

**NEGOTIATING CARING PRACTICES AMONG INTERNAL MIGRANT WOMEN IN
ACCRA-GHANA**

BY

NANA HAWAWU ALHASSAN

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**Approved: Dr. Evangelia Tastsoglou
(Supervisor)**

**Approved: Dr. Alexandra Dobrowolsky
(Examiner)**

**Approved: Dr. Madine VanderPlaat
(Reader)**

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By Nana Hawawu Alhassan

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the negotiation of care provision, changes in caring practices post-migration and the impact of women's internal, North-South migration on gender and family relations and communities of origin in Ghana. Ten in-depth interviews with migrant women revealed that women have become frontrunners in the migration process, engaging in different modalities of care where they negotiate with spouses and other family members for the care of their left behind families. The story of negotiating caring practices shows that women's migration changes gender and family roles to an extent, while, at the same time it reproduces them. There are financial, material and emotional consequences of migration on migrant women and their families as well as their communities of origin. Directions for future research should include the impacts of care-giving on left behind families from their own experiences, and the reconstruction of masculinities from men's perspectives.

DEDICATION

To my late father, Issah Alhassan and my mother, Alimatu Alhassan

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CEGENSA- Centre for Gender and Advocacy

GSS-Ghana Statistical service

GLSS-Ghana Living Standards Survey

IOM-International Organisation for Migration

MDGs-Millennium Development Goals

NGOs-Non-Governmental Organizations

SAPs-Structural Adjustment Programmes

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This introductory chapter gives the overall idea of what this thesis will contain. First, it describes the background of the study by introducing the general outlook of gender and migration in Ghana. The rationale of the study follows with a justification of why it is important to research internal migration in Ghana. The goals, objectives and research questions also present us with the set purpose of this study. Last but not the least, this chapter briefly explains how data collection and analysis were carried out. Finally, I discuss the organization of chapters.

1.1 Background

The 2009 Human Development Report indicated that the number of internal migrants globally is approximately 740 million, nearly four times the number of international migrants (UNDP, 2009). Although internal migration within countries involves substantially larger numbers of people, the phenomenon has received relatively little attention. It has long been assumed by scholars and policymakers that internal migration equals migration from poor rural areas to richer urban areas. Available data however, indicate that patterns of internal migration are more complex than assumed (Harper et al. 2011; McKay & Deshingkar, 2014). For instance, in Ghana, the data show that rural-urban flows are just one of several significant migration streams.

In the case of Ghana, the north-south geographic development and socioeconomic opportunities divide have made a major contribution to the historical and contemporary development of internal migration. Large streams of migration from the North to the South of Ghana have been traced to colonialism, which led to spatial inequalities in development. The high concentration of investment in the coastal and cocoa sector of the South led to large out-migration from the North to the South. Little efforts were made in developing infrastructure in the North and this further worsened the poverty in the North (Songsore and Denkabe, 1995). Historically in the

1950`s, men were only seen as leading migration and leaving women behind. Women who migrated in Ghana were seen as dependents in the migratory process usually accompanying their husbands. However, this has changed over time and women have become more active in these movements by defying highly rooted patriarchal norms (Abdul-Korah, 2011; Awumbila and Schandorf, 2009). According to Van der Geest et al (2010), the number of women in these migration movements has increased and Ghana`s major capital cities are witnessing rapid urbanization and population growth. Although, these women are migrating independently, the decision-making process of migration is family based and involves the entire household and social structures in place (Anarfi et al., 2003).

According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2008), the number of migrant women from the north residing in the south is 47% compared to men, which is 37.6% (p.50). The main push factors for these young women are poverty, low yields from agriculture and the crippling drought effects, the north-south development gap and socio-cultural factors such as early marriages (Oberhauser &Yeboah, 2011; Awumbila &Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Kwankye et al., 2009). Pedraza (1991) explains that there has always been the assumption that women accompanied their husbands, joined their families and continued with their reproductive roles at the places of destination (p.306). The influx of these young women and girls in the capital city of Ghana (Accra) which is in the south has come to the attention of the government, academics, development planners, policymakers and researchers. This is because such migration streams are central to social and economic policies and also produce outcomes such as remittances that are key to the development of Ghana`s economy.

Within these internal migration streams, the feminization of migration has been observed to be dominant and widespread because there is increasing flow of women from almost all regions across the country to the capital cities. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2012), based on the 2010 population and housing census, women in Accra alone outnumber men by about 134,000 (p.21). The increasing rate at which women migrate has been viewed to have great implications on

their households and communities as a whole as they leave socio-reproductive care gaps. This demonstrates that as the migration of women is increasing, and given patriarchal norms where women are predominantly caregivers, families will continue to face challenges of being cared for from a distance. As Abdul-korah (2011) explains, the feminization of migration over the past decades has influenced gender relations within the household. For example, after women migrate, they take on responsibilities that were previously conceived manly such as financial roles.

In the Ghanaian community as well as most parts of sub-Saharan Africa, different arrangements exist within most communities as to the way domestic activities occur. Activities such as consumption, production, reproduction and socialization are gendered and occur differently within varying groups. Women are mostly those in charge of domestic household activities such as getting firewood, fetching water, cleaning and taking care of the children. They also engage in productive activities such as farming and other income generating activities to support their children`s education (Henn, 1984). Brown (1994) indicates that women play multiple roles in the society and they contribute time, financial and material care in order to sustain their families as well as the society (p.27). However, in such societies, where there exist traditional patriarchal gender roles, the man remains the head of the family. In the absence of the man, the male members of the woman`s family continue to exert influence over her, however, she is more likely than not to have more control (Lyod & Gage-Brandon, 1993, 117-118).

According to Avotri and Walters (1999), the number of men in the formal wage employment is greater than that of women, and women have major responsibility of maintaining the household yet they have less control over resources such as lands. Women who find themselves in formal wage labour are often found at the lower hierarchy at their work place as compared to men. These women tend to combine their work and domestic functions such as childcare and cooking. However, in spite of the few numbers of formally educated women, the majority of Ghanaian women are

working independently, in the informal sector which enhances their flexibility to care for their household and their children at the same time (Brown, 1994, p.19). With increasing numbers of women entering the labour force, there has been greater freedom for women especially in the decision making process and the management of the household (Brown, 1994, p.20). In this case, migrant women who tend to be away from their homes will therefore not be able to perform their social reproductive roles which they have been perceived to do in such patriarchal Ghanaian societies. However, these women are able to have more financial control and sexual independence over their own lives (Hollos, 1991, p.852). Nonetheless, the economic and social contributions through remittances that these migrant women make towards the wellbeing of their families remain the most important source of income for most households.

While it is evident that migrant women make huge contributions to their households through remittances, caring for spouses, children and aged parents remains an important aspect of the traditional social structure embedded in these women's communities and they are charged with the responsibility of providing this type of care. Garza (2010) states that the disadvantages that result from female migration far outweigh the benefits. This is because women perform major household activities and their absence usually disrupts the functions of the household (p.18). These care gaps signal the inability of women to fulfill their social reproductive roles as 'mothers', 'nurturers' and 'caretakers' of the household. My study does not necessarily agree that costs outweigh benefits when women migrate leaving families behind. It rather addresses the costs and benefits produced through empirical research, and looks specifically into women's migration and changes within the domestic domain in a more nuanced way. This thesis illustrates the changes brought about through women's migration, gender and family relations as well as to the nature of "care" provided by women. These changes would more likely radically change the picture of internal migration in Ghana and not allow for one-dimensional comparisons. This forms the core basis of this study.

The main focus of this research is to add nuance to the literature on migration and care research which has focused on transnational caring practices of women to the detriment of internal migration (in Ghana and elsewhere). This study discusses key theoretical considerations and new empirical research that demonstrates that internal migration is also a gendered phenomenon with great implications for care arrangements in the households of migrant women, impacting, in turn, gender and family relations and communities of origin, left behind children, parents and siblings. Based on the field work conducted in Accra between December 2014 and January 2015, this study addresses the gaps in the literature on gender and migration in Ghana and how migrant women are able to provide care and re-negotiate caring practices through time and space with their families back home when they migrate. This thesis makes significant contributions to development studies literature by (1) unpacking and identifying the gendered dynamics of internal migration in Ghana and (2) illustrating how caring practices are negotiated and carried out and (3) demonstrating the effects of migration and consequent re-negotiation of care on gender and family relations and communities of origin.

Internal migration has not been recognized as a problem which creates care gaps within Ghana. This could be attributed to the perception that internal migration in the decades before the 1980s were usually short term and cyclical (Abdul-Korah, 2011). These short-term movements were less likely to affect migrants' families or disrupt the household. This is what makes this research unique as I situate internal migration within the local care context, and bring out its implications on gender and family relations. This study uses a comparative approach to understand how pre- and post-migration stages transform caregiving arrangements, roles and decision making processes within migrants' households thus producing new and yet gendered roles. This study builds further on the nature of internal migration in Ghana by focusing on north-south migration in Ghana. The findings of this research are based on in-depth interviews with migrant women in Accra. This research

explores and enhances understanding regarding the division of labour and gender relations within the Ghanaian context. Finally, this thesis reinforces the argument that the decision to migrate is based on societal and familial consultation and this goes on to support and explain how gender relations play out in communities and households (Dugbazah, 2007, p.24).

1.2 Rationale of the Study

Ghana is divided into ten different regions; the Northern region, Upper East region, Upper West region, Brong Ahafo region, Eastern region, Ashanti region, Central region, Western region, Volta region and Greater Accra region. The northern region is made up of the Upper East, Upper West and the northern region itself. This study will focus on women from the three northern regions of Ghana because they make up a significant percentage of migrants in Accra. This thesis aims at addressing the existing gaps in literature on migration and care for left behind families in Ghana. It is important to study caring practices because they are life sustaining activities which are connected with remittances, economic, social and cultural, and thus with development; they are indicators of gender relations and gender inequalities.

Existing research on gender and migration in Ghana has focused on specific categories of migrant women. It is important to mention a few of these studies given their usefulness and the conceptual clarity they bring to bear on this research. For example, Awumbila and Ardayfio Schandorf (2008) examine young female workers who migrate from the North to the South to work as head porters in the Southern part of Ghana. They assess the increasing levels of female migration from the north and the livelihood strategies of migrant women in the face of the challenges of the capital city, Accra. Similarly, Oberhauser and Yeboah (2011) assess the gendered aspects of head porters` livelihood experiences in Accra. They mostly focus on their living conditions, women`s physical labour and migration patterns. Yeboah (2010) also examines poverty within a specific

migrant population (porters who are predominantly female) and how they struggle and also cope with their daily life experiences. Specifically, he addresses how traditional socio-cultural beliefs shape gender roles and beliefs. Accra, as the capital city of Ghana has therefore earned a lot of attention from most researchers as an ideal site for investigating migration.

The research carried out in Ghana on gender, migration and left-behind families has mostly focused on transnational migration and has failed to recognize that migration also occurs locally where families are left behind either within rural-urban, rural-rural, north-south and south-south settings. This therefore requires studies on how migrants, especially women manage caring arrangements when they migrate within Ghana. Most literature on internal migration in Ghana focuses on the plights and livelihood activities of migrant women. Little research has been done to investigate how the migrants negotiate challenges relating to their inability to perform certain gender roles such as caring for children and family in origin areas due to their absence. For example, although Oberhauser and Yeboah (2011) studied migrant women in the capital city, they did not give attention to the care gaps these women left in their towns of origin. Overall, not much attention has been paid to the implications of internal migration on left behind families in Ghana.

Migrant women from the three northern regions of Ghana have been a major point of research focus for most academics and researchers. This is due to the large numbers of these women in most of the country's regional capital cities. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2012), the number of migrant women in the major migrant receiving areas in Ghana surpasses their male counterparts except in the Western Region where the numbers are equal. Migrant women from the northern regions offer a unique case, which makes the study of their caring arrangements and practices very important due to a number of reasons. First, women from the northern regions are particularly more disadvantaged because of the inequality in accessing education for males and females as compared to the other parts of the country. The Ghana Population and Housing census

of 2010 revealed that the percentage of people who have never been to school in the northern regions (44.5-54.9%) which is four to five times higher than the percentage of those who have never attended school in Accra (10.1%). Among these numbers, the proportion of women who have never attended school was 14.3% of the population as compared to that of men which is 9.1%. Generally, males outnumbered females in school enrolment in the northern regions and in Ghana as a whole, as well as other parts of sub-Saharan Africa (GSS, 2012). According to Dolphyne (1991), girls were more likely to stay home to care for their younger siblings while mothers engaged in productive activities to take care of the household. This situation often interferes with girls' education, which leads to higher dropout rates among females than males. This shows us that women from the northern regions present a unique case to this study, as they are less likely to be formally educated as compared to their male counterparts.

Secondly, the northern regions are the poorest regions in the country and this has been worsened by the outmigration of resourceful young people from the regions. The World Bank (2008) indicates that poverty within these regions is rife. Comparing the three northern regions with other regions in the country, they record the highest levels of poverty across the country. This situation is more likely to affect women than men as women bear the brunt of most farming and household activities. The migration of these women may or may not threaten the socio-economic development of these societies. This stems from the fact that these women may leave productive and reproductive activities back home to attend to productive activities in the cities. However, this situation may boost household family incomes through remittances while leaving reproductive activities unattended. There is also a loss of resourceful young women who may contribute to boosting the agricultural sector, which is the main source of livelihood for the northern regions. In the Northern and Upper West regions, the number of people engaged in agriculture related activities is more than 70% (GSS, 2012).

Thirdly, the northern regions in Ghana are made up of highly patriarchal societies whose cultural practices tend to discourage the independent migration of females from their communities. Yet, it is interesting to note that, this region records one of the highest numbers of female out-migration in the country. This presents an interesting paradoxical situation and thus, allows for further query into the changing dynamics of female migration from the north to the south of the country in the context of patriarchal oriented social norms and practices.

The fourth reason why women from the north represent an interesting case and why research around their care arrangements is important is that, research that has been conducted among northern migrant women tends to focus on those in the informal sector. Again, because of the low numbers of women from the northern regions who have obtained formal education, many find employment in the informal sector such as head load carrying¹, petty trading and care giving in middle-class homes in the South rather than the formal sector. This study expands beyond the dominant focus by including the experiences of northern migrant women who are employed in both formal and informal sectors. The desire to include formally educated migrant women from the north (who have been particularly overlooked) is a critical reason why this research on migration and caring practices is timely and necessary.

Most importantly, statistics from the recently held population census reveal that most people from the northern regions were more likely to be married than unmarried as compared to other southern cities like Accra. For instance, the northern region had the highest number of married population of 54.3% as compared to that of Greater Accra region of 46.3%. In this case, the perceived benefits from migration and getting a job in the city lead to the abandonment of marriages

¹ Head load carrying involves the “migration of young girls from rural areas especially from the northern regions to urban markets to serve as girl porters who carry goods on their heads for a negotiated fee” (Awumbila and Schandorf, 2008, p. 171).

and spousal separation. Statistics have indicated that most women who migrate from the north are more likely to be married than single. This shows that most women leave families behind after migrating. However, Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah (2009) stated that migrant women did not abandon marriages but rather most women alternated between work in the South and having some time off with their families back in the North. At the same time, remittances from migrant women are likely to compensate for their absence. Such alternating roles of migrant northern women as both care providers and breadwinners also provide further basis for investigating the dynamics involved in such dual role performance.

The basis of this research project stems from the desire to draw attention to these issues and make useful contributions to academic research, and possibly make recommendations that will address policies for the care sector within the local context. As we will see, the findings from this research reveal the challenges of migrant women who have to arrange and sustain caring practices across two different destinations (North and South). This may help to provide an initial solution in facilitating care provision within the confines of the country especially between the North and South. It is also important because more women from these regions are getting educated and will most likely transfer their skills where it is needed. Policy makers could use the results from this study to improve policies in managing the migration of women especially between the North and the South and the internal repercussions of their migration. Such management may consist in facilitating the migration of women across the country for purposes of work, education and other factors without compromising the survival of families left behind.

1.3 Goals, Objectives and Research Questions

The overall goal of this study is to understand the interrelationship between gender, migration and caring practices among migrant women from the northern regions in Accra. Specific objectives

of this study address (i) how migrant women (re)negotiate care provision with others (e.g. spouses, families and friends); (ii) how care is re-distributed among family members post migration; (iii) how these migrant women engage in caring practices differently post migration, i.e., across distance, economically, physically and psychologically; (iv) how migration influences gender relations in the household; (v) how migration influences family relations and communities as a whole.

The major analytical points based on my findings in this research are that with large streams of women, skilled and unskilled, migrating to ensure their families' survival and find better opportunities, care gaps appear at home. These gaps affect the caring practices, gender and family relations in most households and communities where women migrate from. In addition, the gendered socio-cultural expectations of women further complicate the decision making process for the migration of most women which in turn, has great physical, emotional and financial implications for caring within the household.

1.4 Data Collection and Analysis

Data on the migration patterns in Ghana from the 1980s to date (rural-urban migration, north-south migration and gender and migration) will be used. This is because this thesis will explore the nature of all migration trends from the period of the Structural Adjustment Programmes to the present. SAPs are important as this marked an event whereby subsidies from key sectors such as agriculture were removed and one in which the government was forced to retract its social safety nets for its people. This led to large movement of people to the south and urban centres (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

Documentary evidence will involve the review of relevant documents from the Ghana Statistical Service, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social

Protection. It will be supported by data from published statistics, national based newspapers, national population censuses, Ghana Living Standard Surveys and reports from international and national bodies such as the International Organization on Migration (IOM). These are important in providing useful insights about the gendered trends in rural-urban migration and caring practices of migrant women in Ghana. These findings will be used to assess the relevance of current theoretical debates and furthermore, suggest possible directions for future research and policy. Since the main focus is on migrants, data from research published by university based research institutions including the Centre for Migration Studies and the Center for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA) both in the University of Ghana will be studied. The former will help us understand gender and migration in Ghana while CEGENSA will help in addressing the same issues but with more focus on gender relations within the Ghanaian context.

My analysis involves transcription of ten qualitative in-depth interviews with northern migrant women to understand their lived experiences as they care for their families from Accra. Field notes are used to supplement transcribed data. The transcribed data are organized into themes and issues that are discussed based on the semi-structured interviews used. The organization of the analysis is based on the following: pre-migration stage, post-migration stages and the overall effects of migration on gender, family and community relations. The pre-migration stage mainly discusses migrants' plans and decisions regarding migration and care arrangements before migration. The post migration stage assesses changes in migrants' plans and care arrangements after migration. The final stage explores the perspectives of migrants regarding the impact of their migration on gender and family relations as it pertains to changes in roles.

1.5 Organization of Chapters

This thesis has eight chapters that are linked to the research objectives. Chapter one introduces the thesis by setting the context for the study and also discusses the key research issues, goals and

objectives of the study. The second chapter reviews the following theoretical approaches to migration; the history of gender and migration literature; contemporary gender inequality and migration approaches; and key issues in gender and migration. Chapter three gives a brief historical account of migration in sub-Saharan Africa, a concise socio-demographic profile of Ghana and an outline of the trends in north-south and rural-urban migration. Chapter four discusses the research methodology used in collecting data, the research community and research sample, techniques used and how data processing and analysis took place. Chapter five describes the pre-migration stage by explaining migrants' decisions and plans to migrate, feelings about their migration decision, care arrangements and main care providers in migrants' absence; expectations and compensation of caretakers. Chapter six assesses care provision after migration, change in migration plans, duration of stay in Accra and care provision, consequences of care provision on family and gender relations and challenges in providing care from a distance. Chapter seven details the effects of migration on gender and family relations, the decision-making process, migration relationships and living arrangements with extended families, effects of separation on family members roles the household and the support received by migrant from family. Finally, chapter eight concludes with the summary of findings and direction for further research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides the theoretical context within which the findings of this research are analyzed. It introduces the conceptual and theoretical approaches which frame this study of the caring practices among migrant women from the northern region of Ghana, as they attempt to provide and re-negotiate care for their left behind households after migration.

The literature on migration has various broad theoretical aspects including: political economy, neoclassical economics, household, networking, life course and structural-functionalists theories of migration (Dugbazah, 2007). According to Matsola (2001), the context within which these migration theories are presented provides a thorough understanding of the politico-economic nature of population movements. However, most traditional migration theories have been blamed for being gender insensitive in their analyses. Yet Chant (1998) and Harteveld (2004) have stated that there have been intensive collaborative efforts on the part of feminist scholars to incorporate gender into these migration theories.

In this chapter, I review migration theories operating at macro, meso and micro levels. I problematize the ability of these migration theories to explain gender. Secondly, I outline the history of gender and migration literature, this is followed by a discussion on contemporary gender inequalities and migration approaches and finally, key issues in gender and migration are described by giving special attention to issues on the feminization of migration, feminization of survival, feminization of labour migration, women`s empowerment, women, migration and care; and gender, migration and development. Finally, I detailed African feminism and its implication for Ghanaian women; and women and migration in Africa.

2.1 Theoretical Approaches to Migration and the Critique of Leaving Gender Out

Migration studies tend to operate on three levels: the micro, macro and intermediate also called the meso level. First, the micro level theories explain why and how individuals migrate. Such theories perceive individuals as rational thinkers in the migration process who assess the “push” and “pull” factors. For instance, the push factors for most migration at this level could be lack of human or women’s rights or oppression while the pull factors may include the availability of work in receiving communities. The assumption of rational assessment underscores the importance of freedom and autonomy for the decision-making individual but it is not a completely accurate assumption about decision-making. For example, women may be migrating based on their different life situations, as spouses and members of families (Grieco and Boyd, 1998).

Secondly, on the macro level, structural theories predominate. Political, economic, and cultural structures in origin and destination countries have a major impact on international migration. Broader political and economic links between sending and receiving societies set the stage for where people migrate from and where they go. Class, gender, race and other forms of social division also play a role on why and how specific migration movements take place (Raghuram and Kofman, 2004). Although, this level sets the limit for the possible and impossible within which people move and stay, it is at the level of more proximate surroundings that people evaluate their situations, define their purposes, and undertake their actions. In my study of internal migration in Ghana, I am examining individual migration in the context of socio-cultural and economic disparity between the North and South, which motivates women to migrate to the south.

Finally, theories at the meso level explain how migration decisions are taken in context of families in either sending or receiving areas. In this respect, my study explains how migrants make the decisions to migrate and also settle permanently in their destination. My study examines the

decision-making processes of individual migrants and their families' involvement in these processes. This thesis assesses how migrants are able to maintain contact with their left behind family members and motivation to stay or leave permanently (Faist, 2004).

These three levels of migration play a key role in assessing migration from three main stages. Grieco and Boyd (1998) look at the influence of gender at three main stages, the first which is the "Pre-migration stage", where economic, social and cultural factors encourage or discourage individuals from migrating. The second stage is the "Act of Migration" where national or international laws enable or prevent an individual from migrating. Last but not the least is the "Post-migration stage" which focuses on the social, cultural, or economic factors that encourage and discourage individuals from integrating into their host community.

Drawing from the body of work explained above, I focus on all the stages of migration, but, more specifically, I pay more attention to the "Pre-migration" and "Post migration" stages to help determine how gender, migration and caring practices differed in both stages. The objective of this thesis is to actually assess how caring practices are negotiated after migration; however, the pre-migration stage explains how caring practices actually took place before migration which is important in assessing post-migration consequences on care. The theories below illustrate how the explanations above work on different levels and how they deal with gender:

Push-pull: This is analyzed at the micro-level. Neo-classical theorists defined push-pull factors as a product of an individual's decision. Push-Pull approach to international migration defines why and how individuals migrate (Kofman et al, 2000). Here, the dynamics of decision-making is enmeshed within the individuals themselves in the process of migration. The pros and cons in the migration process are assessed at the liberty of the individual, who usually chooses to move to destination areas where he or she can increase the benefits of their decision to migrate. This does

not take into account social relations or ties of the individual (Kofman et al, 2000, p.22: Faist, 2004, p.31). Here, women are unable to make independent decisions to migrate due to the biased parental control towards women which is endemic in most patriarchal societies. Pessar (1999) describes that Dominican parents often fear their reputation might be destroyed due to their daughters sexual liberty when they migrate alone as against the economic benefits that they may gain from it (p.7). This approach is highly criticized because it considers migrants as a homogeneous group without assessing the differences in gender, ethnicity and class (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, p.3).

