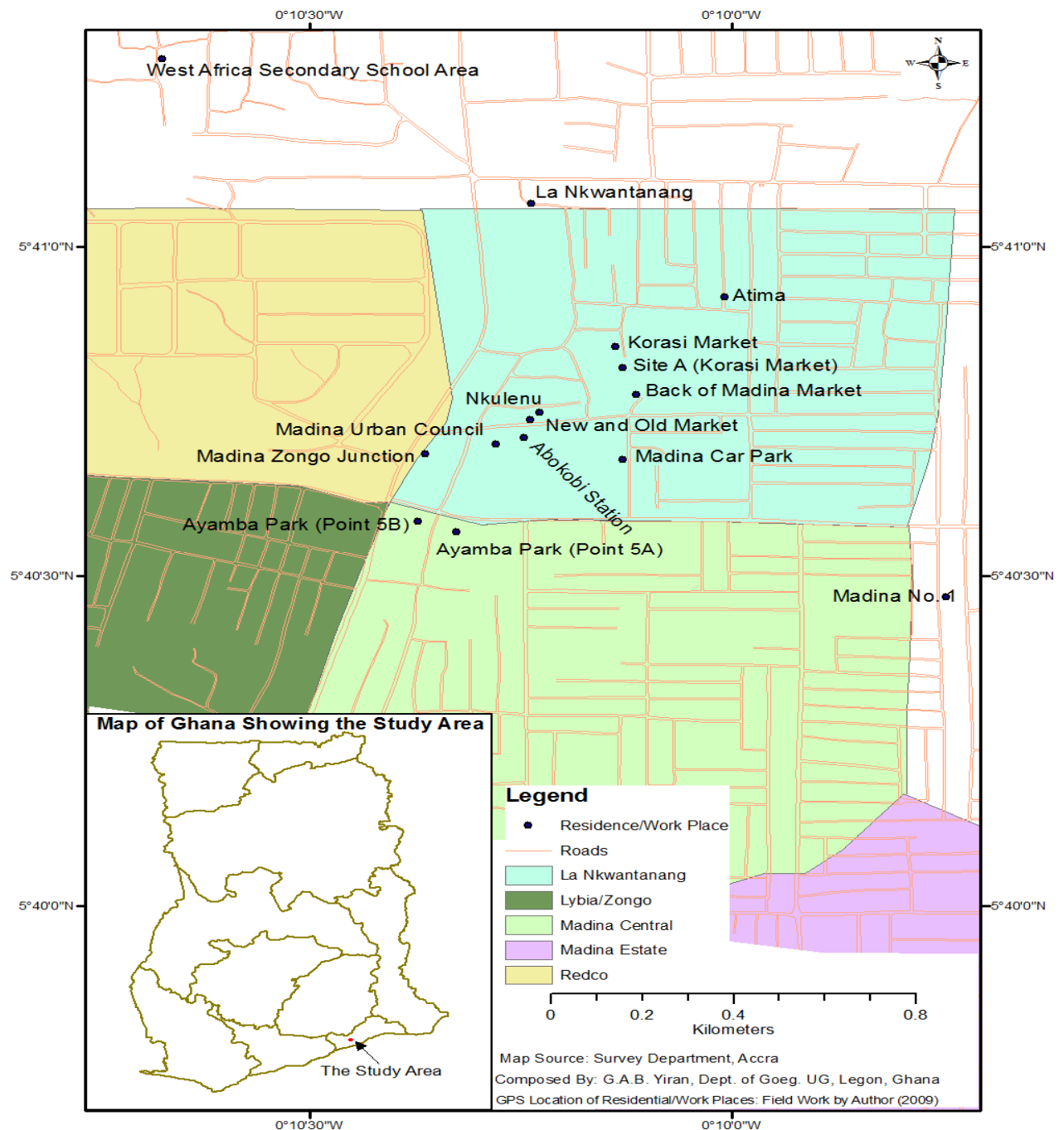
Table 8: Ethnic spaces in Madina

Ethnicity	Gender	Site of Work	Place of Accommodation
Builsa	Female	Madina zongo & Ayamba park	Madina zongo, Redco, Ayamba park
	Male	Madina car park & Urban council	Madina zongo, Redco, Ayamba park, Nkwantanang
Frafra	Female	Point 5 (Ayamba park)	Point 5 (Ayamba park)
	Male	Nkulenu, Madina zongo junction	Madina zongo, Nkulenu, Redco
Dagomba	Female	Atima, Nkulenu, Car park, inside the market	Atima, Nkulenu, Madina No.1
	Male	Ayamba park, inside the market	Madina zongo, Ayamba park,
Sissala	Female	Korasi market	Riis junction, Atima
	Male	New and old market, Urban council	Madina zongo, Redco, Urban council
Mamprusi	Female	Madina market, car park, Nkulenu	Atima, Redco, Nkulenu, Madina No.1
	Male	Nkulenu, Madina market, Ayamba park	Nkulenu, Ayamba park,
Tampluensi/Talensi	Female	Car park, Nkulenu, Urban council	Redco
	Male	Nkulenu	Tatana
Dagaaba/Wala	Female	Madina market, point 5 (Ayamba park)	Nkwantanang, Ayamba park

Source: Field work data 2009

Map 2 below is a map of the study area which shows the sites of work and accommodation of sampled Northern migrants living in Madina.

Map 2: Map of Madina: showing sampled migrants' accommodation and work places



‘Human territoriality is the act of delimiting and controlling an area of space—a territory—in order to control people and things (Sack, 2002: 15601). This territoriality is put into practice

through mechanisms such as classification, communication and control. The classification of an area (space) is about individuals identifying and delimiting a space (to say that this belongs to them and this is ours; 'ours versus 'yours'). Secondly the territory must contain a form of communication by boundary. For example, what are the territory markers and what are the boundaries to the territories created. For example some boundaries can be flexible in allowing certain information in and out of the boundary. But regardless of any form of interaction between other boundaries the boundary is created and maintained for others to see and respect the limitation created. And thirdly, to maintain these territories created, it must rely on power to enforce control over the area delimited and this should be recognised and respected by all and sundry (Sack 2002:15601-15604). The Northern migrants belong to different ethnic groups. As social groups, they create territories for themselves and most of these respondents said they created these territories which I call ethnic spaces to prevent conflicts among them. This is what one respondent had to say concerning the territories created:

There are a lot of ethnic conflicts going on in the North and we do not want to carry such conflicts to someone's environment. So the best thing is to create these places so that the Sissalas will not mingle with us (Dagombas) to bring confusion. These spaces [territories] are respected by all ethnic groups unless you do not want peace yourself.