World System: This is assessed at the macro level where Grieco and Boyd (1998) explain that “world system locates international migration within the evolving world economic and political order”. This approach looks at migration from a structural perspective politically, economically, and culturally in both home and destination countries rather than examining the individualized decisions. They noted that this approach is also gender insensitive because it disregards the possible changes in the behavioral reactions of women and men in the migration process such as domestic as well as childcare roles. It has also been criticized for not making gender central in its analysis especially as the reasons for the international migration of men differ from those of women. Furthermore, economic reasons are not the only motivation for migration (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, p.4). Parrenas (2002) offers an example of a structural process of shaping migration, i.e. the exportation of care from the countries of the south to the countries of the north (p.53). The exportation of care is rather the outcome of a number of other structural processes (such as neo-liberalism, increasing rates of working women in the North etc.).

Integrative Approach: This is an example of a theory at the meso level. This came about because of the inability of push-pull and the structural factors to incorporate the social dimension within which migration occurs. It gives more emphasis to studying past and present migration flows between places of origin and destination areas (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, p.5). Faist (2004) explains

that unlike the micro and macro level, migrants establish social ties in their new communities and maintain relational links back at home (p.33). The integrative approach has been criticized for not paying attention to both men and women equally. For instance, it has been assumed that men are the dominant actors in international migration processes. The theory does this without assessing certain patriarchal and capitalist challenges that women might face in their communities (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, p.6).

Synthetic Approach: Grieco and Boyd (1988) advocate a multidisciplinary approach, which has been distilled into a single approach for the studies of international migration in industrialized economies. According to them, the synthetic approach recognizes three stages in the process of international migration which include the initiation stage (pre-migration), during migration and settlement (p.7). This theory has been largely criticized for being gender insensitive because it perceives men as having more economic power to migrate than women have. In addition, it pays more attention to labour migration and disregards other channels that women may use to migrate such as internal displacements because of wars and natural disasters, reuniting with family members among others (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, p.8).

2.2 History of Gender and Migration Literature

It is evident from the above that traditional migration approaches have not addressed gender fundamentally in their analyses. Much emphasis has been placed on individuals as a whole with little understanding of how gender shapes individual outcomes and decisions (Snyder and Tadesse, 1995). Although most migration theories claim to portray gender sensitivity in their analysis, most of them are presumably insensitive to gender by perceiving the man as the main initiator of migration (Brydon and Chant, 1992). In the 1960`s and the 1970`s, the bias against women`s migration abilities overlooking them as potential internal migrants was clear as the main assumption was that migrants were men who moved along with their families (wives and their children). For

example Dugbazah (2007) explained what Amin (1995) defined as the meaning of “migrants and their families” during the 60`s and 70`s simply meant “male migrants and their wives and children” (p.108).

In contrast, migration theory during the 1970`s and early 1980`s addressed narratives on male led migration and incorporated the experiences of women. This first stage in feminist scholarship on migration was considered as the “add and stir” approach. The second stage occurred during the 1980`s and early 1990`s, here; feminists questioned the significance of gender in distinguishing the experiences between women and men during migration because a key focus also concerned gender relations in migration. This period was called the gender and migration stage. According to Hondagneu-Sotelo (2000), this stage defined gender “as a constitutive element of migration” (p.117). This phase questioned critically the construction of gender and its composition within migration processes. Most research in this stage is geared towards the representation of gender within various “practices, identities and institutions” (p.117).

2.3 Contemporary Gender Inequality and Migration Approaches

Parrenas (2009) assesses gender inequalities within migration and how these inequalities have shaped class and race. This stage occurred after the `add and stir stage`. The perceived notion of women`s place within the domestic sphere exacerbates women`s position by relegating them to domestic work only. This deepens the inequalities that already existed in the sending countries and ensures a continuous cycle in the countries of destination as well. Gender inequalities are constitutive of the entire migration process. They pre-exist migration and determine who migrates and how. They are expressed during the migration process, and also impact gender relations after migration and in the process of settling. For instance, Parrenas addressed how women faced double inequalities in both sending and receiving countries and communities. Giving the example of

Filipino migrant women in Italy, Parrenas described how women are mistreated by their spouses in the Philippines and how they face similar problems after they migrate.

In spite of the notable inequalities that exist between male and female migrants, there are similar problems between women as well. For instance, Parrenas (2009) described the transfer of care from skilled women from the West entering the labour force to migrant women from developing countries to care for their children. Migrant women also have a responsibility to care for their children left behind in the Philippines; they do this by employing their relatives in the Philippines to care for their families. In sum, there is transfer of inequalities between migrant women and women from developed countries. Factors that led to the rise of migrant women from the global south performing low paid jobs in the global north include harsh economic policies such as the Structural Adjustment Programmes and cuts on funding for the public sector.

Major issues that are related to feminists' thoughts concerning gender as a social construction relate to patriarchy and gender relations. Inequalities within the migration process are deepened because patriarchal norms and beliefs give men rather than women the ability to control resources. In this case, men have higher chances of migrating than women. Changes in the relationships between women and men as well as household and productive roles occur after migration when men leave women behind; women end up depending on remittances sent by men (Kabeer, 1994). This situation leads to overreliance on men by women which widen the inequality gaps. In the case of this study on migrant women in Accra, I investigate how these migrant women are able to overcome these inequalities and sustain their reproductive roles while in another town.

2.4 Key Issues in Gender and Migration

The following key issues that have emerged from the study of gender in international migration are applicable to gender in internal migration as well.

2.4.1 Feminization of Migration

This is a global contemporary trend of migration which has seen the increasing numbers of independent women participating in the migration process for various purposes such as work, marriage, study and family (Sassen, 2000, p.506; Piper, 2005, p.5). According to Castles and Miller (1998), “women are playing an increasing part in all regions and in all types of migration” (p.37). This concept also regards women as primary migrants. With the increasing rate of feminization of migration, the issue of women`s roles and class have become critical in all processes of migration which include the pre-migration, the act of migrating and the post-migration phases (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, p.12). However, not until recently, the place of women in the migration process was seen as one of “dependent spouses” who followed their migrant husbands (Grieco and Boyd, 1998, p.3).

According to the International Migration Report (2013), women made up 48% of all international migrants across the globe in 2013. These numbers are not representative of all regions as the North recorded higher numbers of female migrants of 52% than the South that accounted for 43%. The wide disparity between the percentage of men and women in the South is largely because Asia witnessed an increase in male migration (3.1%) as compared to 1.9% for women. The numbers of migrant women between 1990 and 2013, increased considerably worldwide with the exception of Asia and Africa. For example, Latin America and the Caribbean saw a rise in the number of female migrants from 50% in 1990 to 52% in 2013. Women made up more than half of migrants in 101 countries as at 2013. Countries that had the largest share of migrant women included Latvia, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine whereas there were lower numbers in Asia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. Generally, the number of male migrants surpassed that of female migrants in Asia (58%) and Africa (54%). The increase in migrant women across the globe have been blamed on women`s longer life expectancy as compared to men (International Migration Report, 2013).

Piper (2005) documents that in Europe, North America and New Zealand, the factors underpinning women's migration were largely family related. On the other hand, in the European Union, more immigrant women enter as job seekers (p.4). In Africa, Surdakasa (1977) stated that women from the West African sub region have predominantly embarked on migration within their own countries. However, with the increase of trading activities among countries on the continent, women also started leaving for other countries, feminization of migration does not only apply in the international context, there are also increasing numbers of women migrating within the borders of Ghana seeking greener pastures in urban centres to support their families.

2.4.2 Feminization of Survival

Feminization of survival is a concept that refers to the overreliance on women by their families for their (family member's) needs due to globalisation, neoliberalism as well as patriarchy (Sassen, 2000). The feminization of survival has therefore shifted women from their homes into other countries to make a living for their families, leaving their children into the hands of their eldest child, husbands, mothers, brothers and other close relations. Hollos (1991) noted that migrant women who move to the urban centres are able to have financial control and both economic and sexual independence over their lives (p.852). For example, Sassen explains there are growing numbers of migrant women in sectors such as prostitution, labour migration and illegal trafficking who send remittances to serve as revenue for their home countries. Sassen (2000) stated that "these circuits could be considered as indicators of the (albeit partial) feminization of survival because it is increasingly on the backs of women that these forms of making a living, earning a profit and securing government revenue are realised" (p.506). Although, the international migration of women in Africa has gained a lot of attention with women sending remittances to help their families and children, internal migration of women has opened a new chapter of migration where women, both skilled and unskilled are supporting their families in the rural communities.

2.4.3 Feminization of Labour Migration

According to Adepoju (1994), because women will continue to perform productive and reproductive roles, each and every day, they are met with new competing demands that affect the little time and energy they have. Women all over the world are increasingly being engaged in the labour market and this is what has led to an increase in the feminization of labour migration. Both skilled and unskilled women are migrating to get employed in order to become economically independent to cater for their families. Parrenas (2001) stated that forces of globalisation and the feminization of wage labour and where women`s labour is increasingly in high demand are critical issues international labour migration. However, there is also an emerging literature (Kofman, Raghuram, 2015) that claims that feminization of labour migration refers not only to unskilled women taking increasingly the lead in migration, but also highly skilled women migrating for professional jobs and taking the lead in the migration of their families. These forces open up more opportunities for women at their destination communities. It also helps women overcome certain deep socio-cultural perceptions that are entrenched in their communities (Morokvasic and Catarino, 2010, p.67).

In spite of all the opportunities that women`s labour migration presents, a study by Topen (2006) indicated that migrant women from sub-Saharan Africa face many hurdles when trying to join the labour force in their host communities. They encounter issues of discrimination, which are firmly rooted in the gendered and racialized perception of their credentials as migrants. Such create obstacles for African women in the Canadian labour markets as they face hurdles due to the social construction of their roles. These issues are applicable within internal migration processes because Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2009) explained that skilled and unskilled migrants who embark on internal migration face similar issues.

For example, consider the head load carrying business in Ghana, where gender, race and class intersections are evident as women use more physical strength and older means of transportation to carry goods for their clients while men use mechanized means. This is because men have more economic power to purchase mechanized facilities to facilitate their work. These differences make men more preferred options for clients as compared to women. There is therefore discrimination within labour migration in both internal and international migration context.

2.4.4 Women`s Empowerment

The empowerment of women is one of the most important topics around the globe. According to Baglund (2013), “empowerment is a dynamic socio-political process that is affected by a range of activities and variables and gender relations is one of them” (p.29). The status of women in a society is increasingly been considered as a development indicator. The number three goal among all eight of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals is to promote gender equality and women`s empowerment. It has been recognized that key processes that are critical in achieving women`s empowerment include; making education more accessible to women, engagement of women in paid work and women`s participation and representation in politics and decision-making (Kabeer, 2005; Sinha et al, 2012).

In the words of Sen (2001): “The expansion of women`s capabilities not only enhances women`s own freedom and well-being, it also has many other effects on the lives of all. An enhancement of women`s active agency can contribute substantially to the lives of men as well as women, children as well as adults: many studies have demonstrated that the greater empowerment of women tends to reduce child neglect and mortality, to decrease fertility and overcrowding, and more generally to broaden social concern and care” (p.474). In spite of the several efforts to empower women by helping them to enter the labour force, men are not in the position to support these women with household activities. These challenges increase women`s burdens and often defy

the aim behind gender empowerment. With regard to migration, the out-migration of the man in the house may lead to shifts in responsibilities to the woman. The migration of men therefore influences productive and household responsibilities of the woman by increasing her daily tasks (Jolly, Bell, & Narayanaswamy, 2003).

Religion, neoliberalism and patriarchal beliefs in most societies have influenced women's positions in almost all sectors. Boserup (1970) argued that in Islamic societies women tended to be secluded and not actively engaged in economic activity outside of their home. For example, also most often, women's participation in trading activities has been viewed to be conflicting with Islam. However, more recent scholarship by Ali (2004) stated that the views of many Muslim conservatives concerning women's position at home is misleading. Muslim women have same rights as men to come out of their homes, just that, there are rules pertaining to her physical appearance in public. This perception undermines the abilities of Muslim women. Men have over the years frowned on female dominated occupations in all sectors and this leads to discrimination of women's roles. Although, polygamy has been viewed as having negative effects on women, Boserup (1989) stated that it gives power to women in most traditional settings. Women are not bound to feeding their husbands every day because they take turns to cook. In such Muslim families, women depend on men for economic sustenance. Where neoliberalism comes into play is that despite relative pressure by religion and tradition to keep the women close to home, the disappearance of means of livelihood, as a result of structural adjustment and other neo-liberal measures, families are deciding to send women to Accra to make a living and send money back, so that they can all survive. An additional reason why families let women go for work is because the new kinds of work require women in low-paid positions.

2.4.5 Gender, Migration and Development

In the development literature, the relationship between gender and migration has been seen to produce positive outcomes for development. Historically, migration in Africa took various forms under the pre-colonial era, colonial and post-colonial period where reasons for migration cut across war-fares, unfavourable climatic conditions, politics, and poverty (Adepoju, 1995). Adepoju et al (2008) focused on international migration and national development of one sub-Saharan African country where they explained that remittances provide support to most households across the globe and it has even surpassed development aid that is given to most developing countries. According to the Ghana Living Standard Survey (2002), international remittances have contributed immensely to diversifying risks of most households with migrants than non-migrant households especially from developed countries. However, it was important to note the important contribution internal remittances play in assisting most rural households in Ghana.

According to Levitt (1998), social remittances play a key role in transforming origin communities. Levitt defined social remittances as “the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending- country communities” (p.927). He categorizes the three main importance of these remittances by stating that first, they help in the formation of transnational communities, bring to light social perspectives on migration and finally, they support the development of communities. For instance, monies sent by migrants impact the socio-economic patterns of communities. Migrants are also able to influence negative cultures such as patriarchy and also they question traditional beliefs in their communities that do not promote development.

Migrants are major contributors to the economies of both sending and destination societies. Contributions through remittances help most households and it remains the most important source of income for most households. (Jolly et al, 2003). Most importantly, migration is used both as a

strategy to escape poverty and create development by origin countries, on one hand, and on the other hand, it is seen as causing the loss of essential human resources and skills that could boost development in origin communities. In this regard, it is clear that the migration of women in sub-Saharan Africa has great consequences on all aspects of development. Women in sub-Saharan Africa are seen as the main caretakers and nurturers of children, they also contribute immensely to the socio-economic development of their societies. Women perform multitasking roles, which leads to development for all parts of society.

2.4.6 Women, Care and Migration

With the increasing number of women joining the labour force, women find themselves juggling the double roles of productive and reproductive work. For most developed countries, there is insufficient support on the part of the state to facilitate women's involvement in the workforce (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997). This situation leads to care deficits. Care deficits are therefore the gaps left in most industrializing countries of the global North where more women and men have joined the public sphere and these have led to the neglect of care work in the private sphere (Dobrowolsky and Tastsoglou, 2006, p.17-21). According to Kofman and Raghuram (2012), women have always been associated with care giving. With high numbers of women participating in the labor markets, there is a huge demand of women for jobs in feminine occupations such as domestic work and care giving in both formal and informal sectors. Migrant women are those filling in the gaps to provide domestic care for women who are employed in the wage markets. The relationship between women, migration and care is very critical because there cannot be migration without care, especially for migrant women who leave their children behind and vice versa, for women employed in the labour markets.

Most authors (Parrenas 2000; Parrenas 2002; Gamburd 2000; Devasahayam and Rahman 2011) have pointed that the gender ideology of culture on the expectations of mothers as `nurturers` plays

a major factor in care provision. According to Gamburd (2000), in South Asia, both men and women indisputably believe that mothering and reproduction roles are inherent features of women and have always considered them as solely the responsibility of women. This puts extra burden on women to satisfy the needs of their families in both origin and destination places after migration. In this context, Parrenas (2000) believes that there should be a shift in gender ideology where fathers can also take great responsibility in bridging emotional gaps left by migrant mothers by providing care adequately, most children will not be emotionally insecure (p. 148).

In the case of Ghana, Wong (2014) explains that the neoliberal policies such as the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) in Ghana led to gender inequalities, which led to the lessened contribution of men to the household. More men were retrenched from the public sector work and since men were the breadwinners of their households, this left financial hardships in most homes. Women started responding to this by migrating to work and fill the financial gaps at home. Within transnational households, Coe (2011) explains that gradually migrant parents have replaced emotional care with material care. In the Ghanaian scenario, the two caring practices (financial and emotional care) have been equated to each other. Parents tend to think that by sending money to caregivers to take care of their children, they will be able to rationalize the distance and emotional gaps left, Coe (2011) and Parrenas (2001) state that it is an act of commodification of love on the part of mothers, and parents as a whole.

Care giving is important to development although it is often overlooked as a woman`s activity. Literature on development studies has failed to look at the relationship between care and development. Caring practices have great implications to development as they contribute to the growth and sustenance of both developed and developing nations by nurturing their labour force and ensuring that their citizenry are safe, healthy and sound. It is particularly important due to the high numbers of women combining motherhood and paid wage labour, ageing population and lack of public care services in most countries. Migrant women undertake caring practices in both origin

and host communities because they share work and family commitments. Most migrant women work as care givers in most developed countries; on the other hand, they also have a responsibility for caring for their left behind families. This phenomenon shows the importance of care is to the labour markets and manpower of both developed and developing economies across the world.

2.4.7 Key Insights on Gender and Migration in Africa

Over the years, women have been seen as dependents in the migratory process. This is due to the socio-cultural and political perspective on the place of the woman. Most migration research tends to focus on men as the main initiators of the migratory process leaving women to be the `followers`. Whereas migration is considered as only the movement of people by most researchers (Anarfi, 1982; Sabot, 1988) without any association with gender, Potts (2000) explains that migration is gendered and remains different for women and men because the motivation ,the process and the outcomes of migration differs for the two groups. According to Brydon (1997), analyzing migration with a gender lens helps us to identify the distinction in the opportunities, constraints and outcomes which migration presents for women and men separately.

Migration of women in sub-Saharan Africa is a major contemporary issue. Both young and old women are engaged in various migration processes within and across Africa. This mostly takes the form of interregional and intraregional dimensions of migration. Migration within the national context consists of circular movements within particular countries such as rural-urban migration. However, internationally, the high demand of female labour has led to the massive increase of women across the African continent. This is coupled with the need for women to contribute to household resources and become economically independent (Jamie, 2013). Women have increasingly moved solely not only as a result of family reunification but also in a way for them to fulfill their economic obligations for themselves and their left behind families (Adepoju, 2004). Although the World Bank (2005) stressed that the migration of women helps women to support

their households, to be educated, to contribute significantly to the workforce, and to employment opportunities, Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) explain that most women engage in low paid and less regarded jobs. This is attributed to the fact that there are fewer opportunities of employment in the cities for both men and women; however, women find themselves in more vulnerable conditions.

2.4.8 Key Insights on African feminism and its application to the Ghanaian Context

African feminism addresses the specific localized context within which African women live, which gives a deeper focus and defines the research study. African feminists go a long way to fill the gap left by Black feminists who did not address the uniqueness of the situation of black African women who lived in Africa (Ardayfio-Schandorf and Kwafo-Akoto, 1990). For example, issues that aimed specifically towards the socio-cultural and economic context of African women (Mama, 1992). Stanley (1990) defined Black feminism as a theory, which allows black women to understand how they interact with the social world from their distinct perspectives. According to Tsikata et al (2001), African feminism differs from the other types of feministic theories such as black feminism because it gives much attention to issues related to gender and feminism in Africa specifically.

From the 1980s onwards, African feminist scholars set up different goals, which were contrary to the ideals of black feminists. Acknowledging the works of earlier writers such as Nawal el Saadawi (1980) and Chikwenye Ogunyemi and also later writers such as Patricia Mcfadden, Ifi Amadiume and Ruth Meena (1992), they worked on addressing feminism using different approaches and limiting it to the challenges of African women both locally and globally. Based on the above background of African feminism, it is made up of characteristics, which remain a significant aspect of Ghanaian culture. Mikell (1997) states that culture is explored and used positively by most African women to solve most of the daily issues that they and their societies

encounter. Culture plays a significant way of shaping women`s urgency to find ways of doing things within their own local context. For instance, issues of health, infrastructure, and the rise of female-headed households, unemployment, and the impact of structural adjustment programs have been observed by local rural women and they are taking gradual steps to deal with these situations (Awumbila, 2001; Ameyibor, 1993).

Although, western feminism gives more focus on individual freedoms, African feminism is concerned about the freedom of African women from cultures that serve as source of oppression to women (Touwen, 1996). One important issue for most African women is the homogenization of all African women as having the same problems without paying particular attention to their differences (Parpart, 1989). According to Tsikata (2001), in spite of the negative picture that is painted about African women, there are different categories of African women who are socially and politically powerful such as Queen mothers². African feminism therefore plays a key role in recognizing the different cultures and values of women on the continent.

Ampofo (2010) recognized the critical gaps that have sidelined and marginalized women. She stated that the huge economic dependence of African states on the West have led to the adoption of structural policies that have disregarded the needs of women in society. In the words of Ampofo (2010), “The economic dependence of our states have encouraged them to neglect the needs of women, who are invariably, perceived as having an inelastic supply of emotional and physical energy to deal with the physical demand placed on many of us” (p.31). This highlights the insensitive nature of past policies on women and how these have had repercussions on women to date.

² According to Steegstra (2009), queen mothers are “female political leaders whose role complements that of male rulers or chiefs” (p.106). They give advice to community heads and help in the selection and dismissal of chiefs in their communities.

In the case of Ghana, feminists' activities are multiple and varied. Mikell (1995) observed the activities of the National Council of Women and Development (1975-1986), cooperatives of rural women and women's economic groups, the 31st December movement which was spearheaded by the wife of the former president, Jerry John Rawlings, Nana Konadu Agyemang Rawlings and also different occasions of family related court cases in Ghana which addresses the position of women in law and its application. Tsikata (2001) explained that in spite of all these efforts, there is lack of harmonisation and financial commitment towards these activities. The feminists' movement in Ghana is yet to achieve great recognition. According to Brown and Kerr (1997), there have been several challenges to achieving gender equality in Ghana including the fact that women are unable to participate fully and effectively in the economy.

Gender inequalities still exist in almost all spheres of the Ghanaian society. For instance, the customary land tenure systems limits women's access to lands in Ghana. Quisumbing et al (2001) stated that women's land rights are weaker as compared to that of men. Although women can utilize lands temporarily, they cannot own lands. However, women contribute significantly to food security by playing key roles in the agricultural sectors on a subsistence level through planting, harvesting and distribution activities. The presence of women in top-managerial, professional and technical positions is limited as women are often found in the service sectors. For instance, more women are found in the wholesale and retail service sectors as compared to specialized sectors such as tourism and infrastructural development (Ghana Statistical Service, 2009). According to Wrigley Asante (2013), the inequalities in these sectors are due to the fact women have fewer skills, training and education required for jobs at the higher level. In sum, Chant (2007) explained that women continue to face many hurdles in most sectors of the economy such as information and technology, financial sectors and are still grappling with the impacts of neoliberal policies. Women in Ghana, just like other countries in the developing world have not yet achieved equality with men.

The continent and sub-Saharan Africa for that matter rank poorly on the globe as far as gender disparity is concerned.

Overall, the inclusion of gender in the migration discourse has evolved over different decades. Feminist scholars have helped to push women`s experiences in migration since the 1970s. Although, gender inequalities are still prevalent in the migration process, women in Ghana are beginning to surmount all obstacles and establish their presence within the migration process. It is important to challenge women`s position adequately and address the gaps in both migration and feminist scholarship. It is also necessary to understand internal migration and how it applies to the larger context of international migration. The next chapter details a country profile of Ghana and shows us the historical trend of gender and internal migration; and the relevance of it occurrence in Ghana.

CHAPTER 3: GHANA: A COUNTRY PROFILE WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

This chapter gives a brief historical context to migration in sub-Saharan Africa. It describes the socio-demographic profile of Ghana and the two main migration trends in Ghana: north-south migration and rural-urban migration. It finally discusses gender and internal migration in Ghana.

3.1 Brief History of Migration in sub-Saharan West Africa

Migration in Africa took various forms during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. The reasons for migration in these periods cut across issues of warfare, unfavourable climatic conditions, politics, and poverty among others (Adepoju, 1995). However, the enduring effects of colonization and the slave trade are recognized as the most important forces underlining the current patterns of migration observed in most of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Particularly, the need to expand the world capitalist system required more resources in terms of labour and land. Shortages of resources across the world led to the reliance on the resources and labour of the African continent through the slave trade. For instance, in the words of Gutkind and Wallerstein (1976), “the slave trade served as the cutting edge of the peripheralization of Africa in the period 1750-1900” (p.34). It is interesting to note that there was a lot of forced migration during the slave trade because labour and resources were transferred and sent from one place to the other.

Adepoju (2003) explains that migration forms a key aspect of the lives of people in West Africa. People have migrated for several reasons and amongst these factors are poverty, increase in population, economic problems, environmental disasters and the rising effects of economic recovery programmes. Similarly, these issues have contributed to the regional migration movement. Most of the migrants within the West African sub-region have historically included seasonal migrants, temporary workers, refugees and professionals in different fields (p.37). Population

movements in West Africa have been traced back to trade relations between countries. Trade was a dominant and well-established economic activity between countries even before the advent of colonialism. The trans-Saharan caravan routes have been traced as evidence for the trade relations that existed between West Africa and North Africa (Kasanga and Avis, 1988). Before colonization in SSA, there existed strong trade relations between West African countries where they participated in the exchange of kola nuts, sheep, cattle, ivory and hides of wild animals. Due to the absence of strict border controls during the pre-colonial era, both farmers, female traders and farm labourers migrated in search for better land for shifting cultivation practices and for more economic prosperity in trade respectively (Adepoju, 1995: (Mwabu & Thorbecke, 2001).

According to Adepoju (2003), Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire served as the major transit routes for migration in West Africa. The success in the oil sector in Nigeria contributed to huge population inflows to the country in the early 1970s. Ghana has also witnessed lots of return migration since the 2000s due to better economic conditions and opportunities. Anarfi (1989) notes that migration was one of the major demographic characteristic of sub-Saharan Africa until recently. Another distinguishing factor of African migration is the existence of the same ethnic groups belonging between the borders of West African countries for instance the Ewe of Ghana and Togo, Mende-speaking people, Vais, Kroos of Liberia and Sierra Leone and the Yoruba of Nigeria and Benin (Adepoju, 1998, p.390). This therefore facilitated the movement of people with the same ethnic affiliations from one country to the other.

3.2 The Political Economy of Ghana

Present day Ghana was formerly known as the Gold Coast. The pre-colonial Gold Coast that existed prior to 1482 was characterized by a rural economy with sparsely populated societies. Land was left to fallow through rotational cycles and it was characterized by vast acres of `virgin` forests

and cultivated soil. There was an abundance of cultivable land and labour available to till it. (Hopkins 1973; Austin 2008a). The agricultural products grown were corn, cassava and vegetables, although, there was growing interest in citrus fruits and bananas for local use and export (Bourret, 1960, p.1). Typical of most African societies during the pre-colonial times, people of the Gold Coast earned a living through small-scale subsistence enterprises, which depended on family and slave labour, and simple yet effective tools for household consumption (Martin and O`Meara, 1995). There also existed primitive forms of inland transportation, corporate system of land ownership and structures of collectivism, which limited individual acquisition of property (Kimble, 1963, p.3). According to Kimble (1963), economic activities already existed before the coming of the Europeans, which antedates all written records.

In addition to the subsistence form of farming, there was an already established exchange economy in West Africa which antedated all written records which the Carthaginians termed as `silent trade`. It was a barter system of trade and it was recorded that “They are very wary people in their bargaining and will not lose one sparkle of gold of any value. They used weights and measures and are very circumspect in occupying the same.” Gold Coast Africans were already experienced traders, which made them somewhat close to establishing a monetary system (p.3). Martin and O`Meara (1995) chronicle that Ghana enjoyed a significant position which allowed its rulers to be middlemen and controlled the lucrative trans-Saharan trade in salt, gold, ivory, copper and slaves. The Gold Coast maximized their profits from taxation from networks of short- and middle-distance trade routes, which extended throughout West Africa (p.82).

The people of the Gold Coast were primarily migrant settlers from all over West Africa prior to the coming of the Portuguese. The end of the fifteenth century was seen as a time of great migration within the Gold Coast. According to Ward (1966), the Portuguese arrived at the time when the people who occupied the land of the Gold Coast were just settling and others were still

arriving from their origin communities. Therefore, the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century marked the beginning of the history of the Gold Coast (p.62-63). It was trade, therefore, economic reasons that first brought the Europeans to the Guinea coast. The Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, and the Brandenburgers came one after the other in search of gold and slaves (Kimble, 1963). This implies that the population of the Gold Coast was because of massive migration movements to the region.

Colonialism began in the Gold Coast in 1471. While the Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in the Gold Coast, because the region was resource-rich and had great economic importance, the realization of this potential by the colonialists led to excessive exploitation by others as well. The English arrived on the coast around 1500 and started trading in gold, ivory and pepper in spite of the Portuguese protests against them (Ward, 1996, p. 72-73). These were followed by the Dutch, Swedes, Danes, French and the Germans who came to have a share of the wealth of the coast. The English were unable to establish themselves in the coast for many years because of domestic challenges in England (Ward, 1966, p.81). The English re-established their authority after their diversion into slave trade in 1662 which brought them enormous profit. The British company called Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa supplied 3,000 slaves to the West Indies and many forts and lodges were built. This booming trade led to the expansion of the slave market in the West Indies and North America. Although the name Gold Coast was introduced by the Portuguese due to the gold resources in the area, Ward (1966) argues that after the eighteenth century, it would have been more appropriate to call the area Slave Coast. It was estimated that 140,000 to 160,000 slaves were sent to the West Indies and North America in the 1680s. Also, each year the British sent 4,800 slaves to Spanish America (Ward, 1966). Interestingly, the slaves were supplied and controlled by African people, Ga and Fante middlemen, who sent their agents inland to buy slaves from wholesale dealers. All the European posts were trading centres where guns,

cloth, spirits and miscellaneous fancy goods, selling of gold, ivory, pepper and above all slaves were done (Ward, 1996, p.88). The British gained official control of the Gold Coast and with the decline in and later abolishing of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, attention was focused on other forms of economic exploitation.

The most significant economic development became the rapid growth in small-scale cocoa production (Kimble, 1963, p.33). It was first introduced into the Gold Coast by Tetteh Quarshie in 1897 who brought the seedlings from Fernando Po and San Thome. Cocoa grew well in the Gold Coast and the first export was made in 1891 which launched the beginning of rapid expansion and profitability globally. By 1935, the Gold Coast was a major supplier of half of the world's cocoa. Owing to the subsistence nature of its cultivation, labour was hired from the north to help in expanding the industry by carrying the cocoa to the markets. By 1935, cocoa cultivation had captured 950,000 acres of land (Ward, 1966). Food crop farming which was more traditional was abandoned and more focus was given to export production. The Gold Coast started depending on imports of processed food such as rice and tinned fish and meat.

Governor Guggisberg in the 1920s was able to fund the establishment of the country's best hospital and school, as well as a new harbour and more railways and roads, from customs proceeds that had been fuelled by the colony's increasing exports of cocoa beans. However, the overreliance on cocoa cultivation led to the massive destruction of forests. In the course of time, most cocoa farms started dying out due to the spread of cocoa pod disease. Cocoa was therefore classified as the industry which affects the poor man's purse and gold is seen as belonging to the big European companies (Ward, 1966). According to Ward (1966), poor farmers were asked to destroy all their cocoa trees, which were affected by the swollen shoot disease. This situation crippled the cocoa industry in Ghana, thereby lowering the economic growth of the Gold Coast (p.326-327).

Until today, agriculture is the mainstay of the people in Ghana. Most farmers practice subsistence farming and small-scale farming. Due to the different climatic zones in the country, both the southern and northern sectors produce a variety of crops. The north is known for the production of millet, sorghum, yam, maize, rice and guinea corn. The southern sector has longer growing seasons and more fertile soils and supports the growth of cash crops and more crops. These include coffee, rubber, oil palm, cola nuts and timber. Cocoa is the main cash crop grown in Ghana since the early part of the twentieth century (Rothchild, 1991). According to Awumbila (1994), the vast differences between the north and south with regard to food production, mineral resources and economic activities led to the concentration of investment in the South rather than the North.

3.3 Brief Socio-demographic Profile of Ghana

Ghana is an ethnically diverse country and it is important to have knowledge about its background in order to understand the core objectives of this thesis. Ghana is a country located in West Africa and is bounded by three Francophone countries. Cote d'Ivoire is found on the Western side, Togo is found on the East, Burkina Faso is found on the North and the Atlantic Ocean is found on the South. Ghana occupies a landmass area of 238,537 square kilometres. Ghana's agro-ecological zones are mainly composed of both tropical and savannah regions. The country has two climatic zones, one is dominant in the southern part of the country, it is comprised of a warm humid equatorial climate, and the northern sector is made up of a hot sahelian savannah climate. The southern sector of the country has heavy vegetation, rain forests and the north is made up of savannah grassland (Awumbila, 1994). According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2010), Ghana's population is 24,658,823 million people with Ashanti region being the most populated region with a population of 4,780,280 representing 19.4% of the total population. Greater Accra is the second most populated region with a population of 4,010,054 which constitutes 16.3% of Ghana's population. The table below shows the percentage share of population distribution in each region.

Data on the population movements within Ghana showed that 19% of Ghana's population live in regions other than their regions of origin while 1.3% were born outside the country. On a more regional level, the three main northern regions recorded the highest number of indigenes while the Greater Accra region and the Ashanti region recorded lowest number of indigenes. These numbers are attributed to the fact that there is a huge migration stream from the North to the South making it less likely for one to be identified with a particular region. The table below shows the figures relating to internal migration and the vast difference between the place of birth for the Northern and Southern residents.

Table 1. Percentage of Ghanaians residing in their Regions of Birth

Regions	Place of birth (indigenes)
Upper East	88.6%
Northern	86.1%
Upper West	82.9%
Greater Accra	46.4%
Ashanti	58.0%

(Ghana Statistical Service, 2012)

The table above indicates that the Northern regions have the largest number of people as high as 88.6% being born in the North and are also staying in the North. This indicates that there are a few people migrating to the northern regions, Greater Accra which has only 46.4% of its people been born there and are living there. This means that over 50% of people residing in Accra are not actually from Accra. The region where the study took place, the Greater Accra region, is the most urbanized regions among the ten regions in Ghana. It records as high as 90.5% of the urban population in the country as compared to the northern regions with the Upper West region recording as low as 16.3%. The highly industrialized regions of Greater Accra and Ashanti regions account for the high population that is recorded there mostly due to migration (GSS, 2012).

According to the Ghana population census (2010), Ghana is made up of a predominantly youthful population with a large number of children aged less than 15 years and a small proportion of elderly aged more than 65 years. Almost all Ghanaians have a religious affiliation. For instance, 71.2% of the Ghanaian population are Christians, 17.6% are Muslims, 5.2% are traditionalists and the remaining 5.3% are not affiliated to any religion. Male-headed households dominate female-headed households. For instance, males as compared to 34.7% by females head 65.3% of households. However, it is interesting to note that the proportion of male-headed households has decreased from 71.4% in 1970 to 65.3 percent in 2010. This also implies that for a highly patriarchal society such as Ghana, there exist a significant percentage of female-headed households. It was interesting to note that, as compared to the Greater Accra region, the Northern region has a higher number of married population, 54.3% as compared with the Greater Accra region that recorded 46.3%. These figures are necessary in reflecting on the findings of this study. Ghana is a multi-culturally diverse country with the most dominant ethnic group been the Akan with 47.5% of the population.

About 74.1% of the population is literate; however, only 67.1% of the population can read and write English. The literacy rate among males is 80.2% compared with females of 68.5%. In all, the three northern regions had the lowest percentage of its population (less than 50%) more than 11 years and older being literate. A large percentage (54.2) of those five years and above are economically active (employed and unemployed) while 45.8% are not economically active. Economically active individuals are those people employed, seeking or available to work. The proportion of males who are economically active (54.7%) is slightly higher than females (53.7%). On the other hand, females were more likely to be unemployed (5.5%) than males (4.6%). The dominant occupation for most Ghanaians is agriculture, fishery and the forestry sectors. There are quite a significant number of women engaged in the sales and services sector. The three northern

regions have more of its population engaged in agriculture while the Greater Accra region has more of its population engaged in sales and service work. For example, higher proportions of the economically active population in the Greater Accra region are engaged in wholesale and retail trade (31.6%), 14.8% in manufacturing, 9.1% in accommodation and food service activities with only 5.2% in agricultural activities (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012).

3.4 North-South and Rural-Urban Migration

Internal migration in Ghana is a characteristic feature of migration in Ghana as a result of employment seeking, trading, marriage, and education among many other factors. These motivations are predominantly contextualized within the rural-urban divide where large streams of rural folks move towards the urban centres to look for better opportunities. In the case of Ghana, the north-south divide has been a major expression of the rural-urban historical and contemporary internal migration. Migration within Ghana dates back from the periods before colonization. Trading activities with the West African regions stimulated a lot of migration between Ghana and its neighbouring territories. Therefore, rapid flow of migration during this period resulted from trading activities during the period of colonization in Ghana (Wolfenson, 1958; Surdakasa, 1974-75). Migration within Ghana gained momentum during the latter part of the 19th century as a result of the labour migration of cash crop farmers. These farmers migrated to other regions of Ghana to grow cash crops such as oil palm (Anarfi et al, 2003. p.13). Therefore, the push factors of migration were largely economic during this period.

Internal migration in Ghana is thereby, an old phenomenon but one that has intensified and increased over the past years. This is demonstrated in the 1960 census in Ghana which showed that Ghanaians living outside the regions of their birth constituted about eighth of the total population as compared to those living in their birth regions. This was because Ghana witnessed massive

urbanization during this period where most rural folks started migrating to urban centres as a result of various factors (Caldwell, 1968, p.362). For instance, during the 1960s, the urban population in Ghana was only 23%. However, this number is now more than 35% (Anarfi et al, 2003. p.15). This demonstrates that the history of internal migration in Ghana is a result of the spatial inequalities between regions and therefore induced the movement of people out of their regions to seek greener pastures elsewhere.

Migration in Ghana is largely urbanized with a greater proportion of rural folks moving into cities for greener pastures. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2000), internal migrants make up the highest component of migrants in Ghana because 80% of all migrants stay within Ghana. Among these internal migrants, the number of urban migrants makes up the largest share as compared with other forms of internal migration in Ghana. This shows that migration within Ghana has been increasing greatly and has gained dominance in all aspects of life of Ghanaians. Also, the urban areas are the best destination for more than 50% of migrants in Ghana as a result of the economic advantage they possess as compared with rural areas. Ackah and Medvedev (2012) stated that the southern sectors of Ghana which include the Greater Accra, Central, Eastern, Western, Volta and Ashanti regions are the main attractions for most migrants in Ghana with the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions holding a greater percentage of migrants. It is evident that the improvement of road networks and communication systems across the country has facilitated rural-urban migration (Twumasi-Ankrah, 1995, p.16). This demonstrates that the push factors of migration for most people from the rural areas is poverty, unemployment, lack of access to basic social amenities and the pull factors to the urban centres are the opportunities that the rural areas do not offer them. In other words, Caldwell (1969) states that the increasing nature of rural-urban migration in Ghana is as a result of the `pull` from the unexpected and unstable nature of rural living and the `pull` of westernization and brighter prospects in urban areas.

During the pre-colonial times in Ghana, there were only few migration movements from the North to the South of Ghana. Most people in the North only migrated for war and trading reasons. From the 18th and 19th century, large stream of migration from the North began with voluntary movements mostly as a result of conflicts and instability arising from tensions among three major ethnic groups which are the Gonja, Dagomba and Ashanti. Not only were the voluntary movements a result of negative factors, some resulted from the attractive job opportunities found by some northern indigenes in the cocoa sector at the south. During the period of colonization, the British took over the then Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. This event marked a swift change in the nature of migration in the North from 1906 to 1927 (Lentz, 2006, p. 139-142; Van der Geest, 2011).

Moreover, the northern territory in Ghana provided a large pool of cheap labour to the colonial rulers. Between 1919 and 1924, a large number of people from the north were recruited to work in the mines and also work as general labourers in the Southern regions of Ghana. The northern territories were seen as poorer areas of low economic activities, and thereby generated a lot of labour for the cocoa growing areas in the South since the 20th century as well (Abdulai, 1999). Migration movements changed from being voluntary to being forced as the British led large labour recruitment for the construction of roads and railways and also the extraction of minerals from mining centres in the South (Van der Geest, 2011). Many researchers such as Tufeyru (2014), Anarfi et al (2003) and Kwankye et al (2007) have attributed such migration trends to past colonial policies which created wide development inequalities between the North and South in Ghana. The post-independence era also increased movements from the North to the South as the Ghanaian government was faced with harsh economic problems. Baglund (2013) explains the division between the north and south in Ghana has had serious impacts on people`s lives today. For instance, politically, all administrative structures and state resources are located in the south and this intensifies the economic hardships of the north over the south. Awumbila (2006) states that northern

savannah regions which is made up of the Northern, Upper East and Upper West Region are among the poorest regions in Ghana where 69 – 88 % of the poor population live (Awumbila 2006, p.150).

In all, 88% of migrants within Ghana live in the southern sectors, while the northern sector only accounts for 5% of internal migrants. The population in both the northern and southern sectors of Ghana is proportional to the number of internal migrants they receive. For instance, 70% of Ghana's population live in the southern sector while the remaining live in the northern Sector (p.4). This demonstrates that internal migration in Ghana goes beyond the rural-urban migration stream. North-south migration in Ghana usually involves huge number of the youth moving into the cities in the South. On the other hand, Caldwell (1968) explains that most internal migrants are not necessarily from the Northern sectors of Ghana but rather from more wealthier regions such as the Ashanti, Greater Accra, Eastern and Central regions. It is estimated that northern migrants make up only 10% of all internal migrants. Reasons that have been associated with this trend are because, most often, migrants consider the distance and cost of travel as an essential component in their migration plans and decisions. These are very important determinants, and most often represent great obstacles to migrants in Ghana.

3.5 Gender Relations in Ghana

In Ghana like many other sub-Saharan African countries, colonial, cultural and traditional practices have influenced gender relations widening gender gaps in all spheres of life. At all historical junctures, women in Ghana have contributed immensely towards Ghana's socio-economic and political life. From the period of independence to date, women have contributed resources and actively articulated their concerns and issues within both their households and in the public arena (The women's manifesto for Ghana, 2008). The evolution of women's roles over time have been remarkable. For instance, the transformation of gender relations within the Ghanaian

community can be viewed from three main stages: the pre-colonial, colonial and contemporary times (Dugbazah, 2007).

During the pre-colonial era, women's contributions in the Ghanaian society were highly regarded. Customary laws that were practiced during this period gave women the liberty to inherit and possess property. In their matrimonial homes, women could maintain their individual identities without having to take on their spouses' identities. Within traditional communities, women played active roles in political institutions by contributing to the selection and dismissal of traditional rulers. Women played major roles as Queen-mothers who counseled chiefs and gave directions on the way forward for their communities (Agbodeka, 1992). The division of labour during this period varied from one community to the other; however, the contribution of both women and men were given equal status (Boateng, 1993). Although, women were seen to have a relatively higher status, traditional structures that existed in the societies did not encourage them to fully explore their potentials (Manuh, 1992). Nevertheless, women maintained some level of control in the absence of competition from their male counterparts (Agbodeka, 1992). Women therefore had a high social status during this period.

Colonialism contributed immensely to changes in gender relations in Ghana. Bortei-Doku (1991) argues that colonialism negatively affected the previously high status that women had during the pre-colonial era. It decreased women's ability to make useful contributions to society. Although some form of patriarchal ideology existed in the Ghanaian communities, it became highly entrenched during colonialism together with the introduction of capitalist ideology (Aidoo, 1993). For example, the British introduced their laws, culture and patriarchal systems which transformed the lives of Ghanaian women. The British laws did not recognize customary laws that were practiced during the pre-colonial era. For instance, women who previously maintained their separate identities started merging their identities with their husbands which was characteristic of

the British culture. Men were preferred by the British during trade activities and this gave them a superior power to make more decisions as compared to women. Although men and women worked, men`s work was given higher recognition while women`s work was often overlooked. These activities led to gender inequalities in decision making within the domestic and socio-economic spheres (Ameyibor, 1993). These inequalities were endemic within the agricultural sector where the interests of the British colonial rulers in the cash crop sector forced more men to partake in cash crop farming. Large scale cash crop farms were established which employed only men. Food crop farming, a less profitable venture, was therefore left into the hands of women (Kludze, 1988).

All these activities led to the marginalization of women in productive sectors of the economy. Most cash crop farming was done in the fertile regions and men migrated to these regions to work leaving their wives behind. Women were left to work in the rural areas with few productive activities. This situation interrupted the pre-colonial structure that accorded high status to women by increasing women`s dependency on men (Ameyibor, 1993). Women who decided to migrate to make a living elsewhere were confined to only domestic work. The education sector introduced by the British concentrated more in educating males than females (Anquandah, 1982). Men therefore took on jobs that were created by the British and the few women who were educated were mainly employed as domestic home keepers and maid servants. Education during the colonial period established both upward and downward social mobility for both genders (Mikell, 1989). In spite of all the shortfalls of colonialism on gender relations in Ghana, it played a significant role in eliminating certain socio-cultural practices such as widowhood rites, however, most women lost their social status and their abilities to make a living (Anquandah, 1982; Bukh, 1979).

In contemporary times, more women are participating actively within the labour force. Women have increasingly surmounted barriers that existed during the colonial period and are working outside the home. However, the introduction of liberalization policies in the 1980s led to cuts in

public spending which affected the health and education sectors. There were several retrenchment policies, for instance, according to Alderman et al (1996), “only 25% of the civil servants were female, but since it was those with the least education and seniority who were laid off first, 35% of the retrenched were women (p.218)”. Employment in large and medium scale organizations fell by almost 60% from 464,000 in 1985 to 186,000 in 1991 (Hilson and Potter, 2005, p.106). The structural adjustment period played a major role in redeployment by leaving many men and women unemployed, and increasing the burdens of women.

In spite of these challenges, policymakers have recognized remarkable progress with regard to women`s development in recent times; however, women still lag behind in most sectors (Amanor, 2001). The changes in gender relations especially, regarding the socio-economic lives of women show that both historical and socio-cultural factors played a key role in this transformation. The colonial period therefore set the pace for the migration of women due to the bias in colonial policies that favoured male employment. This was further worsened by the economic recovery programmes which made more men and women unemployed, where women had to migrate to sustain their homes.

3.6 The Role of the Family and Patriarchy in Ghana

The family is one of the most important traditional units in Ghana. Oheneba-Sakyi and Takyi (2006) stated that the family is the backbone of most rural areas in Ghana, because family members are a source of “social security” for one another. They contend that in most rural areas, the place of the family is held in high esteem. The family also ensures the family lineage through child bearing; they also perform consumption and production activities which are considered to be the core aspects of society. Families look out for one another and ensure responsibility for each other. According to Tsikata (2009) as cited in Baglund and Lund (2013), “Child fostering is a customary practice in

Ghana where children are sent to members of the external family to be raised, trained and prepared for adulthood” (p.12). For example, grandmothers feel they have a responsibility towards their grandchildren and in return, they get elderly and parental care from their children. In this context, children within a household were the responsibility for the family not only the parents.