From the view of this respondent, the territories (ethnic spaces) created have an effect in imposing new forms of social relationships for peaceful existence unless you are an individual who does not want peace to exist.

I use ethnic spaces to explain how Northern migrants create and make use of the space in Madina. The sampled population comprised migrants from the three Northern Regions made up of nine (9) main ethnic groups. These nine ethnic groups created ethnic spaces for themselves in terms of where they lived and where they worked in the market. No ethnic group crossed the ethnic boundary they created for themselves. This created a peaceful co-existence between these ethnic groups as they worked and lived in Madina.

An important finding was that the locations of work were organized according to ethnic spaces. This meant that it was not common to find different ethnic groups of women sitting at the same places for work in the same market. The interesting finding of the ethnic spaces

created was that these ethnic spaces were also created to provide a source of security for these migrants.

According to my respondents, when they closed from work and one of them had not returned from work, they had to wait for the person before they retired to bed. If the person did not return after some stipulated time, they had to go round to look for the person and most of the time; they ended up finding the person in police custody.

However, the use of ethnicity to organise settlements and places of work also carries with it a negative consequence. It makes it possible for antagonistic ethnic groups to easily identify the locations of each other to continue unsettled conflicts started in the Northern Regions. The respondents were very particular of the ethnic identity they maintained among themselves and this also made it possible for them to protect and defend each other in times of difficulties.

6.7 Conclusion

I have presented the empirical findings of my field work on the gendered social networks that facilitate migration, the constraints and economic opportunities of migrants, the gendered and ethnic spaces they created as migrants and the limited achievements that they make through migration.

Kinship social networks were seen as the main social tie that is used by people in the North to migrate to the South. Social networks played a major role in migrants' adaptation to their new environments. At their new destination, I also showed that there were gendered differences in the opportunities and constraints faced by migrants.

The findings also show the creation of territories (ethnic spaces) that enabled migrants to organize places of work and settlement along ethnic lines. While the creation of ethnic spaces helped new migrants to find support and security from ethnic members; ethnic spaces sometimes also facilitated peaceful co-existence between ethnic groups. In the next chapter, I use the gender perspective, the concept of ethnicity and the role of social networks of strong ties and weak ties to discuss Northern migrants' adaptation and gaining access to the informal economy in Madina.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the empirical findings of the theoretical framework I used in the study and how useful they were to my study. In relation to the research objectives I set out to examine in this study, I will discuss the feminist epistemology which advocates for the integration of gender in research works and the gender perspective which defines the concept of gender and how gendered social networks are in relation to migration; the concept of ethnicity (ethnic boundary, ethnic network and ethnic associations) and also the nature of strong and weak ties used by Northern migrants. I will use case studies to explain the nature of strong and weak ties in processes of migration.

7.1 Gender Perspective and Intersectionality

According to feminist epistemology, a researcher will produce good results if gender perspectives are carefully integrated in a study. Also, that one cannot always generalise what men said to be the view of women. The concept of intersectionality, a perspective that emphasizes the intersection of race, class, and gender which are absent in most feminist theories is used to explain the intersection of gender, ethnicity, age and marital status of some of the research respondents.

I wanted to examine the differences in the reasons why women and men migrate from Northern Ghana to Southern Ghana. I found out that women and men are mobile. However, different reasons were given by the respondents for their mobility. According to the findings, women migrated to earn money to take care of the household back in the home of migration, while some men migrated for experience and to save money towards the future. Young men and women between the ages of 12 to 15 years also migrated either in preparation towards marriage or to acquire skills for a job to sustain them. With these findings, reasons for migrating were gendered in nature and this confirms the perspective of Zelinsky et al, that every researcher should stereotype reality in order to see through the eyes of both men and women (Zelinsky et al 1982 in Jenkins 2005:10). The second objective was to examine the

gender differences in economic opportunities in Madina. The study found out that there were gender differences in the type of work women and men did in Madina. Whiles women were into the *kaya yoo*, frying of groundnuts and sale of charcoal businesses, the men worked as truck pushers and sale of goats and yams. From the findings, I realized that I could not have gotten access to the needed information if I had set out to interview only men and use it to generalise for the women. So it was an interesting finding not only for the gender related type of work done by women and men but how spaces were also created in a gendered manner. Places of accommodation and site of work were not only based on ethnicity but they were gendered in nature. Women and men created territories for themselves and they could always say that this space is for Builsa women thereby creating the 'ours' syndrome where territories are maintained by delimiting a boundary of communication and control (Sack 2002). For example, whiles Builsa women lived and worked at Redco and inside the Madina market, Builsa men lived and worked at Ayamba park and the Madina car park respectively.

Case study 1: Concept of intersectionality

Alima¹⁵ is 19 years old and married with a 6 months old male child. The husband is a farmer. She is a Moslem with no basic education. Born at Sademi in the Upper West region and speaks Wala. She migrated from Sademi and she came to Madina to look for work to do and get money to take care of herself and her baby. She works with the child at her back. According to her, Madina becomes your second family when you identify your ethnic members.