According to Connell (1990), patriarchy as “historically produced situations in gender relations where men’s domination is institutionalized. Men’s overall social supremacy is embedded in face-to-face settings such as the family and economy” (p.514). Patriarchy results from various factors, historical, socio-cultural and religious. For example, polygamy and some customary laws encourage such patriarchal ideologies. Polygamy is one main characteristic of the Ghanaian community. It is also regulated under the laws of Ghana and it is the practice of having more than one spouse at the same time. However, under, the marriage of ordinance or civil marriages, polygamy is illegal. In Islam, polygamy is accepted where men can marry up to four wives. This is the same as the customary marriages but there is no specification on the number of spouses one can have at a time (CEDAW, 2005). Although women are able to maintain their separate identities under customary law, it disallows women from inheriting their husbands’ properties even in situations where she contributed in making them (Awusabo-Asare, 1990). These practices reinforce patriarchy in most Ghanaian communities.

The structure of the family system in Ghana is in such a way that families play central roles in the lives of one another. With regard to migration, Adepaju (2007) stated “in maximizing household resource allocation and utilization, senior members of the family decide who should migrate, just in the same way they decide what piece of land should be cultivated, and who should be sent to school (p.47).” This shows that the role of the family is significant during migration and patriarchy, which is endemic in most Ghanaian communities, plays a key role in allowing or resisting migration decisions. The relationship between migration, patriarchy and family roles is explored in chapter 7.

3.7 Gender and Internal Migration in Ghana

Internal migration in Ghana is a dominant activity which is influenced by gender, sex, race, age, education and other characteristics. The numbers of men and women migrating over the last few years have increased significantly. According to Caldwell (1968), more males have the tendency of migrating than women. This is because of their economic independency over women and certain highly patriarchal socio-cultural beliefs in Ghana. Also Dugbazah (2007) contends that some of the migration models that appeared earlier saw internal migration as operating in two folds between urban and rural areas, where male migrant labour from the rural areas were more attracted towards the cities. In recent times, the trend is changing and there exists large stream of women moving independently for work, school among other things. These movements are dominantly rural-urban, north-south migration and migration to capital cities where the outcomes of migration could have both positive and negative effects (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008, p.171).

With regard to the seasonality of migration that occurs with the changes in planting and harvesting seasons, men are more likely than women to migrate. This is because the nature of migration to rural areas does not favour female migration. Access to lands for cultivation is restricted for females in rural areas and their movement to such areas is normally shaped by their dependence on their spouses (Van der Geest et al, 2004). In addition, the lineage system practiced in Ghana where the matrilineal system of inheritance is used to encourage inheritance through the female line is seen to rather limit access to land by women. This is because women usually failed to pass on their lands to the heirs and the male members of the family inherit upon the death of the woman (Brown, 1994, p.4). The traditional and societal beliefs embedded in the society coupled with systems of inheritance in most Ghanaian societies have limited women in these ways. Abdul-Korah (2011) explains that the position of women with regard to migration has been changing over the years. Women have challenged various indigenous, patriarchal and colonial practices to

establish their presence in the migration process. This could also be a contributing factor to the increasing feminization of migration to urban centres because women do not own any property that holds them back to the rural life. Although these young migrant women move to solely gain economic independence, they face serious barriers as far as their living and working conditions are concerned.

North-South migration within Ghana was historically male dominated until the 1980s. Tufeyru (2014) explained two main reasons for this trend, first of all, job opportunities in the South were mostly mining and work in timber and cocoa plantations and these jobs were traditionally perceived to be male jobs. Secondly, there existed strict socio-cultural beliefs in the North which frowns upon independent female migration. Macro-economic policies established since the 1980s to help Ghana recover from economic hardships caused major changes in most Ghanaian households. For example, the IMF and World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programmes introduced retrenchment programmes in public sectors, a reduction in government spending on social services etc. Many men lost their jobs and this situation undermined the gender relations in most households. Women started defying traditional socio-cultural norms by going outside of their homes to pursue livelihood activities to sustain their families and fill the economic gaps created at home (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Adepoju, 2006; Tufeyru 2014). The number of women in these migration movements is also increasing and Ghana's major capital cities are witnessing rapid urbanization and population growth. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2008), the number of migrant women from the north is 47% as compared with that of men which is 37.6% (p.50). The main push factors for these young women are poverty, low yields from agriculture and the crippling drought effects, and socio-cultural factors such as early marriages (Oberhauser & Yeboah, 2011, p.29; Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008, p.175; Kwankye et al, 2009, p.21-22). Internal

migration for that matter has defied the norm of women migrating along their migrant spouses which used to be the case.

This chapter provided us with an in-depth understanding of migration in sub-Saharan Africa and Ghana. It helped us to understand the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial factors that have shaped women`s position in Ghana, as well as its consequences on migration in Ghana. In addition, it examined the role of the family and patriarchy in comprehending gender and internal migration (north-south and rural-urban) in Ghana.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, data collection, analysis, and interpretation are discussed. In the first part of the chapter, the development of a suitable research methodology, prior to this field research, will be discussed. This will help to understand the researcher`s thoughts and concerns going into the field. In the second section, the field research process, approaches and methods used for the field work will be outlined. This is particularly important to understanding the context of the study, the sources of data, and how questions were refined to clearly capture the research goals and objectives. Furthermore, I will discuss how the ethical concerns that came up during the fieldwork were addressed, how data was analyzed and how practical challenges of the research process were dealt with.

Overall, this chapter provides us with insights on how the research was conducted with migrant women in Accra. The women from the northern regions were treated as an appropriate category for this research and analysis for two key reasons. First, because they form the majority of female migrant population in the cities and share similar challenges in the cities because of the poverty they experience in their hometowns. Second, the northern regions are made up of highly patriarchal societies where the socio-cultural norms are gendered and therefore, migrant women`s experiences regarding the nature of care, gender and family relationships pre- and post-migration are similar. With this as the basis, in-depth interviews with women from the three northern regions of Ghana were undertaken.

4.1 Levels of Investigation

According to Dugbazah (2007), the increasing rate at which women are migrating independently for economic reasons has not gained much attention in the literature especially on how gender influences the decision making processes of migration and its outcomes. It is important

to study gender at all levels of migration (macro, meso and micro) because we would understand better how economic, socio-cultural, political factors have contributed to the varying experiences of migrants (p.158). The novelty of my study is to take these insights from these key levels of migration from the literature on gender and international migration and adapt them in an internal migration context.

4.2 Selecting the Research Community

Purposive sampling method was used in selecting the research site. Patton (2002) describes purposeful sampling as an appropriate methodology which provides useful information to the researcher because specific data of interest to the researcher concerning particular settings, persons, or events are identified (p.46). This sampling method provided me with the opportunity of selecting a research site that was well in line with the research goals and objectives. Accra was chosen as the research site because it is the capital city of Ghana, which is found in the Greater Accra region, in the Southern part of the country. This city has had a long history of receiving migrants from all over the country, and migrants from the northern regions are no exception. Ackah and Medvedev (2012) stated that the southern sectors of Ghana which include the Greater Accra, Central, Eastern, Western, Volta and Ashanti regions are the main attractions for most migrants in Ghana with the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions holding a greater percentage of migrants. In all, 88% of migrants within Ghana live in the Southern Sectors, while the northern sector holds only 5% internal migrants. Moreover, the population in both the northern and southern sectors of Ghana is proportional to the number of internal migrants they receive. For instance, 70% of Ghana's population live in the Southern sector while the remaining live in the northern sector (p.4). Accra, the research site, has also become a destination for different ethnic groups migrating to seek economic independence from their various regions. It offers more opportunities for education, employment and more market for industries in Ghana. Owusu, Agyei-Mensah and Lund (2008)

explain that since 1877, Accra became the seat of colonial administration and since then, the city has transformed largely because of the introduction of socio-economic policies such as the economic recovery and Structural Adjustment Programmes that were introduced into the country during the 1980s.

4.3 Preparations for Research

Before I finally undertook the field research, I went through some preliminary preparations, which were important to allow me to carry out the research successfully. To ensure that the research problem was addressed properly, I made an outline of the different components in the research, including the requirements of the data collection and the fundamentals for the data analysis. I designed the questionnaires and guides for the semi-structured interviews. I developed a work plan for my fieldwork and a timetable for my entire research project. I submitted my research ethics application form and a graduate research hazard form: these two were requirements before any research will be carried out within and outside the country. I started recruiting migrant women for the interviews with the help of an organization and a few friends. I worked with an organization called ABANTU for development as an intern and it works with women`s groups across Ghana. Through that, I was able to contact a former colleague to help me in my search for potential participants. Although I was born in Accra, I originally come from the northern region; I made contacts with some groups that helped me to recruit migrant women from the northern region, who were living in Accra. Prior to entering the field, I finalized all my research instruments and interview materials and logistics for the fieldwork. The preparations towards the fieldwork started in September 2014. An idea for the research topic existed already, but I concretized it through coursework and discussions with my supervisor. After completing all the procedures that will help me conduct my fieldwork, I went to Ghana in December 2014.

4.4 Approaches

This study used qualitative research approaches. This included 10 semi-structured in-depth interviews and field notes. Qualitative research methodology was used in general and this facilitated an in-depth examination of migrant women's lives both during pre- and post-migration. According to Berg (2004) and Schrank (2006), the qualitative research approach helped us to understand the key characteristics of migrant women's experiences such as how care was redistributed among family members after migration, how migrant women re-negotiated care provision with others (e.g. spouses, families and friends), how migrant women engaged in caring practices differently during post migration, i.e., across distance, economically, physically and psychologically, how migration influenced gender and family relations in the household and finally, how internal migration and migrant women's caring practices (physical, emotional, financial etc.) from afar affect the socio-economic development of communities of origin. According to Berg (2004), qualitative researches are very important because apart from being able to understand people's experiences, behaviors and beliefs in their own settings, it enhances dialogue between the researcher and the participants (p.16).

4.5 Process of Selecting Research Participants

A combination of snowball sampling method and purposive sampling methods was used to select research participants. First, purposive sampling method was used to select research participants through the help of a former colleague working at ABANTU for development. Her organization works with a wide range of women so she had to find out from the women she encountered if they were migrant women from the northern region and if they left any family members behind. Since Accra was not a small community but rather the capital city, no entry protocols were required and although, I, the researcher, come from the northern region, I was born and raised in Accra. Having lived in Accra all my life and I had all my education (primary-tertiary)

there, I was not considered as an outsider because I belonged to the research community. One head porter was found and interviewed using this sampling method. After interviewing her, I used snowballing sampling method by asking her if she knew some other relatives and friends who were in a similar situation as she was in. In all, the sample size was ten migrant women. The qualitative approach uses a small sample size because it relies more on the depth of meaning of words and data gathered (Berg, 2004, p.4). To thoroughly investigate migrant women`s caring practices, I relied on migrants` experiences and changes in gender and family relations before and after migration. A large sample size was irrelevant in attaining my research goals as I targeted a select group of migrant women to explain their experiences with caring for their families across distance and how these affected gender and family relations.

4.6 Research Sample

Migrant women who participated in this study were aged between 24 and 45 years. All ten of the migrants interviewed were affiliated to a religious group: Five were Christians and five were Muslims. Most of the respondents selected were from diverse ethnic groups from the North who were working in the informal and formal sectors in Accra. All respondents were from different parts of the three Northern regions: They belonged to diverse ethnic groups. The main ethnic groups they come from are Dagomba, Gonja, Samre, Kusasi, Mamprusi, Sisala and Nanumba. They also had a broad range of educational backgrounds, from those with no education at all to the tertiary level. Out of the ten women, two women had university education, one had High school (Junior), one had no education, three had basic education, one attended a vocational college, one went to a Teacher`s training college and finally, one attended the Nursing training school. Of the women interviewed, five women were married, two were single, one was a widow, one was separated and one was divorced. The married migrant women had been married for between two to sixteen years. Eight out of the ten respondents had children. Two were single with no children. Three migrant women

had one child each, three had two each and two had three each. Migrant women`s children were aged between seven months old and twenty years old. These characteristics provided diversity in opinions from the Northern region, which enriched the data collected.

Five out of the ten women worked in the formal sector and five worked in the informal sector. The particular occupations in the formal sector ranged from teachers, nurses, cashiers and secretaries. Occupations in the informal sector were predominantly food vendors, head porters, domestic workers and hairdressers. Out of the ten migrant women, three were from the Northern region, four were from the Upper East region and three were from the Upper East region. Two out of the ten women were born in cities, four were born in small towns and four were born in rural areas. Respondents have been living in Accra between two to ten years. Nine out of the ten migrant women have lived elsewhere aside from their current area of destination, Accra and their place of birth between a year and eight years. Migrant women came from large households with members ranging from seven to seventeen in number: these included siblings and parents of the migrant women. All migrant women said they came from lower class households where poverty was endemic.

4.7 Techniques

In order to meet the research objectives and ensure comprehensive accounts on fieldwork, the study was divided into two methodological components, which involved in-depth interviews and field notes. Most of the interviews were conducted in the migrant`s home or workplace. This was because I wanted to capture the migrant`s experiences in their own setting. I accorded each participant with respect as they are more knowledgeable in detailing their experiences. In certain situations, I had to rephrase the questions to ensure that participant understood it better and the right information was being collected. Greeting and introducing myself to the participants were two key

important issues because Ghanaians prioritized these as signs of good human relations. I followed this up with a brief insight about my research objectives and the participant consent form. I explained to them if, in any way, they felt uncomfortable with the questions I ask, they should let me know and I could omit these questions. The privacy and comfort of my respondents was very important and this influenced my research approaches. I also explained that all information obtained during the study would be kept strictly confidential and no information that identified participants as a specific individual would be used in this study. Where participants agreed to participate in the research, their consent was recorded. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes to 45 minutes depending on how the respondents answered the questions. Respondents were asked to choose pseudonyms since the study did not want to use any identifying information of migrant women. Codes were also used for the transcripts and field notes to ensure that the real identities of participants remained confidential.

4.7.1 In-depth Interviews

Ten semi-structured interviews with migrant women were conducted to assess how caring arrangements made with family and friends are working. Semi-structured interviews with the migrant women provided a flexible environment for the respondents and me, the researcher by helping to clarify and refine questions and answers that the participants provided. It was also critical in helping participants to freely communicate their experiences based on the various objectives outlined on the interview guide; I was able to gather useful detailed information on migrants' caring strategies. The structured questions were useful in understanding migrants' demographic background especially their household size, marital status and the finances of their household.

The purpose of the semi-structured questions is to give participants the opportunity to express their ideas and opinions in their own words (Desai and Potter, 2006, p.166; Scott and Garner, 2013,

p.283). For instance, migrant women were able to explain why they migrated explicitly and how their roles have changed as a result of their migration. Most women revealed that they had become sole bread winners of their families and they have acquired much more responsibilities than before. Most migrant women were able to discuss their reasons for migrating independently and clearly. The interviews gave me an insight into the interplay of gender and family relations in migrant`s household, caring arrangements and household roles and responsibilities especially within the northern setting.

An interview guide was used to facilitate interview sessions. The interview guide was made up of the research objectives where each objective had sub-questions that will help achieve each specific objective. The interview guide was designed to gather similar data from all participants; however, the interview guide was flexible and questions were fine-tuned to enhance participants understanding. The interview was conducted in a way that helped participants to express their views and also give more concrete examples about their lives as related to the research. Participants were also encouraged to give any additional information that was of relevance to the research. Overall, most of the issues explored during the interviews were women`s migration decisions, caring arrangements at home; gender and family relations; and their communities of origin.

Most of the migrant women explained that, for most part, caring arrangements were not structured; mothers, family members and spouses deemed it as a responsibility to care for children or siblings. Where there existed structured caring arrangements in place, relatives remained caretakers of the house. It was also interesting to note that, in spite of the strict socio-cultural norms and beliefs in the northern region, most migrant women were increasingly becoming main decision makers of their household as a result of their economic independence and their support for their family members.

Interviews were conducted in such a way that gave room to the participants to voice their opinions and experiences because participants were experts in their own daily lives. Following the consent of participants, interviews were recorded using a voice recorder and transcribed by me. After the transcription, I reviewed all the areas of discussion and supplemented them with field notes taken. Some follow-up queries were made during the transcription stage in order to establish a few clarifications from the previously recorded interviews.

4.7.2 Field Notes

The in-depth interviews provided the opportunity for the researcher to interact with migrant women in their own setting. During the interview process, I observed migrant`s composure, emotions, environment and their ability to describe their situation. Notes were taken on very important and striking aspects of the respondent`s stories such as on changes of roles and responsibilities as a result of their migration, etc. Most at times, respondents demonstrated pride and fulfillment when answering questions about their new responsibilities of providing financial support to their families. Also, in discussing the long distance that existed between them and their families back in their hometown, respondents were sad about not being able to live with their family members and how they miss their families all the time. This was the case for most married migrant women who had left their spouses and kids behind. Although, most respondents were somewhat hesitant about discussing their financial support for their families especially their husbands after migration, they opened up easily with follow-up questions which made it easy for me to understand their new roles. Observation of respondents` characteristics, mannerisms, actions and mood was noted.

There has been some literature concerning women`s sexuality after migration, for instance in the case of Mali where they believe that women migrating at an early age may be involved in

premarital sex which may lead to premarital and unwanted pregnancies. These acts were extremely condemned in these societies (Hertrich and Lesclingand, 2013). Observation from the Ghanaian context pointed out that issues surrounding women`s sexuality, where women engaged in premarital sex was a taboo. However, notes taken from interviews suggested that some migrant women especially those in the head load carrying business, domestic work or petty trading may have engaged in prostitution or used their sexuality instrumentally as a supplemental means to enable them to survive and provide for their families. The ILO (2004) stated that due to the desire for young migrant women to improve their standard of living, they might end up engaging in less paid activities such as domestic work or sex work.

According to Hatch (2002), “Raw field notes are usually descriptions of contexts, actions, and conversations written in as much detail as possible given the constraints of watching and writing in a rapidly changing social environment” (p.77). Most of notes were written immediately after the interview ended. This allowed me the opportunity to recollect all that had transpired and also write more detailed notes. Hatch (2002) also explains taking field notes helps to fill-in data into the main notes and also helps data to be more descriptive. He adds that field notes should be written in a consistent manner which would facilitate the analysis process. Field notes were used to support the actual data collected.

4.8 Data Processing and Analysis

This study was purely qualitative. This approach influenced outcomes of the research by exposing the underlying motives of migration and the kind of caring arrangements put in place by migrant women after migration. This helped to formulate the content of the research by examining various scenarios of migrants and drawing key conclusions. In this case, qualitative approaches are

more illustrative of social phenomenon as compared to other approaches (Warren and Karner, 2010, p.5). Data collected were transcribed and the transcripts were proofread and reviewed by me.

My aim was to use the same language that participants spoke during the interview process as this helped me to distinguish key thematic areas in the transcripts. The analyses of the data were done by going through and paying key attention to the main objectives of the study. According to Silverman (2007), analyzing data is an important aspect of qualitative research. It is important for the researcher to pay maximum attention to details and also manage data thoroughly and soundly in order to reflect researcher`s efforts (p.61). After transcription was done, all interviews were numbered and proofread thoroughly. Notes and transcripts were organized under the various broad topics and sub-topics used. According to Maguire (1987), undertaking this process will ensure data is more organized and easily verifiable when completed. Any new themes that emerged from the interviews were also added to the notes to make sure data is complete. The qualitative analysis programme QSR NUD*IST was used to facilitate organization and management of the data. I developed a coding scheme with the help of my supervisor where the research was organized under the pre-migration and post-migration stages, with more emphasis on post migration and changes in migrant women`s status quo. The data were therefore, coded and organized methodically according to the requirements of the programme.

The study also used secondary data that was collected from books, academic works and articles, journals and reports produced by authors, NGOs, and government reports on gender relations, migration, and development that were found in the libraries of Saint Mary`s University and the University of Ghana. Other sources of information included books and articles borrowed from family and friends, Ghanaian government archival documents, census data, and research publications on migration in Ghana and other developing countries. The secondary data

supplemented the experiences described by the women to show ways in which their caring practices have changed over time through the pre-migration and post-migration stages.

4.9 Field Work Evaluation

Before embarking on the fieldwork, I had the opportunity to practice my interview guide on colleagues. This gave me the opportunity to review some of the structure of the questions that were not clear to the respondents. This helped me to reassess the field research process and the relevance and accuracy of my work. After each successful interview, I reviewed the responses and checked for errors, gaps or missing information. Most importantly, I looked out for new issues that arose from the review. This approach helped me to keep track of ideas while paying more attention to certain gaps during subsequent interviews. I was able to get an in-depth understanding of the issues and also achieve research validity concurrently.

4.9.1 Challenges in the Field

Although I am a Ghanaian, conducting research in Ghana presented new and revealing challenges to me as a researcher. I acknowledged and appreciated more the diversity within the Ghanaian community. I came to terms with the fact that migration affected almost every Ghanaian household directly or indirectly. Notwithstanding this assertion, challenges that I encountered were time constraints, difficulty in finding suitable participants, cultural differences between migrants and myself and some few language barriers.

In this study, although, I was aware that I had time challenges due to the limited time of the research, it was not easy getting respondents in the period. Although, the first participant's interview was pre-arranged by my former work colleague, I encountered a few challenges with interviewing the other participants. Due to the limited time I had to conduct the research, I struggled to get

participants to meet me at the right time for interviews. For example, sometimes because the availability of participants overlapped, I had to reschedule some interviews for later date. I had to start looking for new participants as a back-up who were available to do the interviews. This helped me to conduct all interviews before the deadline and my departure from Ghana. For instance, I found out the main respondent found by the organization would not be available for the interview. I had to make various calls and she helped me get in touch with a relative who was in a similar situation. After being successful with the first respondent, I was able to find others by utilizing the snowballing sampling method but most often, women were busy at their various workplaces and those who had their children and some family living with them in the cities, were at home taking care of the children. Most of the women left home to work every morning and came back later in the evening. To offset these challenges, I had to make regular calls, and for most women in the informal sector, I had to talk to some of them during their work time. This helped me to also take field notes.

After interviewing my first respondent, she introduced me to another colleague of hers. When interview began, I realized through the background information provided by the respondent that she was not suitable. Although, she was a migrant in Accra studying in one of the universities she is not caring for any family member back home. The research would not have achieved its purpose if I went ahead with similar interviews. During interviews, cultural differences were quite evident as I encountered so much diversity in ethnic relations with people I interviewed. The ten women who were interviewed came from seven different ethnic groups which were all from the northern regions. They all brought unique perspective and contribution to the research; however, I found it difficult translating particular questions for their understanding. However, I succeeded in making them explain to me how they understood the question and this made my work easy. The main language I used for some of the interviews was a popular language widely spoken in Accra called “Twi”.

Most migrant women interviewed understood the language well but they had few challenges on how to communicate it well. I entreated them to use basic words in the language to explain what they wished to say. This made respondents more comfortable to express themselves freely and comfortably.

4.9.2 Strengths and Limitations of Field Work

Due to the qualitative nature of the research, the in-depth interviews were flexible and easily modified to ensure the flow of topics. The main data collection method was the in-depth interview which was supplemented by field notes taken on the field. A combination of these two methods proved to be very successful during the fieldwork. For example, information from field notes helped us to crosscheck information we got through the in-depth interviews. Writing field notes helped me to record observation made during the interviews. The aims and objectives of the research were reassessed for every interview done. It was important to make sure each set of questions were in line in meeting the set research objectives. To ensure questions were structured in such a way that it could be comprehensible to respondents, the questions were tested on ordinary people to make sure the language is appropriate. As a researcher, I made sure I interacted well with the respondents by identifying with their situation and sharing my own academic experiences with them. In most cases, either respondents were at work or at home, so I had no control over the venue of the interviews, however; I made sure the setting was comfortable for the respondents.

Although statistical data were gathered from the Ghana statistical service to contextualize migration trends in Ghana, a large sample size was not used. A large questionnaire survey could have answered certain key issues in gender and migration and more specifically, north-south migration in Ghana but the statistics acquired in census reports already answered that. More attention was paid to the depth of data on socio-reproductive roles especially, gender relations and

caring roles which is the main focus of the research. It was possible to achieve the set research objectives without necessarily using a large sample of the population. Focusing on migrant women from the Northern part of Ghana alone in Accra was helpful in making me understand the core aspects of these women`s lives. After comparing the interviewee`s decisions to migrate with that of the existing literature, I found out they were similar to my own findings. On the other hand, there were new findings that emerged during my analysis which will be discussed in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER 5: PRE-MIGRATION

This section explains the motivation for migrants' decisions to migrate; it investigates migrants' plans as well as economic, socio-cultural and educational factors affecting the migration of women. A side story of this chapter includes second-time migration which usually results from failed attempts of first-time migration. Also, migrants' feelings towards their migration decisions, the main care provider after migration, expectations and compensation for caretakers; and assistance by other family members are discussed in this chapter.