Alima earns \$2 on normal days and on market days she could earn \$3. Alima says the only opportunity opened to her as a migrant is the kaya yoo. Alima does not work much in the market because of her 6 month old child, this is because customers do not like using women with a child at the back. Customers sometimes sympathise with us when the sun is high, so you end up sometimes not earning any amount of money for a particular day. She is also faced with the upkeep of the child (feeding and clothing) and most of the times the constant sickness of her child during bad weather conditions. Most of the money she earns from the kaya yoo is used to take care of her child. Savings is difficult even though she tries as much as possible to remit her mother back in Sademi. She thinks if she does not have a child at her

¹⁵ All names used in this case studies are pseudonyms

back she could have made more money like her colleagues who carry load without children at their back which enables them to have more jobs and more customers to call them to work. For this reasons mentioned above, Alima thinks the men are very fortunate not to have children with them and carrying heavy loads to earn much money. Despite the challenges, she is trying to achieve her aim of migrating to Madina that is to work and get money and buy some ingredients used for cooking to sell when she returns to Sademi.

Intersectionality helps a researcher to analyse the multiplicity of divisions and inequalities. Alima's story intersects with gender, ethnicity and marital status in the sense that, Alima as a migrant, is from Sademi from the Wala ethnic group and as such work as a *kayayoo* in Madina market. Her gender as a female and marital status limits her access to job opportunities in the market. As a single mother she is faced with taking care of her 6 month old child and working in the unfavourable weather conditions. According to Alima, customers turn to sympathise with a woman carrying a child at the back and this limits her access to many jobs. Her aim of migrating is then challenged in the midst of these intersections of her role as a mother, a woman who is suppose to send remittances to Sademi and working in a new environment, Madina.

7.2 Ethnicity

From the findings, ethnic group members played a greater role in new migrants' adaptation into the Madina community. This was confirmed by Owusu when he studied Ghanaian migrants in Toronto and how ethnic associations offered help to new migrants for their adaptation and assimilation into the new community (Owusu, 2000). In this study, Northern migrants prior to migration contacted their kinship relations but on arrival, ethnic group members facilitated their access to jobs and accommodation. A few migrants contacted ethnic group members before migrating but majority of them had access to jobs and accommodation through ethnic group members. Case study 2 below also informs us that migrants use ethnic group friends in migrating.

Case study 2: The blurred lines between ethnicity and friendship social ties

Alhassan is 28 years old, single and a Muslim. He has no education and was born at Techiman but migrated from Wungu in the Northern Region of Ghana. He belongs to the Mamprusi ethnic group. He contacted a Mamprusi friend before migrating to Madina. He

contacted this friend because they knew each other from the village. According to Alhassan, the friend sold coca cola on a 'trawler' (wheel bicycle) so he joined him to sell the coca cola. And he did this kind of job for nine months and decided to use the money he earned from the sale of the coca cola to buy a truck to sell yam on it.

In case study 2, my respondent made use of weak ties. He was able to get access to a job through the friend he contacted and saved money from the job and bought a truck to start selling yam. This case study makes it difficult to sometimes draw a clear boundary between the role of ethnic relations and friendship ties in facilitating migration. Among Northern migrants in Madina, the friends of a migrant are also more likely to come from the migrant's ethnic group. This becomes clearer when one considers the fact that the migrants in Madina live within suburbs or territories that are inhabited by their fellow ethnic group members.

7.2.1 Social Ties Used After Migration

An interesting finding in this study was that migrants tend to use weak ties after they had migrated to Madina. From case study 2 above, when leaving home and upon arrival in Madina, contacts were made through kinship relations and friends but these migrants tended to move out of this close knit of kinship and friendship ties to get access to information and jobs through other social networks such as the ethnic group members. Three types of social ties used by respondents after migration to survive or adapt in the migrant community are ethnic group membership and ethnic associations, room-mates and occupational ethnic associations. These are discussed in detail.

7.2.2 Ethnic Group Membership and Ethnic Associations

Ethnicity played a major role in migrants' assimilation into Madina. When an individual was able to identify his or her ethnic group, the feeling of belongingness was felt and they lived together and helped each other in times of crisis. This was confirmed by the following scholars when they studied ethnic groups in new communities and how they offered assistance to new migrants if they were identified as belonging to their ethnic group (Lentz 2006; Abdul-Korah 2004; Hart 1973; Hutchinson and Smith 1996; Barth 1969; Cohen 1969, 2004; Owusu, 2000).

Migrants from the three Northern Regions (Northern, Upper East, and Upper West) were organized according to ethnic groups that existed in their places of origin in the North. When a new migrant arrives in Madina, she or he looked for the people who speak the same language with him or her. And when one is able to identify these ethnic groups, she or he is able to get access to accommodation. The acquisition of job is relatively easy for women since they did not need any form of training nor large capital to start work as a *kaya yoo*. But with the men, one needed to be part of an ethnic group of four or five people to mobilise enough money to buy a truck to start working. These ethnic groupings and associations were also organized according to room level membership, the occupational membership and the ethnic associations. The case study below shows how a migrant moves from family social ties (strong ties) to dependence on ethnic relations (weak ties) after migration.

Case Study 3: From Family Ties to Ethnic Ties

Stephen is 25 years old, single and a Christian. He was born at Sandema Bachonsa in the Upper East region of Ghana. Both of his parents are farmers in Sandema Bachonsa. He belongs to the Builsa ethnic group. He is a final year student at Accra Polytechnic. Stephen migrated from Sandema Bachonsa in 2006 to live with his uncle (mother's brother) at Madina to continue his education after he had completed the Senior High School. He migrated to stay with his Uncle in the hope of getting financial support from the uncle to enable him continue his schooling. The uncle was a truck pusher and he died the same year Stephen came to him. Stephen had lived in Madina for three years and he had to look for a means to survive and have his aim of coming to Madina accomplished. He resolved to join in the truck pushing for survival. His survival in Madina is highly dependent on the ethnic group members he had at Madina. The ethnic members usually helped each other to address various problems arising from their stay and work in Madina.

In case study 3 above, Stephen had to move from strong ties (uncle) to ethnic ties (weak ties) after he lost the uncle. These ethnic ties gave him the support he needed after the death of the uncle.

Ethnic associations were also developed in Madina. All the ethnic groups had their own associations and joined hands to help each other should one of the members get into trouble such as arrest by the police. These ethnic associations also organised meetings to discuss

issues concerning their welfare as well as things to do to improve upon their living conditions in Accra and in their villages. These ethnic associations also organised events such as naming ceremonies, weddings and funerals. I attended two of these events in the Sissala associational meetings which is organised at the end of every month and a funeral of the child of one of my respondents. On these two occasions, one could observe gendered differences in the access to these social networks.

Within the ethnic associational meetings, there was one for women and another for the men. Even though they all had the same aim of forming an ethnic association, they were still organised along gender lines. According to my respondents, women's issues were different from men's issues. So, there was the need to separate men and women. Also, the Sissala ethnic association had two groups; one for the women and another for the men. The men's association was called the Faliania Association while the women had not gotten a name for their association yet, even though they said they will do so later. Each member paid membership dues of \$1 per head. The women association had *susu*¹⁶ is a form of microfinance where each person contributes \$7 and it (money collected from individuals) was put together and given to one person and then the same thing was done the next month when they meet again, the same amount was contributed and given to the second person who was next in the queue. It moved round the ethnic association members until the last person got her share (money). This form of *susu* helped the women to establish businesses such as adding such money to boost for instance the sale of groundnuts as it was confirmed by some of the respondents interviewed.



Plate 28. Sissala Women's Association



Plate 29 Sissala Men Association (Faliania)

¹⁶ Susu is a form of saving money



Plate 30: Ethnic group members at a burial ground Plate 31: Ethnic group members gathering after burial.

7.2.3 Ethnic Adaptation

Despite the importance of social contacts made before migrating to a new environment, it can be recalled that 12 (32.4%) of the women and 2 (9.5%) of men interviewed did not make any contacts before migrating. It however emerged that many of the respondents who did not use any social ties in migrating relied on ethnic social ties to adapt and survive in Madina. One of the female respondents did not make any contacts before migrating to Madina. When questioned why she did not make any contacts before migrating to Madina, she responded:

“I did not contact anyone in Madina before migrating but I had the hope that when I get to Accra - Madina I will be able to locate my ethnic group members who also engage in kaya yoo to help me get a place to lay my head and to start work”.

The above female respondent hoped to make use of the ethnic ties as a channel of settling in Madina. Ethnic group membership was an important form of weak tie the migrants used in getting access to jobs and accommodation in Madina. From my interviews with migrants who did not make any prior contact before migration, they usually used ethnic groups to get assimilated into the Madina community. They also explained that they felt a sense of belongingness when they identified their ethnic group members in Madina. This could be related the concept of ‘adaptation’ used by Owusu (2000) to explain the situation where migrants establish new social relationships in a new destination to get access to jobs and accommodation. The process of adaptation of migrants is illustrated with a case study below.

Case study 4: The role of ethnicity in migrant adaptation

Afishetu 20 years old. She is married and has a one year old child with her. She was born in Sadema- Bachonsa- where she migrated from in the Upper East region of Ghana. She is a Muslim and the husband is a farmer in Sadema Bachonsa. She belongs to the Builsa ethnic group. She did not contact anyone before migrating but was introduced to Salamatu who is an ethnic group member and she gave her accommodation.

In case study 4, Afishetu did not contact anyone in Madina before migrating but when she arrived she was introduced to an ethnic member and was given accommodation. According to her, she joined the ethnic members to work as a *kaya yoo*. Ethnicity thus plays a significant role in enabling members to adapt to their new environments.

7.2.4 Room-mates

An important observation was made during the field work through interactions with respondents. Both women and men were organised into room-mate groups. A room which comprised of twenty (20) or ten (10) members formed a group. This small group in the room offered immediate help in times of sickness and other problems. One of the room-mates I interviewed had been able to offer help to a *kaya yoo* who migrated with a 2 year old son. The son got sick and she did not have money to take the son to the hospital. Money was contributed by room-mates to help send the child to the hospital and back to the village. According to the respondent, the room-mate they helped does not need to pay back the money but to reciprocate when another member is in need. This is what one female respondent said about the room level support:

The room-mates contribute towards each other's welfare especially when one of your colleagues is in trouble; failure to make contributions towards the welfare of your colleague endangers your status in the room and when you get into trouble no one will help you.

Room-mates could appropriately be categorized as a form of weak social tie that enables migrants to adapt in their environment. Each member from a room usually also belongs to an occupational membership group. Among the female migrants, 20 people can be in a room but with different occupations. Some of them can be working as *kaya yoo*, frying of groundnuts, charcoal selling and *chop bar* helpers. With the males, almost all of them were into truck

pushing but belonged to different truck pushing groups when they get to work. The nature of occupational groups as a form of weak social tie is discussed below.

7.2.5 *Occupational co-operation*

Occupational association is a type of social network formed by Northern migrants. It is based on the type of occupation one is doing. For example, those who fry groundnuts had their small membership group of about five or six people. Members of the group often help with the frying of the groundnuts. Within this group, there was division of labour. While one of them was in charge of carrying fire wood for the frying, another's duty was to be turning the machine for the groundnuts to turn reddish brown and another in charge of the removal of the groundnut peels to get it ready for the grinding mill. In the case of the men, since it was very expensive to acquire a truck on individual bases, they had to work in groups. The group also makes it possible for them to carry heavy loads on daily basis. The money is then shared among themselves when they are paid after their daily work.

Occupational association members help each other when a problem arises in the market. For instance, one respondent who belonged to a *kaya yoo* group recounted an event which occurred two weeks before I arrived to do my research. One of the *kaya yoo* girls carried stolen goods for a customer and she was arrested on grounds of abetment in stealing of goods. When the members of the group closed from work for the day, they realised that they could not see her. They later found her at the police station. The group members contributed money to bail out their member. Occupational groups also sometimes turn to the larger ethnic network for assistance when they face problems that required the use of huge resources that were beyond the capacity of the occupational group.