5.1 Decision to Migrate

The desire to gain financial security and independence fuelled most migrants' decisions to migrate to Accra. Generally, migrant women explained they migrated for economic, educational and social purposes. For most of these migrants, poverty, lack of economic opportunities, small market for businesses to flourish and little social infrastructure in their communities such as schools and hospitals were the main underlying reasons for migrating. Others also indicated that they were not comfortable with some traditional socio-cultural practices such as early marriages, arranged marriages and polygamy that were practiced in their highly patriarchal communities. In addition, others complained about certain societal ills like teenage pregnancies, which they claimed were recurring problems in their communities. Finally, some respondents cited personal reasons, such as the death of a partner, divorce and separation.

My findings in this regard confirmed other researchers' findings. Sassen (2000), Piper (2005) and Adepoju (2003) explained that migration is a global contemporary trend which has seen increasing numbers of independent women deciding to migrate for various purposes such as work, marriage, studies, and family. Based on these findings, the decisions made by mothers, sisters, wives and daughters to leave their hometowns were influenced by various reasons. Within this

process, their previously held care roles and responsibilities were abandoned, which led to care deficits in their households. Although in the existing literature these were the major reasons given for deciding to migrate, Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) explained that preparations towards marriage was also one main deciding factor among most migrants from the northern regions to migrate to Accra. For most unmarried migrants, the need to buy items in preparation for marriage was also a deciding factor. However, single women in this study did not state this reason as a deciding factor to migrate but rather, they indicated that they aspired for economic independence to support themselves and the families they have left behind.

5.1.1 Economic Reasons

Institutions such as the World Bank (2008) have stated that economic hardships within rural communities were the main determining factors for the decision to migrate. According to Oberhauser and Yeboah (2011), “traditionally female-dominated livelihoods in small-scale agriculture and market trading have also been negatively affected by neoliberal market reforms that restrict access to credit and subsidies for agricultural inputs in the transition to trade liberalization (p.23)”. This phenomenon has therefore influenced the massive migration of women from their communities over the years to search for better opportunities for employment. Also, the increasing shift of reliance on women by families and households to provide for their financial needs has been a major challenge for most. In similar studies in Ghana by Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008), they indicated reasons behind most decisions to migrate by migrant women were generally extreme poor conditions, few job opportunities, and eagerness to save money to settle down. However, they contended that the most important decision factor was poverty and the desire to overcome it. Findings from this study revealed three categories of migrant women in Accra. Eight out of the ten migrants interviewed migrated for economic reasons while the other two migrated for

school, however, certain socio-cultural factors mentioned above also played a crucial role in their migration. Three categories of women migrated for primarily economic reasons, they were as follows:

a. The first category of women migrated to search for jobs due to poverty. Most women said they could not cope with the economic hardships they encountered in their daily lives. Some explained they could not afford the three daily meals and most often, they had to skip meals or eat later in the day so they did not go hungry. Hunger was therefore a main issue for most of the women when they were in their hometowns. In order to offset these challenges, these migrant women said they decided to leave for the south to search for better economic opportunities to enhance their livelihood and that of their families as well. Situations such as these support Dugbazah (2007) findings that most migrants lack motivation and compensation in working at their communities because wages are not enough to help them support their families. This study lends support to Todaro and Harris (1970) analysis that migration has been perceived to increase one`s chances of getting employment and also earning better wages. According to Moda, in her mid-thirties, already living in Accra for two years, her decision for migration was based on poverty; however, she believed exploring the wide market opportunities in Accra by going into trading activities in Accra would support her family:

To find a job to do. I wanted to go into trade, like buying and selling and I hear there is a lot of market in Accra. This can help me and my family to overcome our financial burdens. There are only a few jobs at home.

b. The second category of women was those who had already secured jobs in Accra and migrated individually to work. These women stated there were no better job opportunities for them in their hometowns. Most of them had attained some college and tertiary education but they were unable to

obtain the kind of jobs that matched their educational status. Some indicated there were only few public social amenities in their communities and the salary in the public sector was not regular. Based on the advice and help of some friends living and working in Accra, they were able to secure jobs in some private institutions in the city. This informed their decision to migrate. Similar to previous findings of Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008), they indicated that social and family networks who assisted migrants to search for jobs in Accra facilitated most women's decision to migrate. Teni, a nurse in her early thirties from a small rural community had been living in Accra for four years, while her spouse and two children were left behind:

After my programme in the Nursing training college, I was working in a government hospital in my hometown. The salary came after several months of waiting, it was getting difficult for my family, and myself, I had to start looking for other opportunities elsewhere. With the help of some family and friends in Accra, I had a job in Accra so I had to migrate.

c. The third category comprised of government workers who had been transferred by their employers to work in Accra. For migrants in this category, migrating was not a planned decision. They had to migrate because of the nature of their jobs. They explained they were unable to make personal decisions concerning this issue as it was the nature of their job and they had to accept it. For example, the respondent below, Asibi, a teacher from a small town, explained the nature of her migration and reasons for migrating:

It was not a direct decision to migrate to Accra. I am a teacher working in the government sector, and there was a reshuffle so I was transferred to Accra to teach. Teachers are usually transferred to all parts of the countries to work.

5.1.2 Educational reasons

Similar to previous findings by Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) that the lack of education and poverty in the North led to many school drop-outs which increased the illiteracy rates among women in the North, my findings suggested that most of the respondents migrated to attend institutions of higher education in the South. However, there were interesting cases in this study which suggested that not only poverty and the inability of parents to support the education of young women or lack of education were the main drivers to migration, but rather, limited options in the choice and selection of schools and programmes made migration the only option for them.

In addition, some of the schools were not properly equipped to teach courses they wanted to pursue so they had to leave for the city because most of the schools in Accra were well equipped. Migrants were also interviewed regarding their education and work plans. Most of them stated that they had the intention of staying in Accra after graduating so that they could utilize their degrees by getting good and well-paying jobs in the city. They said their salary was good and this motivated them to stay after graduating from school. They said comparing the pay at both places, the salary in Accra was good. For example, in a study conducted among migrants in Accra by Dugbazah (2007), she indicated that most migrants moved to Accra to study and after their education, they intended to stay because they had better job prospects in the city. Evelyn (divorced with a child left behind, educated, comes from a rural area and living in Accra for the past 5 years) stated:

I migrated to Accra to do a course because I couldn't find a school that offered that programme in my hometown. I gained admission into the institution and, after the course; I looked for a job and worked, because the remuneration was better as compared to the one at home. The salary is really good.

5.1.3 Socio-cultural reasons

Contrary to findings by Hertrich and Lesclingand (2013) that adolescent migration was perceived to lead to premarital sex and unwanted pregnancies in the cities in Mali, findings in this research indicated that migration of some women was rather an attempt to escape from such social ills in their communities. According to some migrants, the inability of some parents to provide for their young girls in the communities made them engage in premarital sex which resulted in unwanted pregnancies within their own communities. As a result of this, there were many female school drop outs who did not have jobs. Some of the younger girls who were living under the care of their parents engaged in illicit sexual affairs with men for economic reasons although there existed strict rules regarding women`s sexuality. Thus, young women were able to control their sexuality under the care of their parents.

Research conducted by Kassague (2008) on adolescent migration in Mali suggested that in many Malian villages “coercive committees” existed whose main function was to prevent young women from migrating. They achieved this by sanctioning these young ladies and their families socially, materially and economically. However, my study found out that young ladies were able to secretly establish sexual affairs in their communities of origin. Some respondents indicated that the consequences of such acts, such as female pregnancy in their communities, led them to migrate. In this context, migration was a way to escape such influences.

In addition to the above findings, respondents raised other issues such as early and arranged marriages for young girls which they did not like. Most often, they escaped this by getting pregnant with their boyfriends to offset such practices. For most of them, they did not want to be part of that category of girls and therefore opted to move out and look for other opportunities to better their lives. According to Juarez et al (2013), young women migrated to liberate themselves from socio-cultural practices and norms in their communities and embrace better opportunities in the cities.

On the contrary, other findings indicated some women migrated to achieve economic gains to prepare for marriage which contradicts the finding that they were escaping from arranged and early marriages in their communities. Based on these findings, it appeared that the desire to achieve economic independence before settling down was more important to most single migrant women. Generally, this research indicated achieving economic independence and education led to the decision to migrate for most young females from the North. Rita (in late twenties, educated, unmarried and living in Accra for the past ten years, with siblings and parents left behind) stated:

In my area, most of the ladies get pregnant and give birth. I feared that if I continued to stay there, I would also be like them so I decided to migrate from my hometown to Accra to see how life will treat me here. Also, I didn't want to be married so early, I wanted to finish my education first and start working.

Another migrant also explained she was really happy because she was able to escape from the immoral lifestyle of most young girls in her community. Migrants were regarded in high esteem, as one migrant said her parents were happy about her bold decision to migrate to Accra independently. She said some people also spread false rumours about women who migrate to the cities; some said these women sold their bodies in exchange for money. She said she is not disturbed because that is not what she is doing. Rita (young cashier, single lady of 29yrs, living in Accra for 10 years, university educated, from a small town) stated:

Yes, I am very happy about my migration decision. My parents are proud of me because I did not stay in my village to do what other ladies are doing (getting pregnant irresponsibly). Even though, I normally hear stuff from people from my

hometown that we follow men in the cities, I don't care because that's not what I am doing.

In the event of family disruptions such as death, separation, and divorce, there was a decline in financial resources and support in the household and therefore some migrant women decided to migrate to be able to fend for themselves and their children. Most of them said they could not cope with the financial hurdles because they had become single parents. Also, they explained it was a good way of changing their environment and leaving the bad memories of their trials behind. Some said working has relieved them of so many thoughts and worries. When they lived in their homes, they had no jobs to do. Migration was also observed to increase tensions and conflict within relationships in the household especially between parents and their children (Dreby, 2010). More details on the relationship between spouses and family members after migration will be addressed in subsequent sections. Mama is a widow in her mid-forties, living in Accra for 10 years, with three children left behind. She comes from a low income family, she explains below:

Since the death of my husband, things have been difficult for me. I was not working because my husband used to provide for our needs. I have to now provide for the children and myself. That is why I migrated, I feel so much pain when I remember my husband and it is good I am in Accra because I have stopped thinking so much.

5.1.4 Secondary and Second Migration

However, there were also some interesting cases that deviated from the overall majority trajectories. Although, most migrants said they migrated for economic reasons, two migrants indicated that they had migrated to search for better opportunities at another place before moving

to Accra. They migrated to seek greener pastures elsewhere; however, their inability to succeed at their previous destination places led them to migrate again. In this case, Accra was their second migration destination. The migrant below, Aisha, moved to Accra after realizing she could not make it in her destination city, Kumasi. Life in Kumasi was not as she expected because she did not make enough financial gains. She realised there were not many job opportunities there so she decided to explore further by moving to Accra. Her decision to migrate to another migration destination, Accra, was solely based on her inability to do well financially in the previous city, Kumasi. Aisha is in her mid-twenties, with a low educational level. She is a head load carrier, married, with two children left behind. She stated:

I migrated because there was no money at home so I moved to another city called Kumasi to work as a head load carrier. Upon reaching that city, I was not happy with how my job was going because I was not getting many customers which was coupled with some financial burdens. I decided to move further south because Accra was bigger and there were better job opportunities there.

Moving and living in a neighbouring country (Cote d'Ivoire), Fati (in her mid-twenties, return migrant from Cote D'Ivoire, married with two children in Accra, with elderly sick mother and siblings left behind) thought life would be better there. However, upon reaching the country, she faced similar economic hardships as she did in Ghana. She found out that life there was not easy so she decided to migrate back home, after which she migrated to Accra. Another problem for this migrant was the issue of polygyny, as she explained that her father was unable to care for her siblings because he had three other wives and many children; thus, migration became necessary for her in order to relieve the suffering of her mum and siblings. Within this context, Yeboah (2010) explained that polygyny and arranged marriages in most part of the northern region forced young girls to migrate to the cities in order to escape such socio-cultural practices. Fati stated:

I was living in Cote D'Ivoire and I decided to come back to my father's house in Ghana because life was not any better there. When I got to my village, there was nothing for me there, my father has married so many wives and he is unable to take care of us. Even getting food to eat was a problem, so I decided to migrate to my father's elder brother who lives in Accra.

5.2 Migrant Women's Feelings about their Migration Decisions

Overall, migrant women said they were happy about their migration decisions because they believed it was a good step towards overcoming poverty. Some, especially women working in the informal sector explained that the hardships of rural life made them more impoverished, to the extent that most of them could not continue with their education. Migration gave them more choices, hope and opportunity to change the lives of their children because they could keep them in school. In addition, the fact that most of them were school drop outs and lacked formal education encouraged them to work hard and send their children to school. In addition, they believed they have been able to achieve financial control in their home because they were able to send money back home; however, the emotional gaps left represented great challenges for themselves and their families. This is consistent with previous findings by Kwankye et al (2009) in Ghana, which indicated that among most child migrants in the south, they have not regretted their migration decision because their ability to make more life choices and be independent was possible. However, the only ones that regretted their decision were those that leave independently without their parent's consent and blessings. In this study, the issue of consent did not emerge as a problem as most women migrated with consent from parents, spouses and elders. According to Aisha:

I am happy because I am in control of my own life. Back in the North, I couldn't afford most things. We only go to the farm and the seasonality of the rainfall was even a problem which affected my education. The children were also experiencing this so I had to look for some other means to give my children education.

Migrants migrated for economic, socio-cultural, educational, and also due to family disruptions such as death, separation and divorces. The overall feelings regarding most migration decisions were positive. The ability to support families especially children left behind in their education was one important concern for most migrant mothers. The inability for some migrant women to pursue their education during their childhood motivated them to help give their children such opportunities they missed. Also, opportunities to pursue intended education, gain knowledge in a trade, get desired jobs and better wages; high status accorded to migrant women gave them a positive feeling for migration to Accra.

5.3 Main Care-Provider in Migrants' Absence

The main care providers in migrants' absence were usually family members of migrants who were mostly elderly females. According to Tetteh (2005), most working mothers prefer to leave their children in the care of "female adult caregivers" who "besides their natural tendency to provide efficient care are less likely to sexually molest a child. Thus, to quote some respondents from Tetteh's study, "females are safer" (p.90). Similarly, migrants indicated that traditionally, the person who overlooked the household was the male head, who might be the husband or the father. In situations where close-knit families of extended and nuclear families lived together, the eldest male head of the family was the household head. However, those who provided care at home were women from both nuclear and extended families especially mothers or stepmothers within polygynous settings and sisters, aunts or in some cases, female cousins. These women take care of all household

responsibilities while the male head supports the family with some income from the farm. They had to take care of their nuclear family and extended family at the same time. Respondents said in most cases, women work outside the home either on the family`s farmland or other people`s farms to earn extra cash for their families. They do these activities as well as caring for children, siblings, parents and other family members. As Fapohunda (1982) explains, in such agrarian communities, it is usually easier to care for young children due to the fact that both reproductive and farming activities can be undertaken at the same time and place. Due to the informal nature of this sector, women are able to carry their children to their workplaces with no problems.

Out of the ten respondents interviewed, three migrants said their mothers were the main care providers in their absence. The use of mothers for care provision was very common among respondents. Tetteh (2005) also stated that the use of mothers for caring was the most used care arrangement by working mothers while others relied on friends, schools, relations such as aunts, house helps and neighbours. Migrants said in most situations, their fathers could not support them financially so their mothers had to take responsibility for them when they were growing up. Mothers played a key role in providing care for migrant`s before and after marriage; and after migrants left their families for school and work. After migration, most migrants said they still had to depend on their mothers to take care of their left behind children. Younger siblings and left behind children of migrants also supported care providers who were usually the mothers of migrants or aunts and stepmothers with household activities and some farm activities. For example, Fapohunda (1982) asserted that mothers of migrant women, particularly, supported their children (the migrants) in taking care of their grandchildren. Supervision and ensuring discipline in children was not the sole responsibility of the mother but also that of other family members and elders. This indicated that leaving children in the care of family members was not a new phenomenon in most Ghanaian settings; however, with past and present feminization of migration across regions, the ability for

migrant women to sustain care for children, siblings and parents after migration remained a challenge. According to Fati:

My mum, whatever she gets she uses it to take care of my siblings. During the harvesting and planting times, my siblings join her on the farm to clear the farms and save some food to eat and sell. My sisters and I take care of finances.

One of the migrants, Rita (single woman, living in Accra for ten years) said her parents supported at home. She said her siblings depended on their mother for everything but their father tried his best to buy food items for the household every month. Although the father provided these things, her mother had to cook and serve family members. Overall, migrants stated that due to the socio-cultural perception of the place of the woman, the woman provided care in every aspect. In situations where their mothers were unable to provide care, some respondents stated that other female members such as their sisters and aunts took over care responsibilities.

However, interesting cases in this study revealed that some male members of the household, especially husbands, embraced care responsibilities when their wives migrated. Other studies have analyzed the care giving responsibilities of male members of the home and confirmed that leaving children into the hands of the male parent had its good sides and bad sides. However, this finding goes contrary to Cortes' (2015) observation which underscores the fact that most children with fathers migrating are cared for by their mothers who do not engage in any productive activities and are usually left at home; on the other hand, for children with mothers migrating, fathers less often than not become "primary care givers" of the left behind children. These children are rather cared for by other relatives such as extended family, usually aunts and grandmothers. Thus, this study's findings revealed that some husbands played a significant role in providing care by playing the role of both a mother and a father for the children.

One migrant woman indicated her husband was the one caring for their children. She said she had no formal discussions with her husband but care came naturally and he contributed immensely and responsibly to the wellbeing of the children. She stated that before migration, her husband assisted her with caring for the children, so it was not much of a problem to leave the children with him. Findings of this study are supported by research conducted by Hoang and Yeoh (2011) who asserted that fathers who participated actively in providing child care during pre-migration often helped in facilitating mother's migration plans by caring after migration. This respondent also explained that she was very happy and comfortable with her husband's decision to care for their children. Although, she was not sure how he was going to care for the children, she later realized he did his best. In this case, she explained her husband's profession as an entrepreneur contributed to his ability to care for the children. She explained that he has much more flexibility over her his work. Contrary to these findings, previous findings by Fapohunda (1982) suggested that men were reluctant to do household work and the division of labour at home remained static. For instance in a survey conducted in Lagos, 23% of 824 women said their husbands did not help with the household chores at home, only a small percentage of 5.8%, claimed their husbands cooked at home. Asibi stated:

My husband is the one taking care of the children, I thought we could hire someone to take care of the children but he decided to do that. I am also very comfortable with the care arrangements because my husband is a parent to my children, so I am really impressed (smiles)....

On the other hand, some migrants indicated there were failed attempts on the part of their husbands to take care of the kids. In this case, some husbands who assumed responsibility for their children and the household after the woman's migration could not care for their children properly. Some respondents stated that some fathers left their children with no direction and protection from

an older person. For instance, McKenzie (2005) explained that the migration of a parent reduces the amount of supervision and care towards children and in this case, parents who are left behind shoulder more responsibilities which have the tendency of decreasing the quality as well as the quantity of care provided. The socio-cultural perception of caring roles as sole responsibility of females was observed to be a factor for the failure of men to handle care adequately.

One migrant woman said she was practically the main care-provider from a distance; however, physically her dad used the money she earned and sent as remittances for all household needs. She believes her dad as the oldest in the house had to be accorded the maximum respect by putting household money into his hands. She explained that whether he was able to provide care or not, he had to be viewed as a head and caretaker of the household. Tsikata (2001) stated that women must adhere to new family norms when they enter into marriage which is usually enforced by the male head of the family. Specifically, due to the patrilineal nature of the northern region, women were unable to access and own land, unless through a male head their husband's family. This phenomenon showed the extent to which male members of the family were seen in most communities where migrants came from. According to Moda:

My dad is the main care-provider in my absence, he does not have money to take care of the home but he is the head of the family, but in my hometown, whether he is able to or not, he has to be called the care provider, it's a symbolic title for fathers in my village. I send money home to them regularly...

The research findings show that migrants negotiated mostly with their mothers and other close relations for the care of their left behind children, siblings and elderly sick parents. In this case, migrants who are the oldest at home have a responsibility towards caring for their siblings during both pre-migration and post-migration stages. Mothers are well trusted by migrants to provide care for all the children at home. Further observation suggested that due to the flexible nature of

migrants` mothers` livelihood activities, they are able to cope in the face of additional care responsibilities. Production and reproduction have become inextricably linked in most farming households and migrants have been able to take advantage of this relationship to factor in care arrangements with family members. Our study revealed that although male members of the family were increasingly becoming involved in care responsibilities at the household, there have been failed attempts by others to do so. The socio-cultural expectations of gender in the north play a role in men`s resistance to give care or more so share care responsibilities.

5.4 Why and How Migrants make Decisions about Caring Arrangements before Migrating

Deciding who to designate as a caretaker in migrant`s absence was borne out of several factors. First and foremost, some migrants stated that deciding on who to select as a care provider in their absence was not a difficult task because both their nuclear and extended families were supportive of them. Fapohunda (1982) supports this by explaining that in most West African communities, taking care of the household or children is not the sole responsibility of the parents but rather, caretaking is a major concern for all family members including the extended kin. Tetteh (2005) contended that most women with children, made care arrangements. This was also consistent with findings of this study. Decision to migrate to Accra was what propelled most migrants to look for care providers in their absence.

In addition, factors that led most migrants to look for care providers were because, in almost all circumstances, they were leaving close family members whom they used to care for before migrating. Family members who were usually left behind by migrants and needed care were migrants` children, aged and sick parents whom they used to care for before migrating and younger siblings of migrants. These were the most important groups of people that needed care in migrant`s absence. This was because most of the migrants were the oldest in their families and they were taking care of their younger siblings before they migrated so they had to look for someone to fill

that gap in their absence or better still continue their roles from Accra. In other cases, younger ones migrated and left care provision to the older siblings of the family. Evans (2010) embarked on a survey with sibling headed households in both Tanzania and Uganda where he found out that older siblings believe it is their moral obligation to provide care for their younger siblings. In Evans' findings, older siblings were usually happy and proud about their ability to provide care.

Findings in this study indicated that, most caretakers emerged from migrants' own household. For instance, in the event of migration, migrants negotiated for care with family members who they trusted to take care of the household. Migrants said they did not want someone outside their family members because they could not be confident about the person's capabilities, and also they were not sure about their migration plans. Generally, decision and selection of care providers were done, one on one, with the person the migrant had selected. In other cases, it was a household decision and in some cases, husbands and wives decided together. Although all migrants had to select care takers out of need, migrants decided to choose relations based on age, maturity, safety, trust, responsibility, willingness and experience in their selection of caretakers. Caretakers of children and other left behind families did not go through a rigorous process of selection as in most cases they felt it was a responsibility on their part. Some also said they had no structured selection process, but rather, responsibilities of care emerged in most cases. As Mama stated:

My sister is the oldest in the family so I wanted her to be in charge in providing care as I migrate and help the family that was why she was chosen. I feel we the younger ones should leave the house and work and help my big sister to care for the rest of the family. Our parents are old and I have my children left with her. I trust her to take care of the kids well. She also sees it as her duty to take care of my children too.

One migrant indicated that availability and willingness on the part of caretakers were very critical for her. In Sahadah`s case, due to the condition of her parents, she relied on the support of an aunt who lived close by. Her aunt is mature and experienced so she trusted her to care for her sick parents better. Also since her parents were sick, she relied on convenience and closeness of the caretaker`s home to that of her parents. Sahadah stated:

With regard to particular care arrangements, I spoke to one of my aunts, she decided to take my place. She lives close by my house with her family so she goes to check on my family daily and goes back home. I chose my aunt because I felt she was a family member and also, she will see to the needs of my sick parents.