7.3 **Forms of Social Ties in North-South Migration**

Social networks are crucial in acquiring information, finding jobs, getting accommodation, circulating goods and services as well as for psychological support. Social networks serve as channels for migration into or through specific places and occupations (Vertovec, 2003). Among my objectives, I wanted to examine the gender differences in type and extent of economic and social support from social networks Northern migrants used before and after migration.

Northern women migrants used the kinship ties as pre-existing networks for migration while men rarely used the kinship ties even though some of them used it in their migration process. According to Ryan's study of Irish migrants in Britain, women used kinship networks in their migration process. According to her, majority of young Irish women who migrated to Britain every year helped to create female networks that supported other female migrants (Ryan 2008:462). In Madina, the women networks' which were created helped new migrants on arrival to get access to accommodation and the joining in the *kaya yoo* and frying of groundnuts business afterwards.

But it was also interesting to observe that due to the nature of women's work in Madina, some of them did not make any contacts. Generally, many of the respondents had heard of their ethnic group members working as *kaya yoo* in Madina. So, when they arrived in Madina they located them (without knowing anyone before) and joined them in the work the next day. Some of these women knowing the kind of work they were coming to do even brought along with them their head pans to start work immediately they arrived.

7.3.1 Kinship/Family Ties

The use of kinship ties was seen by Granovetter (1995) as a strong tie which individuals tend to use more often when they have a low level of education. In my findings, in table 6, it is realized that 15 women and 9 men out of the sample population interviewed used kinship ties (father, mother, sister, brother, uncle and auntie) to help them migrate to Madina. In my findings majority of the respondents had no basic education and this was a limitation to them changing jobs as some of the respondents complained about 4 men out of the 21 interviewed had some level of education as compared to women who could not even complete the basic level of education and dropped out of school with reasons such as *they did not see the importance of education, there was no money to take all the children to school*. So the household decision was to take men to school and neglected them (women). Despite the low level of education most of these migrants did not use the strong ties to migrate as Granovetter explained in his theory of the strength of weak ties that most people will turn to strong ties because of low level of education but rather they turned to weak ties before and after migration.

Kinship ties have been asserted by many scholars (Caldwell 1968; Hart 1973; Ryan 2008) to be a major channel for migration. However, from my findings, even though migrants made contacts with these kinship ties, majority of them later turned to ethnic members for support when they finally settled in Madina. The limit of kinship ties is illustrated below with a case study.

Case Study 5

Salamatu is a thirty year old, married but her husband is deceased. She has two children, the oldest one is 8 years and the youngest is 4 years. She is a Muslim and has no education. She was born at Wa and belonged to the Wala ethnic group. Salamatu migrated to Madina after the death of the husband to work in Accra and get money to take care of her two children. She contacted the uncle's daughter (cousin) before migrating to Accra. The cousin lived and worked at Tema fishing harbor. Salamatu migrated to live with the cousin at Tema before moving to Madina. Salamatu did not contact anyone before she moved to Madina. According to Salamatu, when she got to Madina she identified the kaya yoo girls and she joined them in the business. At night, she identified her ethnic members and joined them to spend the night. According to Salamatu, she first contacted her cousin who lived in Tema because she wanted a place to stay to look for work.

Case study 5 explains that Salamatu used a strong tie to migrate to Accra. Her initial accommodation was provided by the cousin. However, she had to rely on ethnic group members and friendship ties to settle in Madina. The conclusion here is that whiles strong ties facilitate migration; it is weak ties that usually provide long term support for migrants in finding jobs and sometimes accommodation. The research work of scholars like Ryan (2008) has confirmed the role of strong ties in influencing a person's decision on choice of place to migrate to and which kind of job they should do. Case study 5 below also illustrates the role of strong ties in facilitating migration.

Case study 6

Lariba is a 44 year old widow. She has a 25 year old son and a 1 year old grandson. She was born at Nandom in the Upper West region and belonged to the Dagaaba ethnic group. She is a Christian and had completed elementary school. When she lost the husband, she contacted the elder sister who lived in Madina and worked as a nurse at Ridge hospital. She told her

sister that she wanted to migrate to Madina to work to take care of her child and the elder sister agreed. She migrated from Nandom to Madina in search of work. On arrival, she told the elder sister she wanted to start brewing pito. So, the elder sister took her to Madina urban council and acquired a place for her to set up the pito brewing place. The sister gave her money to enable her acquire the place and a start-up capital to start the business. She did not pay back the money to her sister. "In our family, it is the duty of siblings to help each other", Lariba said. In other words, the elder sister performed her duty as a senior sister.

Lariba's narrative informs us that family network is very important in migration processes. This is because according to Lariba, settling in Madina would not have been easy after migrating. She had to contact the sister before migrating, getting her a job as a *pito* brewer and a place to site her business. This confirms Ryan (2008) study of Irish women and how sisters encouraged and supported their younger sisters to migrate to Britain. According to her, the sisters of migrants informed their choice of work and hospitals they worked with when they migrated to Britain. Lariba's case explains the role of her elder sister in encouraging her to migrate and the support to set up the *pito* brewing business. The strong influence of kinship in migration was also found by Caldwell (1968) when he said that most migrants migrated to towns normally to their family relatives.

7.3.2 Friendship Ties

Friendship ties were sometimes used as networks for migration. 9 (24.3%) of women and 6 (28.6%) of men out of the 58 respondents had used friendship ties. It also appeared that more women than men were likely to use friendship ties as a network for migration related purposes. There was a difference in the number of men and women who used friendship ties as contacts for migration but the difference was not that great. The number of women who used friendship ties outnumbered the men who used friendship ties. However, out of the 58 sampled population, 5 (13.5%) of the women and 3 (14.3%) of men used friendship ties to get access to their jobs. Case study 7 below illustrates the role of friendship social networks in the migration of a female respondent.