Migration of a family member usually meant that certain close family members will be left behind. In this case, migrant women looked for family members who could cater for their close family relations in their absence. Migrants` children, aged and sick parents, and younger siblings were the most common category of people that migrants often provided care for before they migrated. Post-migration came with more responsibilities as migrants had to substitute their care giving roles with that of other family members in order to make financial gains elsewhere. Trust, willingness, maturity, responsibility and familiarity of caregivers are attributes that migrants take into consideration when selecting caregivers. This explains why caregivers were mostly migrants` own relatives such as mothers, sisters, husbands and in some cases, aunts. Due to the close-knitted nature of most Ghanaian communities, migrants did not find it difficult in getting help for such roles as most family members regarded it as a responsibility to assist migrants.

5.5 Expectations of Caretakers

In most situations, due to the familiarity and close knit relations between migrant and caretakers, there were not many expectations because they knew their families would be treated as blood relations. Some respondents said they did not have to explain anything because family relations themselves knew what was expected of them. While some said it was not necessary to explain to care takers what they expected of them, others said if they had some pressing issues they would draw caregivers` attention to them. Most of the migrant women with children said their expectations were for care providers to ensure that their children went to school regularly, had moral and social discipline. Others also highlighted the need for care providers to keep them updated on what was going on at home and their needs at any point in time. They also mentioned that they expected caretakers to utilize money remitted wisely and efficiently. Migrants said their main objective for having someone to take responsibility of their household was because they wanted the household to be peaceful and orderly, and that everyone is happy and satisfied. Other migrants said they told caretakers what and how to spend money in the house to prevent misuse of the money.

Lu (2014) explained that, due to the absence of a parent at home, caretakers might encounter increased pressure and responsibilities, which may lead to the weakening of care given to children. The adverse effect of this may lead to overburdening of children with more domestic responsibilities, which may rather lead to poor child development. Most often, children may feel unhappy about the lack of presence of their parents at home. Contrary to this finding, migrant women in this study relied on their close relations who treated their children as their own and they did not have to tell them how to provide care. Migrants did not mention any weakening in care as they were not present back home and they received positive feedback from home concerning care arrangements. For example, the migrant, Teni, stated:

If you have your family member like your mother assisting to take care of your children, you can't really tell the person to do this or do that unless there is something very important you want them to do for you, even with that I call them on the phone and tell them to do it for me. The only thing I told her was that she should keep me updated so that I know their needs and provide them.

In typical cases where migrants' husbands were taking care of the children, migrants said they had to teach their husbands some basic things they had to do to prepare the children for school and also cooking of some foods. Husbands already knew some of these roles but respondents said it was just a reminder. Moreover, they stated that they needed their husbands to take care of children's food needs, shelter, education, and most importantly, their moral and social life. They said in their communities, when children go wayward, the mother is blamed for being irresponsible and careless so they had to make sure things were properly done. This is consistent with Parrenas' (2005) findings where she expressed that there is a clear line drawn between the expectations of motherhood and fatherhood. In this case, mothers have and will always be charged with caregiving roles as fathers will and continue be seen as breadwinners and financial protectors of the household. She further implied that the absence of the father may mean a lack of authority at home, however the absence of the mother may be seen as causing family instability and disruption which society believes has great repercussions for children. According to Asibi:

In my community, they frown on male members of the family doing women's work but things are changing now. My husband is educated and also very supportive so he did not really mind. I had to explain certain things such the children's food needs, education, and the type of friends they hang out with.

Expectations regarding care giving were not formalised because caretakers were also family members. However, migrants had various expectations especially with those involving left behind children and elderly sick parents. In most situations, caregivers were expected to ensure the attendance of school by left behind children and instill social and moral discipline in them. Also, great accountability, efficiency in utilising money and also ensuring an orderly atmosphere within the household were required of migrants. Male members of the household such as husbands were informally taught certain basic steps to follow in order to make their caregiving roles successful.

5.6 Compensation for Caretakers

All migrants said caretakers were to benefit directly and indirectly. Most migrants said they did not agree on a payment scheme with care takers because care takers were mostly their family members. The main intention behind compensation for caretakers was that money sent for the entire household would benefit caretakers as well as feeding, schooling and travelling expenses. Caretakers were also given gifts occasionally. Migrants also noted that caretakers would benefit from all that the family received since they were all family members. Direct benefits included money, clothes and food items. In most cases, respondents who had their mothers and sisters in charge of their household in their absence said they did not pay them directly. They sent money for the entire household and their mothers and sisters controlled how it was spent. According to Mama:

My sister is a farmer and she is benefitting directly since everything I send goes to her, she gets her share too. I usually buy her clothes and give her money. Whatever money I get, I give her some at the end of every month.

In other cases, migrants stated they already provide care to their extended families so they give them money monthly or sometimes bi-weekly. However, when migrants decided to take their

children to live with their extended families after migration, they had to provide extra money to the caretaker family member as compensation and increase the flow of money sent. They had to make sure that whatever they bought for their children, they bought something for caretakers` children as well because there was no privacy and they did not want caretakers to feel bad. Migrants also asked their children to be respectful and help the caretakers when they asked for any assistance. For instance, indirectly, caretakers also benefitted from the help of older children and siblings of migrants by helping them with household chores. The migrant below stated that her children assisted their caretakers with some household chores. According to Teni:

I already gave her money when I was back in the north but since she started taking care of the children, I decided to give her extra money. I give her everything she demands too. Indirectly, the children also help her with farm and household chores.

In certain cases where migrants needed particular kind of care and attention for their family members, they pay family members who are acting as caretakers to take care of their needs. For instance, in situations where a migrant needed care to be given to her sick parents, she had to pay for her aunt`s services to help her because of the sensitive nature of their condition. In a typical case, since a migrant`s aunt provided more services to the migrant`s parents, the migrant paid her a monthly salary because of her extra efforts and she also sent food items for her aunt`s own family as well. Although most people did not pay their relatives who acted as `care takers` for their families for caring for their immediate families, one migrant woman, Sahadah explained that she paid her aunt for her services. According to Sahadah

My aunt is benefitting directly and indirectly. Directly because I am paying her for her services. I pay her in cash and sometimes, I send stuff to her family when I am

sending to my family as well. I pay her so I expect her to use the money to cater for her family as well. It is also a way of extending help to my entire family.

Following the above findings, we understand that caretakers were mostly migrants' own relatives who managed all remittances sent home by migrants. In cases, where care takers were not migrants' mothers but rather other relations, migrants assisted care takers' families and children where need be. In addition, left behind children played a role in assisting care takers in household chores where help was needed.

5.7 Assistance by Other Family Members in Migrating to Accra

Migration of females was not new in the communities of all migrants interviewed; however, most of them said the perception of young migrant girls by the older generation was negative. Other migrants explained that some other family members discouraged them from migrating because of the perceived vulnerability of women living in the city on their own. Initially, they were skeptical because they did not understand why a young girl would move far away to a new environment just to seek higher education. Most at times people in the village thought young girls who went to the capital city sold their bodies and engaged in illicit sexual affairs with men. They also had so many negative things to say about city life but that did not stop migrants from migrating. Most family members believed staying in the village and getting married was a better option than migrating to the cities.

Discussing issues of mobility which is a precursor of migration, Porter (2011) stated that patriarchy has led to many mobility constraints for females in their early lives. This is because most people associate women who start moving at an early age or frequently as having sexual affairs with men (p.4). However, respondents from this study migrated without considering the negative comments made by other kin. For instance, in the case of the migrant below, she made her decision

before other family members heard about it so negative comments did not retract her decision to migrate. Evelyn stated:

I do not discuss personal issues with other family members. The problem is most older people try to say negative things about people who migrate, that the girls usually sleep around, so it is not important to inform them. The youth have migrated to other towns and the older ones usually care for the children they leave behind.

This chapter revealed that most migrants had a positive feeling about their migration decision and main care providers were normally migrant`s mothers or any elderly female member relation in the household. Migrants normally participated actively in household activities before their migration and therefore making care arrangements before they left was necessary. Selection and deciding a person to be a caretaker usually depended on migrant`s relationship with the person, the level of maturity, age, experience, willingness and commitment towards the task. Moreover, most of the responsibilities that migrant women undertook while in their communities were maintained while they were away because distance from their families did not create any further changes in providing both material and financial care. Although only few migrants had expectations of their caretakers, most of them compensated their care takers for assisting with caring activities. Migrants maintained close contacts with their care providers while they were away. Family members of migrant did not bear any financial assistance to support a migrant`s departure, nonetheless, migration of young women raised lots of negative discussion among sending communities. Migrant women were perceived as socially vulnerable and were likely to engage in illicit sexual affairs with men for favours. Family members therefore advised migrants to stay in their hometowns and raise their families or get married.

CHAPTER 6: POST-MIGRATION

In this chapter, I assess care provision by migrant women. The changes in migration plans; duration of stay in Accra and duration of care; care provision after migration; and the reaction of family members regarding how care arrangements are working are analyzed in this section. Also the consequences; personal benefits of migration to family members and migrants are discussed in this chapter. This is important to capture the situation of migrant women post migration and how this affects care provision.

6.1 Change in Migration Plans

Following the previous discussions on migration decisions, most migrants migrated to search for jobs, were transferred by employers to work or escaped from traditional and societal practices. For most economic migrants, the plans surrounding most of their migration decisions were not firm but rather it was a journey to explore economic opportunities and also to take advantage of the wide market in the city. They explained they had no rigid decisions of staying in Accra but they moved with the hope that luck would shine on them. Discussing whether their migration plans had changed upon arriving to the city, most of them said their plans had not changed because they were pursuing their goal which was to earn more money. Consistent with some findings of Kwankye (2012) in a survey with migrants, most migrants believed that their migration to Accra was a step in the right direction. None of the migrants said they changed their minds to return to their hometowns when they arrived in Accra. For example, Mama indicated her eagerness to care and support her family after losing her husband. She had to plan towards getting a job and caring for her family in the absence of her husband. She could not change these plans because it was a desperate need for her family's survival. She said she was able to achieve this goal because she found a job and she and her family started living a better life. Mama stated:

Since the death of my husband, there was no one to care for me and my children. I was eager to make money and help my family, especially the children. I wanted to get a job. My migration plans did not changed because I got a job and I started living a better life.

Other migrants said they did not really have a change of plan; however, they indicated that they missed their families and they would love to be reunited with them. According to these migrants, migrating independently to a big city like Accra was a totally different experience for them. Leaving their family behind, especially the children was a struggle they faced day in and day out. Migrants indicated that they could not cope with the cost of bringing their family members along. In a similar vein, Lu (2014) indicated that migration came with so many risks and costs whereby some family members would have to be left behind. For instance, in this study, this happens to help improve the general wellbeing of family especially children. For some migrants, migrating was for economic purposes and once, they were able to achieve some financial stability, they would go home and be with their families. For example, one migrant woman, Asibi, indicated that her plans had not changed but in her case, reuniting with her family was the most important aspect of her migration plans. Asibi had no intention of staying in Accra permanently neither is she looking for other opportunities in Accra that could prolong her stay.

No, it hasn't, I am hoping to be with my family soon. I have not seen my children grow as I would love them to because, I take care of them until they are a year or so old, and I take them back to my husband, where my family house is. I have been struggling with providing care here and there, and I am getting tired [She gets emotional]

6.2 Duration of Stay in Accra

In all, migrant women had been living in Accra between 2 and 10 years. Two people had been living in Accra for 2 years, another two for 3 years, one person had been in Accra for 5 years, one person for 4 years, one for 7 years, one for 9 years and two migrant women for 10 years. Although migrant women did not indicate whether their migration was permanent or temporary, one migrant woman stated that she had been living in Accra for 3 years but her stay was not permanent as she was on transfer. According to Whitehead and Hashim (2005), internal migration within most African countries are usually temporary in nature; however, there is the tendency of family separation where the majority of close family members are left behind. Most migrants said their stay in Accra included certain planned or unplanned visits home. Nelson (1976) explained that most migrants from rural communities often move to cities, return to their hometowns to visit, in most cases, few come back home to stay permanently. Migrants who have been in Accra for two to three years said they were still trying to integrate into the city life. This was the case of most migrants from rural areas and small towns. For some of them, the life in Accra was too fast and busy, and it took some time to adapt and integrate well. Asibi (below) had similar encounter explaining that the life in Accra was fast paced as compared to her hometown:

I have been in Accra for the past 3yrs but I am hoping to be transferred back to my hometown. It is a busy life here as compared to home. I love the calm nature of my hometown

However, for migrants who have been living in Accra for five years and more, they had varying reasons. Some of them said the cost of living in Accra was so high, so they had to continuously work to take care of themselves and their families. This challenge tends to prolong their stay. Also

most people in the migrant`s hometown believed migrants have money so there was more pressure on them to stay longer, work harder and make more money. For instance, Evelyn stated:

The cost of living in Accra is far too high, it is difficult to save. You have to always go to work, pay your rent, buy food, and pay the child`s fees, by the time you realize, all the money is gone.

In addition, those who have been living for ten years indicated, they had no intention of returning to their hometowns. For them, they intended to make Accra their permanent home. These were mostly single women from small towns who came to school in Accra and decided to stay after getting jobs in Accra. They said they wanted to start a life in Accra by getting good careers and starting a family. Nelson (1976) stated that most migrants often migrated to the cities, with the hope of working in Accra all their life, and while there, they maintained close contact with their families and friends. However, one major finding in this study indicated that not all migrants wanted to stay in Accra permanently, especially the married women. On the other hand, single women in this study wanted to live in Accra and work all their life because they had no major ties in their hometowns. This is the case of Rita, the educated single migrant below.

I already made up my mind after my education to live here permanently that is why I have been living here for 10 years now. I just wanted to be independent.

Most migrants indicated they did not know exactly how long their stay in Accra would be, as most depended on how successful they would be, they had to make arrangements that could sustain them for the period of time they would be staying in Accra. One interesting thing is due to the ability of migrants to visit their homes and families, they believed it helps them to be with their

family sometimes. All migrants stated they wanted their families to be cared for until their permanent return to their hometowns. Others also indicated, as long as they get someone to take care of their family and they are able to send money home, they are okay living in the city. Migrants who had left children behind explained they want their children to be cared for until they decide to move back home or bring the children along to Accra. According to Evelyn:

*As long as I can get someone to take care of them I am okay but I send money home.
If I become a bit stabled, I will decide if I can go back home to take care of my child,
or if I would be able to bring him along.*

6.3 Modalities of Care

Migrants had a lot in common on caring for their families. Migrants explained that taking care of their families was a very important aspect of their lives as “women”. Migrants described care roles as home based care activities that migrants used to perform before migrating. Caring practices within this context refers to women`s social reproductive roles towards their spouses, children and aged parents as well as paid care giving where possible. Migrants said ways in which care was provided were through social and household reproductive roles such as cooking and feeding, taking children to school, doing domestic chores and farming activities and seeing to health issues in the household. In this context, they explained domestic work as household work, which included cleaning, cooking, washing, shopping for groceries and taking care of children. Although migrants shed certain responsibilities after migration to relatives who acted as caretakers, they were increasingly overburdened with more responsibilities at their destination.

Migrants provided care to both their nuclear and extended family members. Care for the nuclear family represented the type of care that migrants provided to their immediate family. For married migrant women, this could be their husbands and children, and for single women, this could be their

fathers, mothers and siblings. Migrant`s extended family included all other families except migrant`s immediate family. These include migrants` siblings, parents, cousins, step brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts. Most extended family members performed household activities and cared for the left behind children as well. For example, Chang et al (2011) described that usually, left behind members of the family become engaged in more domestic and farm work as a result of migration of a family member. This implies that caring activities and domestic work were used interchangeably to mean unpaid work within the household to keep the household safe and healthy. However, one missing link that this study sought to establish is elderly and sick care. This emerged as one of the most important reasons why women made care arrangements before migrating.

Similar to the observation from this study, Evans (2010) categorized caring activities to mean “income generation activities, household chores, child care, self-care, household management, and community engagement.” However, this study found out that caring practices went beyond the categorization of Evans (2010) to include parental/elderly care, sibling care and sick care. The types of care provided for both the nuclear and extended families were mostly the same, however major differences existed where migrant women provide care for spouses and parents. In this case, this study categorized caring practices under different sub-topics below showing the consequences of each act of care on migrants` family members.

6.3.1 Financial Care

Most migrants indicated that most of their responsibilities were financial obligations towards their household. The purposes for the money sent was usually for school, feeding, trading to get profits, medical purposes, household bills and travels for funerals in other villages, emergency purposes, and any other related household purposes. They tended to replace the physical gap by taking on more financial roles and responsibilities. Studies on migration and remittances have

recorded that remittances assist most households to sustain themselves and also to avert any risks that may occur. In most cases, remittances have been able to help households to feed themselves and also increased their ability to save. For instance, migrants in this study, explained remittances had become a major characteristic of their migration experience because sending money to families had become a norm for all migrants. Money sent was usually between one hundred to four hundred Ghana cedis, this is equivalent to between (\$35-\$120 USD) bi-weekly or monthly. Remittances were also usually sent by trusted friends of migrants who occasionally travelled to their hometowns to visit their families.

Although Kwankye (2012) equates social attachment to one`s family on the part of male members of the family to the level of support one can give to his family, the major findings from this study indicated that migrant women continue to support their families regardless of their communities` view of women`s lower social attachment. Frequency of money sent home to assist families did not follow a regular pattern. Money was sent as and when family needed it. One migrant woman said she sends money according to the frequency of her salary pay days. Most of them said almost more than half of the money they made goes to their families. For instances, Cannales (2007) stated that most remittances sent by migrants were used for household consumption and recurring expenditure in the home. In studies conducted by Dugbazah (2007) in a community called Abutia in Ghana, households usually use remittances to buy consumer goods, used for medical purposes, education, hiring more farm workers and buying more agricultural tools to boost farm productivity. However, Lu and Treiman (2011) contend that most remittances sent by parents were used to invest in children`s education. Most at times, the purposes depended on the need of the family at any point in time. For instance, Mama stated:

I send them money every week because of my children. I am paid weekly so I take out my feeding money and rent and send the rest to them. They use it for food, I send

them bags of rice and the rest is shared for our siblings as pocket money and also the last bit for emergency situations like health.

The findings above go contrary to Kwankye`s (2012) findings where he indicated that due to the patrilineal system in the north, male migrants are more obliged to assist their families as compared to female migrants. For instance, he stated that due to the socio-cultural place of the woman in most northern communities, there tends to be wide differences with regard to remittances sent from the destination. However, this study revealed that women were as much as men socially expected to support their families with remittances. This applies to both single and married women who left behind parents, siblings, children and spouses. According to Moda:

I send them money often because my father is unemployed and for my mother too, her trade is not booming for her. It is a great struggle but it has to be done. I send money for my sibling`s school fees and medical purposes. Within a month I can send up to five million or six million.

Other financial care is exhibited through acts of investments. Migrant women helped their families and showed care to them by investing money in their families` businesses such as farming and petty trading. They believed that putting money in a family business was a more sustainable way of helping the family because they would not depend on migrants for petty things anymore. Most migrants stated that they did this so the family could earn extra money to supplement the family income. In this way, they will not have to always depend on remittances. Confirming these findings, much earlier studies by Caldwell (1969) indicated that migrants mostly sent remittances to pay their children`s school fees, pay workers on their farms and also invest in businesses. From this study, Sahadah is investing into her mother`s farming business:

Apart from me, my mum is into farming and petty trading but she is not making enough to take care of the family. She is getting old and the trading is not fetching her as much as much as she wants. I send her money to put into her work so she could gain more profit out of it and also diversify her income. This is helping the family because they don't have to always call me when they need money...

6.3.2 Material care

Migrants spelled out that providing care from a distance was very difficult because they were not physically present to care for their families. At the places of destination, they often sent food, clothes, medicines, school materials for children attending school, phones to facilitate communication and agricultural supplies needed by family members back home. They believed that this act was a constant reminder to their families of their care towards them. Most of these gifts were sent during major religious festivities such as Christmas and Islamic festivities. Gifts were sent to express care, love and affection for left behind families especially children. Apart from children, gifts were also given to care takers to express appreciation for the hard work they were doing for migrant's left behind children and parents. Some migrants also said they wanted their children to feel that they had not neglected them so they made it a point to buy their children some nice things. Most migrants said they sent gifts as often as they could and sometimes, occasionally. Others indicated they sent gifts home after four to six months, monthly or bi-weekly depending on the occasion. Almost all migrants said when they were back home, they did not buy their children gifts regularly but after migrating, it became a routine act. Similarly, Yeboah (2015) stated that, apart from money, migrants were involved in sending clothes and food stuffs to family left behind through friends and family travelling to their hometowns.

Apart from constantly sending remittances home, others demonstrated their care from a distance by increasing their material care for their families. They tried hard to do these things to make their families feel and have the best of care. Similarly, Coe (2011) explained that gradually migrant parents have replaced emotional care with material care. In the Ghanaian scenario, we see that these two caring practices had been equated to each other. Parents tend to think that sending money to caregivers to take care of their children was far better in their situation, Coe (2011) and Parrenas (2001) stated that it is an act of commodification of love on the part of mothers, and parents as a whole. A head load carrier, Aisha explained that gift-giving was not a cultural practice for her when she was in her town but after migrating, gift giving became a responsibility. According to Aisha:

Gifts were not something I usually gave my family when I was back home, except for occasions. After I left, I have made it a point to send them gifts every six months. I usually buy a piece of cloth, and share it between my mother and the kids. They are not close to me, so I try to show them my care, especially towards my kids and my mum.

6.3.3 Physical Care

In most situations, caretakers were those who handled caring activities in the communities. Although migrant women stayed at their destination for years without going home, migrants in this study indicated that they tried their best to visit home annually or twice or three times a year. Through this, they were able to establish physical presence and create a bond with their family members. These findings are in line with Yeboah (2010) who stated that married migrant women went home periodically to visit their families and fulfill their matrimonial duties to their husbands

and left behind children. Visiting families regularly was also common among migrant women in this study. Although migrants had to keep up with work and get some money, they made it a point to visit and connect with their families. Visiting was usually done during festive seasons such as Christmas and Islamic holidays where they had breaks and time to visit. Some also said visiting became more regular when they were able to stabilize themselves in Accra financially and socially. Due to the improved road networks and different affordable options of air and road transportation, migrants said they were able to go back home and return to their places of destination with ease. In the case of one migrant, Sahadah, she was able to visit her family frequently due to the reliable transport systems. According to Sahadah:

I didn't visit for the first few months I spent here. I was trying to settle down a little and raise some money. During the festive holidays like Christmas, or the Muslim festivities, I visit them because we have holiday breaks at work. The roads to my hometown are better than before so it is good to travel home these days

Major findings from this study showed that during short visits, migrants maintained the responsibilities they had at their destination and added on old responsibilities they used to undertake while they were in their hometowns due to the high expectations of family members. Respondents said their families and communities viewed them in a different way because they (migrants' family members) considered them richer. The family depended on them solely because they believed migrants were better off in status and resources. In this regard, they shouldered extra responsibilities when they returned for visits. For instance, migrants such as Fati continued to ensure responsibility for her family when she visited home. Fati stated:

I have not been home for 2yrs now, but anytime I visit, I take care of them. I am still in charge when I go home, I always make sure I have money before I visit home. I buy lots of groceries and toiletries when I am going back. I also give my mum money every day to cook for the family.

Although migrants made it a point to physically reconnect with their families, they made sure they had saved enough money before visiting home in order to be able to support their families. Most of them said their long stays in the city and their inability to visit home for years was because they were not financially stable to visit. They said in most circumstances people who did not belong to their immediate nuclear and extended families came around to get a share of what they had brought from the cities. Such was the situation of Fati, who explained that going home was more of a burden due to the increase in responsibilities during visits in spite of the roles she played from her destination. Sahadah stated:

I even have more responsibility when I go back home because everyone believes I have brought back so much money. Sometimes I do not want to visit because of that, but when I think about my sick parents I have to go. Even family members that are not part of my extended family demand for something.