Case study 7: The role of friendship networks in migration

Azara is 22years old, married with a male child (3years and 10months) and the husband is a student. Azara has no education and she is a Muslim. Azara migrated from Janga in the Northern Region of Ghana and came to Madina purposely to work and get money to

maintain and expand her business. Azara returned about 7 months ago but this is her 7th year of migrating to Madina. Within the 7 years of migrating, she had been able to set up a business of selling minerals, beer and bread in the village. When she came to Madina, she stayed for about 6 to 7 months and returned to invest the money in the business she was operating in Janga. Likewise, when business was bad, she returned to Madina to engage in kaya yoo and the washing of clothes in private houses. According to Azara, she contacted her friends who were in Madina and worked as kaya yoo before migrating. Upon the return of some of her friends from Madina, she joined them to migrate to Madina. When she arrived with the friends, they accommodated her and she became a member of the kaya yoo group from Janga. Where they lived comprised of Mamprusi girls from Janga, the other ethnic groups also had their places of accommodation. Aside the friendship ties, Azara was also part of the Mamprusi ethnic association where they contributed money to help each other when there was problem. Azara also said there was a feeling of belongingness when one is with the ethnic group members and it formed a kind of social security for them.

Azara used migration as an economic strategy to set up a business in her home village. Azara explained that she has been able to achieve her aim of migrating and she continued to come back to Madina because sometimes her home-based business becomes quite bad and she needs money to boost her business.

7.4 Conclusion

With the three theoretical framework used for the study, this chapter has discussed the type of social networks used by migrants which included kinship, friendship and ethnic ties, the nature of these social networks and the extent of their role in the migration processes. The concept of adaptation was also used to explain how migrants got access to jobs, housing and established social relationships in a new destination. In the discussions, we realized that migrants usually moved from strong social ties of kinship that helped them to migrate into weak social ties such as ethnic ties and friendship ties to help them get access to accommodation and jobs in Madina. These new ethnic group and ethnic networks in the migrant community served as a source of security or protection for migrants as they lived and worked in Madina.

We also realized that out of the ethnic group membership, friendship ties (weak ties) are formed and in turn occupational and room-mates (being of a group sharing accommodation) become very important forms of social networks for migrants. Smaller problems are solved at the level of the smaller groups such as the room-mates and occupation ethnic groups. The larger ethnic associations are involved when the problem is beyond the solution of these minor groups.

While strong family ties are important in facilitating the early stages of migration, it emerges that it is the weaker ties of ethnicity, room-mates group and occupational associations that help migrants to get employment and receive immediate social, economic and psychological support. Within an ethnic association, the individuals felt accepted with a sense of belongingness among members. From the discussions above, weak ties are very crucial in shaping and sustaining the informal economy within which migrants work.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0 Introduction

This chapter contains summaries of the findings of the study, some policy recommendations and a conclusion to the study. The study had the objectives of exploring the differences in female and male migrants' aims, strategies of migration, and achievements in the migrant community. From a feminist epistemological view, I tried to examine the differences in reasons why women and men migrated to Madina; and the differences in the type and support of social networks women and men used in migrating. I also used the concept of ethnicity and social networks to examine how migrants live and support each other in the migrant community. The method used for the data collection was unstructured questionnaires and interviews. The findings from the study are summarized below.

8.1 Summary of Findings

8.1.1 Gender Differences in Reasons for North-South Migration

The first objective was to examine the gender differences in the reasons why Northern migrants have migrated to Madina. Examining this objective involved the concept of gender and the feminist epistemology which advocate for the integration of gender in our research works. Findings of this study brought to light the need for a research to include both women and men. This is because it was realised from the findings that one cannot use only the views of men to generalise on the reasons why women migrated to Madina.

The findings of the study showed that even though most Northern migrants migrated due to economic factors, there were gender differences in what migrants would usually like to use their earnings for. While most married women sent money home for their mothers to take care of the children they left behind at home, female migrants between the ages of 15-25 years used their earnings to buy cooking utensils in preparation towards marriage and in some cases tried to acquire a sewing machine to learn how to sew when they returned home. Men who were married sent money home to take care of their children even though it was not as regular as compared to the women. Young men between the ages of 15-25 years who were not married either saved money to meet their basic needs or to continue their education.

8.1.2 *Social Network in Migration*

I also examined the gendered strategies that women and men used to achieve their aims of migrating to Madina. The findings from the study pertaining to this objective showed that there was a difference in the types of social networks that men and women in the Northern Regions use for migration. Basically, both men and women used kinship, ethnic and friendship social networks. However, most women did not make any contacts before migrating while men relied mostly on friends and ethnic group relations. None of the men migrated without contacting someone. With regard to access to accommodation on arrival, women were able to secure their accommodation on their first day as compared to men who needed to establish some trust between them (new migrants) and the old ethnic group members in Madina.

An interesting finding is that men tended to rely more on social networks than women in order to get access to jobs that usually required a large capital to start. The male jobs included truck pushing, the sale of yam, goats, sheep and *khebab*. Due to the low amount of capital that women required to start as *kaya yoo*, selling of groundnuts, and preparing of *banku*, they sometimes migrated to the South independent of the three main social network channels identified.

8.1.3 *Gendered and Ethnic spaces*

The concept of ethnicity also played an important role in the analysis since the three Northern Regions are not homogeneous but rather heterogeneous with at least 29 ethnic groups. These ethnic groups are recreated in the migrant community and they create ethnic boundaries, ethnic identities, ethnic networks, associations and ethnic communities to help new and old migrants get access to information and accommodation. The ethnic boundaries were mainly created in migrants' places of accommodation and places of work.

Another interesting finding was that ethnic groups also maintained occupational boundaries aside settlement boundaries. The ethnic groups created territories where spaces were delimited for some particular ethnic groups and occupations. These territories were controlled and communicated among ethnic group members and each ethnic group respected the territories created by the others. For instance, it was realised from the findings that in the

Madina market, certain occupations were meant for some particular ethnic groups. Women from particular ethnic groups specialized in particular occupations. For example, the sale of charcoal was for the Sissala women whiles local beer brewing (*pito*) was done by the Dagaabas and Frafras respectively. In terms of accommodation, Dagombas were located at Atima whiles the Sissalas were at Nkwantanang. They also organised ethnic associational meetings once every month to solve problems and organise social activities such as naming ceremonies, funerals and marriage ceremonies.

While ethnic spaces provided security, material support, occupational entry, and protection to new migrants; it also has the tendency to become the hub for the continuation of unsettled conflicts that originated from the Northern Region.

8.2 Social Network Theory

The social network theory and the concepts of strong ties and weak ties adapted from Granovetter (1995) helped to answer the objective of examining the gender differences in types and extent of social and economic support from social networks.

Findings from the study indicated that whiles incoming migrants tended to use the kinship ties (strong ties) to migrate, they resorted to ethnic and friendship acquaintances (weak ties) when they arrived in the study area. The weak ties helped migrants to acquire jobs and secure accommodation. The findings from this study have added some knowledge to how migrants operate within strong and weak ties in migrant communities. The strong ties were found to be more influential in serving as channels for migration. However, migrants tended to rely more on weak ties for entry into occupations and continued survival in the informal economy.

The case studies used in this study, point to how important weak ties¹⁷ are in helping migrants to achieve their economic aims of migrating. Although there was not much difference with respect to the use of weak ties by women and men, women were generally more trusted and were accepted to join their friends and ethnic members. However, it took the men some time to get accepted into social networks. This finding did not confirm the suggestion made by Granovetter (1983:208) that in the lower socio-economic groups, weak ties are often not bridges but rather relatives that this category of people will tend to use. This

¹⁷ Weak ties have become the bridges for Northern migrants adapting to their new environments

study has informed us that many of the respondents had no education but they relied on the weak ties to get access to information, accommodation and jobs available in Madina.

8.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study contributed to knowledge about earlier research on North-South migration in Ghana and the gendered perspective of the social networks used by Northern migrants. Clearly, gender, social networks and ethnicity played a role in Northern migrants and their survival strategies in their new environment. Similar strategies were employed by migrants from the three Northern Regions. By using the snow balling sampling technique, I purposely selected my respondents to reflect the various ethnic groups living and working in the informal economy in Madina. The findings showed that each respondent had to employ a survival strategy and this led to them being segregated in the type of occupations done by Northern migrants. From the findings, it was also realised that while the main occupation of the Dagaabas and Frafras was brewing *pito*, the Sissalas were either into *kaya yoo* or the sale of charcoal. There was a gender difference in reasons for migrating for men and women; gender differences in the type of work migrants did in Madina; and differences in access to type of social and economic support from the social networks.

These findings also indicate that after the initial facilitation through strong ties, migrants tended to rely on weak ties in getting access to available jobs and access to accommodation in migrant communities. The concept of ethnicity indicated by earlier researchers as playing a major role in the assimilation of migrants into new communities was also confirmed in the migration of these Northern migrants as they created ethnic spaces for themselves. We can conclude then that even though migrants used strong ties (kinship relations) in migrating, weak ties also played an important long term role in the adaptation, work and achievements of migrants especially within the informal economy of a developing country like Ghana.

8.4 Recommendations

In the British colonial times, men used to migrate to engage in jobs such as mining, construction of railways, cocoa plantations among others. But in recent times (20th and 21st centuries), these jobs are no longer available to these migrants because of the increase in population in the urban centres which has made the availability of these jobs quite scarce and not available to new migrants (from the North). The available jobs these Northern men migrants can rely on are the truck pushing and creation of self-employment for themselves.

According to Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008:172), recent studies have estimated that 80% of the population in the three Northern Regions is poor; while almost 70% is extremely poor. The high rates of poverty are mostly the reasons why women have joined the men in migrating to alleviate the high rates of poverty in the three Northern Regions. With this in mind, I will like to make the following suggestions:

I suggest that government should contribute towards job creation for these Northern migrants both at home and in the urban centres. Since labour migration cannot be stopped easily, the government and other Non- Governmental Organisations (NGOs) should come up with strategies to help Northern migrants develop the Northern Regions. This is because; many of the Northern migrants need small amount of capital to establish their own businesses back home. Migration to the South is only used as a temporary mechanism for improving standards of living in the Northern Regions.

Over the past 25 years, the Northern Regions have had a number of conflicts which normally lead to internal displacement and loss of property (Kusimi et al 2006:218). When ethnic conflicts occur, women are the most affected group. This had led to most women using migration as a household strategy to migrate to the South to work since most of them are rendered widows after the ethnic conflicts. I will therefore suggest that government should be more proactive in helping to resolve ethnic conflicts in the Northern Regions. Creating peaceful conditions in the Northern Regions would help minimise North-South migration. It would also help to promote development.

Moreover, government may help to bridge the gap between development in the South and in the North. This may be done by improving the level of infrastructural development and providing higher level of educational support. As a temporary measure, creating more jobs in

the informal economy could go a long way to curtail the North-South migration. From the findings, it will also be good that some of the locally made machines used for the frying of groundnuts in Madina are bought by government and NGOs and sent to the three Northern Regions for women to use in their work as a way of reducing poverty in most households.

Even though my study did not intend to look at children's work and migration of the youth, the sample population drew my attention to the age group of the young migrants between the ages of 12-15 years who should have been schooling instead of working as part of a survival strategy. Some of these children work hard to send money home to their mothers. Interviews I did concerning these young children showed that, just a few were sent to school and they dropped out because they did not want to go to school. But majority of them said they either followed their mothers or a sister to migrate which was confirmed by Thorsen when she studied youth migrants from Burkina Faso. According to her, the entry of these independent child migrants depends on their travel companions (Thorsen 2009:4). Policy efforts should be made to stop these children from migrating and rather concentrate on going to school. Parents should be encouraged to send their children to school. For instance, a fine could be imposed on any parent whose son or daughter (between the ages of 12-15 years) is working in these urban centres and not going to school.

Though the Northern migrants work in the informal economy and contribute towards the development of the economy in general through the payment of taxes and remittances sent back home, they are being marginalised and their contributions are not valued. The Northern migrants' contributions are equally important to the development of Ghana. Therefore, the opportunity should be given to them to work in a peaceful environment in order to help develop the informal economy. I will also suggest that, the police as law enforcing bodies should respect the rights of Northern migrants by listening to them before they pass judgement on cases brought to police station.