6.3.4 Emotional Care

Staying close to family members was important to almost all migrants. The latter made it a point to coordinate family plans as well as maintain good communication between themselves and their families. Regular phone calls were good options for most of them when they wanted to show or give care. Migrants indicated having time for their families was an important aspect of showing

their care to most of their family members, most especially, for their husbands and children. Although they were not able to show physical care, they talked on phone with their families regularly. Some of the educated migrants maintained constant touch with family members using social networks. They also stressed the fact that they spend thirty minutes to a couple of hours on the phone to engage with each member of their family, especially married women with children and husbands. Respondents spelled out that talking to their families constantly was a good way of caring and staying closer. They said the most effective way of participating in most family plans and decisions were done through phone calls. According to Aisha:

I have bought a phone for my mum to enhance communication, what I do is I call them regularly and talk to my mum, my father and the kids. I try to call them twice or more during the week. This has helped me to stay a bit closer to my family members. I get to know everything that happens at home anytime.

6.3.5 Transfer of Care from Migrant Mother to Elderly Daughter

Moreover, mothers expected their older children to also take great responsibility in taking care of their home and providing care for their younger siblings. Older girls were more involved in caring for the home than older boys. It was usually deemed right and more so, a responsibility for older girls than for boys in the society to take care of the household (Brown, 1994, p. 29). Brown (1994) summarizes that the kind of position held by women in the Ghanaian societies today are as a result of religion, early marriages, the practices of polygamy, certain socio-cultural practices and the inheritance system of widows often affects the gender relations and gender division at home (34). Studies in this research confirmed the interrelationships within both the family and gender discourse

and how these interplay often affect most Ghanaian households upon the migration of a woman.

The migrant below stated:

My children are old enough to take care of themselves, however, my daughter is the one who cooks for the entire household after I came to Accra....(Mama)

6.3.6 Elderly and Sick Care

Elderly care appeared as an important aspect of care provided within the extended family setting. Van der Geest et al (2004) indicated that in the Ghanaian case the care of elderly parents was the major responsibility of close family members especially children and wives of migrants. Sahadah indicated she needed her sick parents to be cared for since all her siblings had migrated to other cities so her aunt was caring for them. This implies that the migration of siblings made the migrant rely on the aunt for the care of elderly parents. The ways which her aunt cared for her parents included: running errands; withdrawing money from the bank; cooking; doing major household tasks like cleaning and washing of clothes of parents. She also helped on father`s farms to produce food for the entire household. Younger siblings who were helping on the farms had moved to the neighbouring towns. Consistent with the findings of this research, Juarez et al (2013) asserted that there has been massive youth migration both internal and internationally across the globe for economic purposes. These trends are usually seasonal labour migration of young unmarried people. Studies suggested that more men were involved in this trend, however, until recently, when more young women have joined these temporary labour migration stream. Sahadah stated:

My parents are both sick and some of my siblings have migrated to the neighbouring towns for school and work, so there is the need to have someone to take care of them. My aunt cooks and helps with major household tasks like cleaning and washing of clothes of my parents.

Although caretakers are present and were usually part of the household, serious health cases needed more attention and care where there is the need for extra hands at home. Some migrants said if the care provider at home was seriously sick, and there were no relatives to take charge at home, they usually left their work to take over the household until the person recovers. This usually applies to women in the informal sector who are self-employed or managing their own small businesses. They tend to suspend some of their work activities at their destination to take care of their left behind families during sick times. For example, due to the informal nature of Moda`s work, she is able to leave her work and travel back home if there is the absence of caretakers due to ill health. Moda stated:

Sometimes, there are certain urgent situations which put me in a tight corner. I left my child in my mother`s care but my mum fell ill about two months ago and I had to stop working to go and take care of her and my baby. I couldn`t leave her because she was taking care of my child in my absence. If someone in my family is seriously sick, I have to leave all that I am doing and travel back.

6.3.7 Other Supplementary Care Provision

Others received advice and also gave advice to their families through calls and visits if they had the chance to. Most at times, when family meetings are held, migrants are called to share their

opinion on what has been discussed. Migrants explained that although they are away they make a lot of inputs to the progress of the family and their views were respected than before. Most often, migrants believed that their status in the family gave them an upper hand to influence decisions and responsibilities from a distance. Families also make a lot of adjustments in the absence of migrants and younger siblings and male siblings or husbands of migrants make sacrifices within the domestic sphere to fill in migrant`s absence. In spite of the migrant`s support to their family members, families of migrants cared for migrant`s children without expecting any payment in return. Apart from this, migrants received material support from their families in their origin communities especially during main harvests. In this light, transporting food from the origin communities to the migrants` destination was a way of supporting migrants in the cities. In sum, childcare, material care (foodstuffs), moral support and words of advice are often extended to migrants by their families at migrants` destination places, Accra. For instance, Fati stated:

I always try to talk to my siblings because I have been getting some complaints from my mother. I always tell my brothers to live a good life because we are poor and the situation at home is not good. I tell them to lead a good life and respect our mum and study well. I am not rich but I am hardworking so they should look at my example.

Apart from all acts of care mentioned, migrants try to establish good social and professional networks so that they could bring their families along. They try to get them admission into schools and find jobs for them to do while in the city. Supplementary care provided by migrants usually extended beyond migrant`s immediate families, to all family members and sometimes friends. They try to bring some family members to the city so that they could also help care for the household. Although, supplementary care for most migrants was not a big thing. Those who usually sent money

also sent clothes, medicines and food items to supplement the money. For example, some migrants such as Fati who has acquired some skills like hairdressing and dressmaking try to bring along relatives or family friends from their hometowns to learn these skills from them, after which, they could also establish themselves in the city. Fati stated:

I cannot give them everything but what I can do within the best of my ability, I provide it adequately. For now, I am working on bringing my cousin here to learn hairdressing. I thank God for giving me enough to give them

6.4 Consequences of Care Provision on Family

Almost all migrants said they hear positive feedback from their family members regarding care arrangements. Their efforts of caring from Accra coupled with that of family care providers facilitated care provision for left behind families. Most of the women expressed their desire to be home but they could not be home because of their work. Care arrangements with family members were working well and migrants were motivated to work harder. Most migrants indicated that they used most of their earnings to invest heavily in their families especially their children because they wanted to give them good education. Amuedo-Dorantes & Pozo (2010) mentioned that in circumstances where family needs were not met, left behind children suffered because they would have to do more domestic and on farm duties which affected their education.

Migrants explained that emotional, physical as well as financial commitments were important to their households so it became challenging when one aspect is left for the other. One migrant woman, Fati, indicated her mum always prayed for her and her siblings, who were migrants as well. She advised them when they encountered challenges. She said although her mother wanted her children to live close to her, she had no option because they had to make a living. All her siblings,

who were also migrants, sent remittances to their mother to help her take care of the household.

According to Fati:

My mother always wished her children were close to her but since we are all out there searching for greener pastures to help the family she always prays for us to get good luck with our jobs. My mother believes in God so she is always praying for us.

In other cases, one migrant, Aisha, indicated that after migration, the children were left in the hands of her husband; however, the husband could not take care of the children well. The father tended to be negligent and irresponsible in a way that children stopped going to school and did not eat well. Aisha said she was informed about the situation and she was sad. According to her, she was not surprised at her husband's reaction because her husband did not really care about their welfare. She discussed the issue with her mum and her mum decided to be a caretaker for the kids. As, Lu (2014) explained, leaving behind one parent to care for children may lead to emotional difficulties on the part of the left behind parent who bears more household responsibilities. Care arrangement started working well after care was shifted from migrant's husband to migrant's mother. According to Aisha:

Yes, it is working well now, however, when they were with their father, he was not taking care of them properly so I had to look for a way out, by working hard and supporting them. But now, I can work and take them to school with the help of my mother in the village.

Some migrants expressed that although care arrangements were working well, the expectations from their families were too high. Most migrants said because, in most cases, they were the oldest in their families, they had so many responsibilities. They spelled out that when they were back home most of them were the main care givers of their families; however, upon migration, they were expected to carry the same responsibilities and this puts an extra burden on them. It was this situation that prompted them to get some close relatives such as aunts as care takers. This was because they believed they would be less pressured when relatives took charge.

Contrary to the findings of Kwankye (2012) which indicated that male migrants especially were seen as the breadwinners of the family and therefore there were great expectations on them from the household for resources, this study established that same expectations were made from migrant women as well. In spite of the patriarchy that existed in the communities of origin of migrants, migrant women had become the main remitters of money of their households and this has shaped the lives of most left behind families. Parents were also seen to expect more from migrant children than non-migrant children. Yeboah (2015) explained that migrant women working in Accra tend to remit and support their families more than male migrant workers working in low skilled jobs. Sahadah plays a key role in supporting her families especially her left behind parents who are also sick. Being the oldest, she plays breadwinning roles to care for the family. Sahadah stated:

Due to the fact that I am the oldest, I used to take charge of major household responsibilities, taking care of my siblings, cooking and assisting my sick parents on the farm. I feel more pressured now than ever because there are higher expectations of me financially after I came to Accra. There are too many demands and I cannot meet everyone`s demand.

Another disturbing challenge for migrants is when they have to share their commitments between their family and work. There is a bi-focality of loving where, on one hand, they want to work and gain some financial capacity; however, the huge demands from home, sometimes puts extra load on them to satisfy both family and work at the same time. In this case, migrant women need to sustain both financial and emotional care while been away. Most often, respondents indicated that they had to always keep their mobile phones with them so that they could attend to emergencies from home. They had to call their families consistently to make sure everything was okay, and also respond immediately if there was any need at home. The inability to be there physically made Mama call her family frequently to ensure they were doing well during times of sickness. As Mama stated:

I feel some emotional challenges because I think about them a lot. When I miss them, I go home to visit if I am granted permission from my employer. The most challenging part is when my children are sick, or my parents are sick, and I cannot leave my work because I still need the money to assist with their medical situation, I get so worried.

Following the various types of care that migrant women made to their household, there were various consequences on their care contributions. Migrants stated that they could not provide everything the family needed, so they usually prioritized the more urgent issues first. On the whole, migrants coming from the extended families said the family depended more on remittances than farm proceeds. Aside that, most married women indicated that the contribution from their partners also supported them to provide adequate resources to make them feel comfortable. Others complained they did not have adequate resources for themselves but they try their best to support their families. According to Asibi:

I think we are an average family, my husband earns from his business and I earn enough from what I do so it is okay and adequate for us.

While Mama adds:

I have done my best but I feel my best is not enough, I wish I had more money to help them. My pay is not enough, so I send them what I have. Sometimes, I don't even have enough for myself.

Moral improvement was also another recurring experience that the migrant's family had. They said not only physical presence of care shaped a child's life but giving the child what he or she needs to make life better was crucial in the child's success in life.. Most of them said their siblings and children lived morally upright lives. They were not wayward and they were not school drop-outs too since migrants had been able to sustain them in school. Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo (2010) supported this finding by stating that when migrants fail to meet the needs of their families, children may suffer, because they might end up doing more domestic activities which will eventually distract their attention from school work. According to Evelyn:

It is hard to bring up a child properly if you are a single mother and moreover, if you are not living with your child close to you. I always make sure I do my best to provide for my child because I don't want him to feel the absence of his father. My siblings are also living a good and moral life, at least my parents are not begging in the community. They are not dependent on the community.

6.5 Consequences of Migration on the Migrant

Personal growth of migrants improved due to their migration. Personally, migrants felt they had been able to have more control of their own lives than they used to. They said they had become

more responsible and independent in all aspects of life, financially, socially and morally. Others said, they have been able to pursue their dreams of furthering their education and learning a trade or vocation, acquiring skills for the future, running their own small businesses etc. and having a family at the same time as well. Most of them felt empowered and more ambitious than ever. Some said they no longer borrowed money but rather they have been able to save some money to go to school and learn new skills. Hollos (1991) noted that migrant women who moved to the urban centres were able to have financial control as well as economic and sexual independence (p.852). They said that migration had given them more and better opportunities to work and advance their careers at the same time. Some said they were fulfilled but there was more room for improvement. According to Fati:

Personally, I have been able to learn a vocation which has contributed to me earning more skills to work and earn money. I own my own saloon now and I am in control of this business. I am taking care of myself, my children, my mum and my siblings [she giggles]

In spite of all positive results of migration on the lives of migrants, migrants spelled out that they faced some gender, social and ethnic discrimination. For most of those in the informal sector, some men try to take advantage of them when they were working. Also, some promised them jobs by trying to sleep with them first. Also, some people try to deceive them into paying some amounts of money so that they could get jobs for them. Migrants said they were lucky enough to have some friends in the cities who advised them on what to do. In view of these vulnerabilities, Mweru (2008) explained that migrant women are exposed to HIV/AIDS because of loneliness, financial insecurity- they live with male roommates which sometimes leads to sexual involvement with the opposite sex, the use of their bodies to secure jobs, freedom from societal expectations; women take advantage

of being away from their community, and the pressure from family for marriage leads women to have unprotected sex with their boyfriends. Single migrant women such as Rita faced similar temptations and struggles in Accra due to her lack of familiarity to city life. Rita stated:

Yes, there are so many struggles here, I struggled a lot in terms of getting finances for my accommodation, I was sacked from the house once because I couldn't pay my rent. Because I am single lady from the North, most men think I am desperate and they want to take advantage of me sexually and financially as well.

6.6 Challenges in Providing Care from a Distance

Financial and emotional setbacks were major problems for migrants. Almost all of them said they were facing financial problems and the reasons they gave ranged from high cost of living in Accra, inability to save, high cost of caring for themselves and caring for their families simultaneously, inability to acquire permanent housing to bring family along among other things. These problems were major reasons why most women have been unable to bring their children along. Although most of the respondents disclosed that they make enough money to fend for themselves, they are met with more responsibilities from home which often remains a huge financial challenge for them. According to Fati who has left two children and younger siblings behind:

I am facing some few challenges because I wish I could support my family more financially. Also, if I had my own way and I had a house in Accra, I would bring them to Accra so they live with me but I don't have enough money to do all that, so the little I have, I send to them.

Most migrants, especially the married ones said there have been lots of emotional gaps and tensions between their husbands and themselves. Most of these problems led to some separation, divorce and the irresponsibility on the part of husbands to care. Apart from the tensions between husband and wives, migrant women tend to face similar problems with their husband`s families. This situation puts more strain and stress on migrants. For example, one married migrant indicated that migrating has led to a poor relationship between her husband and herself. According to her, the community she comes from are saying she is not a responsible mother because she has ignored her roles as a mother. However, migrant said she is working on getting a transfer back home so she could be close to her family. According to Asibi:

I have not had a good relationship with my in-laws for a long time since I started being transferred. There have been some few internal bickering about me, I hear them but I just don`t want to mind them. They say I am not responsible. My husband is not happy about all this but he is okay. He rather encourages me and we are working hard so I could get a better teaching opportunity at my hometown so I can be close to them.

In addition to the above, one main issue was the degree of separation between migrants and their families especially children. Migrants feel migrating has not helped them to build emotional attachment with their children. They lamented the daily struggles of a migrant mother`s life because they asserted that their responsibilities chase them wherever they find themselves. Some explained they have not been able to see their children grow because they have been migrants throughout their lives, although they made time to visit their families, they were always on the move. Their children saw them as other relatives instead of seeing them as mothers. Migrants therefore have to put in double efforts from their destination to show their children they care. They try their best to send gifts and remittances to maintain their love for their children. According to Sahadah:

The only thing I find negative is with respect to my own marriage because I could have been living with my husband and be happy. My child could also have the opportunity to be with his father but because of my family`s needs, I need to stay back in Accra to help out. The emotional needs of my family are not met.

This chapter indicated that a successful migration experience influenced the period that migrants` families will be catered for. Findings from this chapter suggested that reaction of family members meant that they appreciated migrants` efforts. Although migrants engaged in various modalities of care after migration, they were able to control their lives better. This study established that there was a positive correlation between migration and women`s empowerment. Migration came with lots of challenges for migrants such as high cost of living in Accra, inability to save, high cost of caring for themselves and caring for their families simultaneously, inability to acquire permanent housing to bring family along among other things. However, women empowered themselves by acquiring more education, learning new skills, being employed and managing responsibilities at home from a distance.

CHAPTER 7: EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON GENDER AND FAMILY RELATIONS AND COMMUNITIES OF ORIGIN

This chapter addresses various household decision making structures in families and how these change after the migration of the female family member. Specifically, it addresses household decision-making and the decision maker; decision-making post migration, relationship between migrants and their spouses post migration; and changes in gender and family roles and spousal responses. First, the effects of migration on gender relations will be assessed and it will be followed by the effects on family relationships as well as communities of origin.

7.1 Effects on Gender Relations

7.1.1 Household Decision-Making: Pre-migration

Almost all migrants said male members of the family usually made household decisions. For most single migrants, most decisions lay in the hands of their fathers. They were taught to respect and listen to their fathers and they believed their fathers had the final say in all they did. Most married migrant women said their husbands made the majority household decisions. However, several factors were involved. According to migrant women, central decisions such as the allocation of farmlands, education and marriage were made by men while women like mothers and older sisters decided on domestic activities in the household. Although in most cases, household decisions were joint, financial resources were in the hands of male heads of the house. Respondents said women who disobeyed the male heads were seen as disrespectful and were often disliked by the whole community. For example, Asibi said before migration, her husband made the decisions at home, although she made more financial contribution, she did not have much say in major decision making. She sought her husband's approval in major personal and family decisions she took. Her husband made all the decisions concerning them:

My husband takes most decisions, he takes the major decision and he still does. Even though, I helped the family financially before migrating, my husband is still in control of everything. I also have to seek his permission and approval when I want to do something.

In this other typical example (Aisha), household decision-making belonged to the husband but after the husband stopped taking care of the family, they separated and he stopped making decisions for the house. Most often, she made more of the domestic household decisions like cooking, fetching water, going to the farm, while her husband was in control of the financial aspect. Also, in cases where the husband did not support his wife and the kids, migrant women took care of the kids and also made decisions:

My husband used to but when he stopped caring for my children, I separated from him. We decided in different areas like I do most cooking and food tasks. I made most decisions because he didn't provide anything at home. I decided to migrate because of these problems.

Describing the nature of her home, Fati, said it was difficult to take individual decisions because her home was a polygamous home. Also because she was a female and young, it became much more complicated to take individual decisions. Most of them said, in large household like theirs, where there were so many males and females, there was usually gender discrimination. The male members of the family did whatever they wished but the females have to always talk to their fathers, so it became hard for them to make certain decisions. Decision-

making in the household shifted from the father to the husband once migrants got married. According to Fati:

My father usually decided about things at home. We do not normally take many individual decisions because my home is a polygamous home and I am female too. My brothers always did whatever they wanted but for me, I couldn't. Even in marriage, I can't get up and start making decisions, it needs to pass through my husband.

For most educated women, although husbands made major decisions at home. Their input was needed in certain central decisions. One woman said before migrating, her husband usually discussed certain plans with her and she contributed to these decisions if she had any ideas. She said she and her husband discussed most issues but she respected his decisions if she thought it was for the family's own good. For instance, Sahadah stated:

My father used to take decisions until I got married to my husband.... For now, my husband takes more of the financial decisions, even though I am working and earning, he decides where our money should go. However, there are central issues that my husband and I discuss and decide together.

7.1.2 The Migration Decision

Migrants said migrating was a major decision for most of their households. Almost all migrants indicated that decision making to migrate to Accra was a joint decision between their spouses and family and they, the migrants. Anarfi et al (2003) confirms the findings of this study by stating that

within the Ghanaian setting, the migration of a household member goes through a series of rigorous negotiations involving all household members and sometimes other wider social networks. Through this process, families rationalize their choice of particular family members' migration decision, where the household collectively decides on who migrates and how best the person could maximize the profit of migration. In this case, Anarfi et al (2003) reiterated that there was discrimination against women who wanted to migrate in a society that favoured male migration. They attributed this to the socio-cultural perception of the place of the woman and the beliefs of most ethnic groups. Although both men and women migrated, these traditions limited women's mobility (p.19).

In a study conducted by Dugbazah (2007), most people preferred the migration of men as compared to the migration of women because they believed that men were the breadwinners and could contribute more remittances to the household as compared to women. Others however believed that women were in a better place to migrate because they were more caring, thoughtful and responsible towards their families. Dugbazah further explained that the migration decision-making process took into account the socio-cultural perception of both men and women and how they could maximize their gains at their destination places (p.334).

In this study, most migrants said they had a say in the decision to migrate. Most of the decisions to migrate were personal, but this was followed by family consultation, which made migration decisions joint. However, it had to be discussed with the head of the household who was usually a male member of the family who informed the entire household about the migration intentions. Previous researches from Dugbazah (2007) have shown that decision making concerning migration was important for most migrants' families. Dugbazah described something similar in a study conducted among the Abutia community where she found out that migration decisions were either made or approved by the household head. For example, in my study, it was important for those who were going to start a new life in Accra to discuss their plans with their families. Those who had already secured jobs in Accra said it was not a tough decision for them since their family knew

life would be better if they migrated to take up jobs. In most cases, the male member of the family had the final say and gave approval on women`s migration decisions. In situations where the decision was an individual`s sole decision, the approval of parents or male heads was necessary.

In most African societies, male members of the family were more favoured over females because of the perceived vulnerability and risks associated with the independent migration of the female (Mackenzie, 2008). Although Agesa and Agesa (2001) stated that most households in Kenya, selected individual household members to migrate based on their capacity to support the family with remittances upon migration, my study found out that migrants were not necessarily selected but rather they made their personal decisions to migrate which were later approved or denied by male head. Similar to the situation of most single women, Rita`s parents feared that their daughter might not be able to cope with the social vulnerabilities of been a single young woman in Accra, so she had to painstakingly convince her father before he approved for her migration to Accra:

It was a personal decision I took but I had to seek the approval of my parents. I had the intention of going back to school and furthering my education when I migrated. It was difficult convincing my dad because I am a single lady. He thinks men might take advantage of me.

Other migrants also changed their minds when they finished their courses and secured a job in Accra, their decisions became more individualized in these cases. They contacted their families with their decision that they would stay in Accra. According to Evelyn:

I was just to come, take the course, and go back home and look for a job there. Because there were some jobs there but few qualified people to do the job so, I was

thinking of going back. However, I found that the job I had in Accra paid more and the conditions of employment were better.... It was my decision to stay so I only informed them.

However, due to issues of negligence by husbands, divorce and separation mentioned by respondents in this study, migrants who decided to separate from their husbands, made individual decisions to migrate and support their families but they had to seek the approval of their fathers and male heads. Most of them said they faced a lot of resistance from their fathers and uncles but they kept talking to them. They usually talked to their mothers, who supported them and tried to convince the male heads to allow them to migrate. While on one hand, fathers or male heads opposed most migration decisions of female members of the family, on the other hand, as Hertrich and Lesclingand (2013) also explained, mothers usually supported and understood their daughters' migration decisions. This "split" position of family supports the view that although men try to preserve women's "purity" by keeping them at home, as per Islamic culture and tradition, women in the family do have some power and voice in supporting their daughters' migration decisions in a context of poverty and financial need. They provided support emotionally, financially and materially in order for their daughters to migrate. In most cases, mothers provided monies to their daughters to assist with transportation costs. For example, mothers like that of Aisha, played a key role in convincing Aisha's father to allow her migrate. In spite of her critical urge to migrate, find employment and care for her family, she faced some stiff resistance from her father. Aisha stated:

Due to my husband's negligence, I informed my mother and told her I wanted to join my colleagues in Accra to work and cater for the kids. My mum was very supportive but my dad refused. He said it was not good for a young lady like me to

be alone in the city especially after my divorce with my husband. My mother talked to him and I managed to find a way.

In some exceptional cases, women who had already migrated prior to getting married said their husbands had to accept the fact that they were already migrants. In this case, the husband`s decisions or inactions did not affect migrant women in any way. Sahadah stated:

My husband was not around when I decided to migrate and come to school. He had to accept the fact that I was already in Accra. I had a say in my migration because I was going to pay for everything (fees and accommodation).