More research needs to be done on the links between gender, ethnicity and social networks used by Northern migrants in the South. There is little information on the gendered form of social networks and the different gendered strategies adopted by migrants in their communities. Encouraging more research in these areas could help North-South cross-cultural understanding for effective national development and policy making.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

GENDERED STRATEGIES AMONG NORTHERN MIGRANTS IN ACCRA. A CASE STUDY OF MADINA

QUESTIONNAIRE

The researcher is working on the above topic. Please it would be appreciated if you could fill out this questionnaire as truthfully as possible. Information given would be treated as confidential and is purely for academic work. Please tick where appropriate and answer where necessary. Counting on your kind cooperation.

SECTION A: PERSONAL DATA

1. Age
2. Sex a. Male ☐ b. Female ☐
3. Marital status a. Single ☐ b. Married ☐
4. Number of children, if any.....
5. What is the occupation of your husband?.....
6. Age of oldest child.....
7. Age of youngest child.....
8. Religious Background. a. Christian b. Muslim c. Traditional d. others specify.....
9. Educational Background

- a. Basic ☐ b. JSS ☐ c. Secondary ☐ c. Tertiary ☐ d. Others specify.....
10. Where were you born?.....

11. Which ethnic group do you belong?
- a. Dagomba ☐ b. Mamprusi ☐ c. Frafra ☐ d. Hausa ☐ e. others specify.....
12. What is the occupation of your father.....
13. What is the occupation of your mother.....

SECTION B: REASONS FOR MIGRATION (INTERNAL MIGRATION)

14. Where did you migrate from?.....
15. Why did you migrate to Madina?
- a.....
- b.....
- c.....
- 16a. Did you contact anyone in Madina before migrating?
- a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐
- 16b. If yes who did you contact before migrating to Madina?
- a. Father ☐ b. Mother ☐ c. Siblings ☐ d. uncle/auntie ☐ e. friend ☐
- f. other specify.....
- 16c. Why did you contact the person you chose above?.....
- 17a. Did the person accounts confirm what she/ he told you. a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐
- 17b. Why the answer above?.....
18. How long have you lived in Madina?
- a. 1-2 years ☐ b. 3-4 years ☐ c. 5-6 years ☐ d. other specify.....
19. Have you joined any association in Madina.....

SECTION C: STRATEGIES AND ACCESS TO SOCIAL NETWORKS

20. What kind of work do you do?

- a. Head portage (*Kaya yoo*) ☐ b. Housemaid ☐ c. Truck pusher ☐
d. others specify.....

21. Do you have any other job aside the one you mentioned above.....

22. How did you get access to this job?

- a. kinship relations ☐ b. friend (s) ☐ c. ethnic person ☐ d. others specify.....

22a. Could you have settled down in Madina without contacting any one.

- a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

22b. Give reasons for your answer.

- a.....
.....
b.....
.....
c.....
.....

23. What kind of support did you receive from the contacts you made when you arrived?

-
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

24a. How important are these contacts to you.....

-
.....

.....
.....
24b. Do you think they are necessary?.....

.....
.....
24c. Give reasons for your answer above.

.....
.....
25a. Do these associations have an influence on your appearance? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

25b. If yes, what kind of influences.....

.....
.....
25c. Do you have other social commitments at home. a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

25d. If yes what kind of support do you send.....

SECTION C: MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

26. How are the associations managed?

.....
.....
.....
27. How do you become a member of the association?.....

.....
.....
28a. Do different ethnic groups have their own association. a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

28b. Give reasons for the answer above.....

.....
.....
.....
29. What do you have to do as a member of the association?.....

SECTION D: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES AND CONSTRAINTS

30a. What are some of the opportunities opened to you as a migrant in Madina?

.....
.....
.....

30b. Do you think women and men have equal opportunities when they migrate to Madina.

a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

30c. Give reasons for your answer in question 30b.....

.....
.....

31. Mention some of the constraints you go through in the Madina as a migrant?

a.....

b.....

c.....

32. How do you solve some of the problems you encounter.....

.....
.....

33a. Is it difficult for women to find a job in Madina? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

33b. If yes.....

.....
.....

33c. Is it difficult for men to find a job in Madina? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

If yes.....

.....
.....
34a. Do you have anybody to ask for help. a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

34b.If yes, who?.....

34c.Does any group or body care for your welfare? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

35. If yes what are those bodies or groups?.....

SECTION E: AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

36a. Did you have any aim for migrating? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

36b. If yes what were your aims for migrating

a.....

b.....

c.....

37a Have you been able to achieve these aims? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

37b. If yes, what are your achievements so far.....

SECTION F: ECONOMIC

38a. How much do you earn on good days.....

38b. How much do you earn on bad days.....

38c. Do you save money. a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

38d. If yes how do you save it. a. Susu ☐ b. Bank ☐ c. Others specify.....

38c.What do you use the saved money for.....

.....

.....

APPENDIX 2 QUESTIONS FOR GROUP INTERVIEW

1. Individuals will identify themselves by names, age, gender, religion and ethnicity
2. What kind of work do you do?
3. Why did you choose to work in Madina?
4. Did you contact anyone in Madina before you migrated
5. Who was the person you contacted?
6. Do you think social contacts are important prior to migration
7. Are you aware of any associations in Madina
8. Who are the leaders of these associations
9. Do you have ethnic associations.
10. What kind of help do they give to new and old migrants
 - a. Economic
 - b. Social
 - c. Emotional
11. Can these associations serve as possibilities and constraints?
12. What are the survival strategies of these associations?
13. Are you protected under these associations?
14. Does religion play a major role in recruiting people into associations?
15. How did you construct your own contacts within this market?
16. Is there a reciprocal relationship in the help you receive?
17. How often do you have contacts with your family back at home
18. Do you send some money back home
19. How will you rate the contacts you used?
20. Was it good or bad
21. Give reasons for your answer in 20.