Although, five out of the respondents interviewed belonged to the Islamic faith, it was interesting to observe that their families allowed their migration due to certain restrictions in Islam concerning women appearing in public spaces and mingling with the opposite sex. On the other hand Ali (2004) indicated that in the Islamic faith, women just like men could come out of their homes when it is necessary for them to do so, except that the Quran has laid down rules for women in such occasions. Families are involved in migrant women`s decision making and they are encouraging their migration due to the increasing economic hardships. In this context, the effects of neo-liberalism in agrarian communities of the north are sending large numbers of women to the south in spite of the religious rules and traditional norms guiding their movements. Women are taking up different informal and unregulated occupations such as domestic work, petty trading and head load carrying in the south to make ends meet. On the other hand, there are increasing numbers of migrant women in the formal sector such as nurses, teachers and secretaries in the public service sector.

7.1.3 Household Decision –Making: Post- migration

Most migrants said post migration brought many changes in household roles. After migration, most migrant women contributed more to decision making at home due to their increased financial support for the family. Single migrants acknowledged that although their fathers were the male heads of the house, they had more control over financial resources. In most cases, fathers took all the decisions at home. One migrant described that her dad controls the money she sends home, while her mother tackled other domestic aspects. Most at times, it is unknown to migrants how their fathers or husbands control the spending of money sent home. They were not physically present to ensure that the monies were used for the purposes they were meant for.

Similar observations have been made by Hoang and Yeoh (2011), they stated that “the status of “being a man” was used to emphasize the man`s continued authority in the household despite the fact that their masculine identities to the breadwinner ideal was at risk of being undermined by women`s labour migration. In the case of this study, where women had become main financial supporters of the household, men still maintained their roles as family heads and often oversaw how money was spent. Moda, elaborated on her situation by explaining that although she made many decisions regarding what the money she sends should be used for, her father is the one who finally decides on the household expenditure.

My father is the head of the family, but when it comes to issues of money, I make a lot of decisions. My father uses the money to support my siblings, mum and some farm activities. I decide on the financial resources of the family but I am unable to control their spending because I am not around. With domestic issues like housekeeping, my mum determined everything. Even the money I send home he decides how much goes for who or what.

In circumstances where there was divorce, separation and death of a partner, migrant women made most decisions on their own since they had become heads of their own households. On the other hand, there was always a male head of the family who must be consulted when they are taking most major decisions concerning themselves and their children. Household decisions became her sole responsibility, but decisions regarding property rights, farmlands, marriages, migration among others were seen as very important and therefore the male head of the family was consulted. This could be her husband's elder brother or her husband's uncle or her own father if she was divorced or separated, but if she was a widow, she still belonged to her husband's family. According to Evelyn:

My husband used to be the main person who allocates the financial resources of the family to all the family members, including his extended family members. After our divorce, he can't decide for me anymore, I usually talk to my father if I have to make any major decisions. I still have to cope with the financial responsibilities that come with been a single parent.

7.1.4 Other Changes in Gender Roles- Post Migration

Most migrants said the relationship between them and their extended family had changed because migrants' family sees them as the backbone of their families. The status and gender perception of migrants changed among their families and they were regarded as the most successful and economically independent members of their family. Although fathers were the major decision makers for most single migrants in this study, single women among the respondents stated that migration had given them the power to financially control their household from afar. They were

mostly contacted to give feedback on decisions or approval for the allocation of money sent for certain purposes. In the presence of the male relative, migrants had no major say in decisions regarding the entire upkeep of the house. Some married migrants said the relationship between them and their spouses had also changed because they made more financial and material contributions which the spouse was unable to make. Their spouses felt they had lost their self-respect, ego and dignity in the community. This created tensions between migrant women and their spouses. Similar to the observation of Kabeer and Tran (2000), in Vietnam, although patriarchal norms were seen as the guiding codes in most societies, most men started regarding women as their co-equals rather than just their helping mates after migration.

For example, (Aisha) below faced many problems with her partner because of her migration. The anger of her husband towards her led to his refusal to care for the children properly after migration. He went ahead and married a new wife in the absence of his migrant wife which led their separation. The husband's inability to provide for the children was a major factor for her migration, but in most cases, women were blamed for neglecting their families. One major finding from this study is that, as most women migrated due to the financial constraints at home, some husbands became bitter about their wives absence and ignored caring roles for their children. Interestingly, this usually happens even in cases where husbands approved of their wives decisions pre-migration:

The relationship between my spouse and I is not a good one, he is married to a new woman now. I sleep at my mum's end whenever I visit. He is not happy that I took the kids away but I am concerned about my children's future. I am separated from him.

In the case of Evelyn, her husband refused to take care of the children. He said his wife had disobeyed him by migrating. The wife explained that the inability of the husband to care for her and her children was what sparked her decision to migrate. Since then, she has been able to make many decisions for the house which she would not have done on an average day.

Yes, now, I have a lot of say in decisions, I take care of my child myself. My husband has refused to take care of my child because he feels I disobeyed him and that I was stubborn and disrespectful by deciding to migrate.

As roles change, men also face similar changes by taking on women's roles. Some husbands supported their wives to take care of the children. They play the role of a mother in the absence of their wives and take on new responsibilities. For instance, Hoang and Yeoh (2011) explain that after the migration of mothers, fathers tend to balance their work in order to be able to engage in child caring activities. Caring roles therefore shifted from the hands of the wife into the husband's hands after migration. Women had their husbands taking care of the family in their absence. As Asibi stated:

Emotionally, it has not been easy, but I have a very supportive husband who makes things easier for me. There has been a total change of roles because usually it is the father who is not around, but in my case, I am the one who is not around.

Although in some cases, husbands supported their wives' migration decisions by caring for their left-behind children in her absence; some husbands opposed their wives' decisions. In Evelyn's case, although her extended family thought it was good for her to be in the city because most people who left for the city became rich, her husband felt that it was not the woman's

place to go out and search for greener pastures. She said she believed she had had education and she should utilize it and help her children. This is in line with the findings of Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah (2009) who discussed the role and perception of society about women in most northern communities led to gender bias in educating women. As Evelyn stated:

My husband was not happy at all because that was not the initial plan. On the other hand, my parents were happy because they believed that everyone who lives in Accra is rich and Accra is full of opportunities and my community think likewise. My mum and aunties were excited but my husband was not. In addition, up there they think men should go out and work, while women should be at home, but I am an educated woman and I have to be independent.

Changes in the relationships between migrants and their spouses usually affected the roles within the household. One major finding in this study is that, upon migration, women and men shared duties proportionally; however, as noted in previous sections, whereas, responsibilities change upon migration, the position of the man as the family head remains the same. Nevertheless, the gradual transformation of most Ghanaian societies from the extended family system to the nuclear family system have made men participate more in household keeping activities such as washing, shopping, washing, cooking and caring for the children and cleaning. In spite of this, women continue to perform the majority of these activities (Brown, 1994, p.27). Socio-cultural perceptions embedded within the Ghanaian society denied women accessing land, capital, knowledge, which have restricted their ability to actively participate in the economic sphere (p.52). For instance, in the case of Teni, she shares equal roles with her husband:

The roles are the same but, for now we share all the responsibilities equally, he takes half and I take half because I earn better as a result of my new job in Accra. I am trying to see if I can get him another job here so he would migrate to Accra too. I contribute more to taking care of the kids financially than I use to.

For some migrant women, they became the sole breadwinners, but most migrants tended to play the role of both mother and father after migrating. According to Moda:

I support the family financially and also help in making key decisions. Sometimes, I have to travel all the way home to care for my children or parents when they sick because there is no one to do so. Since I migrated, my husband and I take care of the children but I pay their fees because I have more money than my husband. [She says proudly]

Most women decided to migrate based on various consultations with their family members. Male heads of the household were looked up to by migrant women for approval and their blessing before they migrated. On the other hand, migrants faced some resistance from some male members but mothers of migrants tended to be supportive of migrant women`s plans. Migrant women made more household decisions after migrating due their financial power after migration. Having more financial gains meant having the ability to make more decisions within the household. However, they were unable to make the final decisions at home in the presence of male heads of the family. Inequality in decision-making persisted even after women migrated and made more contributions to their household.

This study revealed that some migrant women faced certain problems in their marriages as a result of the changes in roles during post migration. Migrant women encountered separation

from spouses, partner`s refusal to take care of their children, emotional stress on the relationship between husband and wife, communication problems, husbands marrying new women, socio-cultural perception of woman`s place by husband etc. Generally, the role of migrant women before migrating included their contribution along with their husbands` and families` contribution, nonetheless, post migration led to changes in roles by shifting perceived traditional masculine roles from the hands of men into the hands of women. Whereas women became breadwinners of the household by assisting children and husbands financially and materially, some husbands and other family members assisted with child care. Although women may be regarded to be free from domestic responsibilities, they end up playing multiple roles after migrating. In this case, a rise in women`s status may threaten the position of the men at home. In this study, men utilized all options available like marrying new women and neglecting their fatherly roles to reestablish their “feeling of been men”.

7.2 Effects of Migration on Family Relations in Household and Communities of Origin

7.2.1 Migrants` Relationships and Living Arrangements with Extended Family

Migrants explained that they came from close-knit communities where families lived in one compound. They expressed that there had been a lot of out-migration by the young male adults in their families to neighbouring towns leaving the older people to care for themselves. Before migration, most migrant women said they lived in their husband`s family homes, while single women lived with their parents together with other extended members of the family. Most of the migrants had lived with their extended families before, either before marriage or after marriage. These living arrangements implied migrant women became responsible for the care of extended family members. On the other hand, there were tensions between migrants and in-laws during post migration, although in certain specific cases migrants were applauded by in-laws for their hard work upon migration.

Migrants stated that polygamy in their communities had led to large households in every compound. This situation made living with extended families inevitable. Most often, there were two or three wives in one compound, with their children and their in-laws and siblings and aunts living together. Even during situations where migrants lived with their parents in one compound, the other neighbouring compounds are made up of family members because of the close-knit nature of the communities. Families would share food together and the younger children would go to the farm early in the mornings before they went to school. Respondents said extended families benefitted from remittances they sent because money was used to supplement income from farming activities. According to Moda:

In my community, we live like a family. My grandfather was one of the main settlers in our community so he acquired so much land. He shared it with his brothers so almost all my extended families are neighbours. Our house is also a compound house and everybody has a task at home. The women usually go out to fetch water, clean the house, sweep and cook.

Some migrants said although they did not live with any of their extended family members, they had a cordial relationship. Also these family members contributed financially and sometimes sent food items to her mother. They also sometimes send food items to migrants after harvesting seasons. Some of the extended family members have migrated and left for neighbouring towns to work so they sometimes support the household aside migrant`s help. Fati stated:

My mother`s family are good, they live in another region, so I even pay them visits. My mother`s siblings support her sometimes. When my mum was ill, they supported

me to take care of her. They send some food items to me on certain occasions. We have a good relationship.

Generally, most migrants said they had a good relationship with their extended families, their siblings and parents but they did not have the best relationship with their husbands' relatives because their husbands' family members did not understand why, she, a female, should migrate and leave her husband behind. Also, some family members would not understand why migrants should leave their children in the care of their husbands. Some would mock husbands taking care of children because of the feminine role they were playing while others would suggest he marries another wife. Sahadah stated:

I have always had a good relationship with my parents. I have not had a perfect relationship with my in-laws because they feel I should be living with my husband. Culturally, they feel it is not right for me to go out to the city alone and be working while my husband is elsewhere.

In other situations, migrants' in-laws supported their decision to migrate because they knew it would be beneficial to the entire family. Some in-laws respected the women's decision because they were working hard to support the family. According to Evelyn,

It is a good one, in my village when you live in Accra, you are respected a lot so I have earned a lot of respect. My in-laws did not support my husband's decision, because they felt I would support them better when I stay in Accra. But he married another woman.

7.2.2 Effects of Separation on Family Members' Roles in the Household

Most migrants said since they had siblings at home, it made it easier; however, caretakers who did not live with migrant`s family contributed significantly in helping at home. Most migrants said they bore more responsibilities towards their families upon migration, that roles were not totally split. Families also expected more from migrants usually due to the perception that migrants were more economically stable. This confirms Kwankye`s (2012) argument that parents who are left behind by their migrant children often expect more in terms of remittances from them. Also, in situations where one`s decision to migrate to Accra is influenced by a parent, the migrant owed more responsibilities (remittances) towards their family. In most situations, the relations between migrants and their extended families had not changed. In the case of Aisha:

For me, my roles have doubled, I have dual roles now, (father and mother). I work hard to pay their school fees and do my best to make them happy. It comes with so many challenges but there is nothing more I can do. My children are even more distant and they are beginning to see my mum as their biological mum. (she says sadly) but it`s okay since it is my mum who is caring for them.

Others explained that their migration had not affected their relationship with their families. They had rather earned a good relationship because of their new responsibilities. The addition of new roles to migrant`s responsibilities had rather made migrants sustain a good relationship with their family members. This finding did not come as a surprise since studies by Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah (2009) among migrant women in Accra indicated that migration had rather offered migrants flexibility to pursue their economic quest to help their families. For most of them, they came from polygamous homes where there existed co-wives in the household where they took turns to migrate. In this way, there was always a wife to take charge of caring responsibilities within the household.

Relationships were not strained because of the absence of a wife, rather families co-habit peacefully and established good relations. According to Sahadah:

Split family has not been an issue or my major concern. My aim is to make money, send some to my family and take care of my child. I have a cordial relationship with my family because they can all see the struggle I am going through to take care of them...

While roles among family had not totally changed, some migrants said new roles had emerged among family members due to her absence. For example, siblings also supported their families with household chores which migrants used to perform in their absence. They helped their parents with cooking, fetching water and farming activities. According to Evelyn:

Roles emerged because of my absence; my siblings did all household work. For my nuclear, the responsibilities would have been shared between my husband and I, but he doesn't understand that or I might be taking more responsibilities.

7.2.3 Social and Economic Consequences of Migration on Communities of Origin

Migrants are major contributors to the economies of both sending and destination societies. Respondents were of the opinion that their contribution through remittances helps their households and remains the most important source of income. Migrants indicated they made useful contributions to community development projects. Other migrants said their community members saw them as role models because of the active roles they played in their families. Some said they could go for leadership positions in their local districts because of their new status in the origin

communities. Most of them sent financial remittances home and supported their families in many ways. Social remittances were also transferred to their communities with the introduction of new technologies in Accra which migrant women feel might be useful to their communities, especially, new agricultural products. Migrants have been able to form associations in Accra and are supporting each other in various ways, especially with settlement and employment of new migrants in host communities. They try to clear the perception that migrant women indulge in immoral activities when they migrate to the cities. According to Little (1965), associations that are formed by migrants in their destination cities goes a long way to impact positively on the development of origin communities. Asibi stated:

My community is a developing one in Ghana. It used to be very poor, but people have started moving to settle in my hometown. The town is growing and more people are going to school, there are any community development projects, sometimes they call upon some of us who are out of the community to make our contributions.

This chapter assessed changes in gender and family relations after migration as well as the impact of the migration of women on communities of origin. Findings from this chapter suggested that although women did not take final decisions in the household, they became main decision makers after migrating due to the financial role they play in their families. The family unit is central to migrants as they support migrants before and after migration in caring for their families. The migration of women from their communities enables them to impact positively, the lives of their families through financial and social remittances, and also through contribution to community led development projects.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the interrelationships between gender, internal migration and caring practices focusing on north-south migration in Ghana. The thesis was based on the premise that there is a lack of literature on the relationship between migration and the care for left-behind families internally as compared to the abundance of literature on transnational caring practices for families left behind. It contributed new data by exploring the decision to migrate by migrant women, migrant women's say in the decision making processes, distribution of care among household members during both pre-migration and post-migration stages ; gender and family relations within migrant households.

The study was contextualized in existing theories of migration and the input of feminist scholars on the place of gender in migration. In analyzing gender and migration, it is important to incorporate the lived experiences of women involved in the process of migration. Apart from understanding the background of women involved in this process, gender and family relations help to understand the socio-cultural norms and ideologies in Ghana. Taking a historical perspective, this study discussed the north-south disparity in migration in Ghana and how past policies actually influenced the two regions. It was interesting to note in the literature that women who were regarded as `dependents` in the migration process were at the forefront of outmigration from their communities in the north. As well, this thesis presented an overview of the political-economic history of Ghana and situated internal migration within it.

First and foremost, findings from this research show that the feminization of migration which is closely linked to the feminization of survival has transformed previously perceived "followers" in the migration process to become major "actors" who provide the main economic support for their families. Decisions regarding migration were largely based on economic factors, poverty, education, family disruption like divorce and death of a spouse; socio-cultural factors such as forced

and arranged marriages; polygamy and societal problems i.e. (unwanted pregnancies). The motivation to migrate and achieve economic independence was an underlying factor of most women`s migration decisions, because migrants were mostly from poor households. This research revealed that women assumed economic responsibilities to support their families before and after migration. However, post-migration came with heightened expectations from family members because families relied on migrants for their economic survival.

Socio-cultural norms regarding gender with women being viewed as passive actors have therefore been challenged. More migrant women are playing breadwinner roles. What becomes evident in this study is that, migrant women from the northern regions in Ghana are not necessarily poor, uneducated and vulnerable, as most literature has portrayed them to be. In spite of the challenges they face in coping up with caring for their families and maintaining relationships with their left-behind households, these women can be seen as agents of change who consciously challenge socio-cultural norms and gender biases in their communities by migrating independently to provide for their families back in the north. Nevertheless, the intentions behind most migration plans for women were marred with uncertainty and indecision regarding either to stay longer in Accra or terminate their stays and return home. Due to the multiple roles that migrant women performed in supporting their families, intentions behind migration plans often factored in their jobs; family situations and in certain cases, their ability to bring some family members along if their migration plans were successful. Still, feelings surrounding migration were positive as most migrant women were able to support their households and give their children education and a comfortable childhood life. This study also revealed that the ability for most migrants to realize their dreams by pursuing education, gaining knowledge in a trade, getting their desired jobs and better wages; and high status accorded to them by their families, made them feel happy about their migration decision.

Secondly, migrant women considered their families central in their migration decisions. Particularly, migrants took into account the importance of their families (nuclear and extended) in

supporting them i.e. with care provision for children and elderly parents after migration. For instance, the research findings showed that migrants (married and single) negotiated mostly with their mothers and other close relations such as sisters, aunts, and husbands for the care of their left behind children, siblings and elderly sick parents after migrating. Both nuclear and extended families benefitted from migrants' show of concern. Mothers were the most trusted people as stated by migrants to provide care for dependents. This is further heightened by the flexibility of migrants' mothers' livelihood activities which gives her the ability to combine production and reproduction. Post-migration came with more responsibilities for migrant women because they needed to substitute their care giving roles with that of their family members in order to make financial gains elsewhere. Trust, willingness, maturity, responsibility and familiarity with caregivers were attributes that migrants took into consideration when selecting caregivers. Most care giver relatives deemed it as a responsibility to assist migrants. This research also revealed that although male members of the family were increasingly becoming involved in care responsibilities within the household, there have been failed attempts by others to do so. The socio-cultural expectations of gender in the northern part of the country played key a role in men's resistance to provide care or share care responsibilities.

Neo-liberalism has seeped through highly patriarchal and religious families who hold strict beliefs about women, especially with regard to the role of women outside their homes. The meso and micro level help us to understand that in spite of the belief that, the place of the woman is in the home by most traditional systems, and also rules guiding women in Islam concerning mingling with the opposite sex, families and individuals are encouraging the migration of women independently. As a result of structural macro level policies, new opportunities for feminine occupations such as domestic work places huge demand for migrant female labour. Although migration decision making was taken within the context of traditional religious families, their economic needs usually superseded their patriarchal and religious stance.

Gender roles within the household were arranged in such a way that women were charged with household responsibilities while men were seen as breadwinners of the family. However, it was understood that men only acted as bread winners, while in reality, women strived to fulfill household responsibilities and the male bread winner roles even during pre –migration and even more, after migration. Caring arrangements were embedded within household responsibilities and this further complicated migrant women`s responsibilities before and after migration. Expectations regarding care giving were not formalized because care takers were also family members. In most situations, care givers were expected to ensure the smooth running of the household with remittances sent by migrants. All remittances sent home are managed by caregiver, except with few exceptions where a male family head is present. Migrants also played multiple roles by caring for the dependents of care takers in situations where the caregiver is an extended family member.

Migrants saw their acts of care as a “payback” for their families` sacrifices during their upbringing. Migrants contributed immensely to family decisions due to their new financial power and increased status among their family members. The socialization process of most women in Ghana has established a cycle of care where parents invest in their children so that the children will in turn grow up and take care of them when they, the parents are old. Most intentions behind migrants` hard work and investment in their children is geared towards the continuity of the cycle of care. Further investigations affirmed that the cycle of care is extended to other family members. In this case, migrants assisted other family members both male and female members of the family to migrate so that they could also support their immediate families as `migrants`. The lack of assistance on the part of migrants for their family members usually meant that migrants have failed. Major developments within left behind households were financial stability, better social and moral upbringing especially for kids, and opportunities for other family members to also migrate. Although, migration was seen as a one-sided affair for migrants sending home remittances, studies from this research revealed that migrants received some material support from their family members

back in their communities. Apart from the care that families extended to migrant`s children without expecting any payment in return, this study established that migrants received material care (food stuffs), moral support and words of advice from their left behind families.

Thirdly, the modalities of care from this study can be divided under eight main types. These included financial, material, physical, emotional, elderly, sick, transfer of care from mother to elderly daughter after migration and also other supplementary care provision. Financial care was the most important type of care provided by migrants after migration. Migrants supplemented this type of care with the other types of care where need be. Supplementary care usually involved both visible and invisible acts of care that migrants extended to their family members. Although migrant women made tremendous efforts to make sure their families are well, the coordination of care between migrants` destination and hometowns was a major challenge to migrants. Married migrant women were often faced with financial and socio-cultural barriers. In spite of these challenges, feedback from family members was positive as migrants tended to invest their incomes in their household to make sure family members were safe and sound financially, emotionally and physically. Although there were high expectations from migrants` families, migrants were supported with love, care and prayers from left behind family members. Regularly communicating with families, increasing material care, visits, investing in family businesses and acknowledging their responsibilities as mothers or home caretakers are factors that shape the processes of care by migrants from their destination. The ability to care for one`s family was clearly dependent on migrants` financial situation while in Accra.

The fourth finding from this study indicates that migration changes gender roles as well as reproduces them which is reflected through caring practices within the household. Traditionally, household decision-making for most homes was in the hands of any male head of the house. As a result, where individual decisions were made by women, they had to seek the approval of the male head, who was usually a father, an uncle or a husband. Joint household decision making was most

common among migrant women in Accra. Sometimes, family heads resisted the migration of young women. Migrant women were perceived by older members of their community as socially vulnerable people who could easily be lured into engaging in illicit sexual affairs with men for favour. However, post migration increased migrants` ability to make more household decisions due to their increased financial power. Having more financial gains on the part of migrants meant having the ability to make more decisions within the household.

Decision making power for women also had a direct impact on their roles. Before migrating, migrant`s roles included their contribution along with their husbands` and families`, nonetheless, post migration led to changes in roles by shifting perceived traditional masculine roles from the hands of men into the hands of women. In certain circumstances men succeeded in contributing to care provision however there were also men who neglected care responsibilities. There were cases where there existed equal contribution between spouses as well. Although women were perceived to be free from domestic responsibilities due to their physical absence, they ended up playing multiple roles after migrating. In spite of their contribution to the decision making process, gender inequality in making final decisions still persisted even when women are able to migrate and make more contributions to their household.

The fifth major finding from this thesis indicates there are financial, material and emotional consequences of migration on migrant women, their spouses, children and extended families. These are derived from the migrant`s woman`s perspective. For instance, women usually migrated upon separation or divorce from their partners or death of a partner. Meanwhile, migration has also been linked to separation and divorces among migrants in this study. Other problems were that the migration of the woman often led to partner`s refusal to take care of children, emotional stress on the relationship between husband and wife, communication problems, husbands marrying new women/ polygyny, socio-cultural perception of woman`s place by husband etc. Women`s level of education played a major role in challenging and defying widely held traditional beliefs by giving

the woman the liberty to work anywhere. In this case, a rise in women`s status threatened the position of the men at home. Men utilized all options available like marrying new women and neglecting their fatherly roles to re-establish their “feeling of being men”.

Caring for their families from a distance came with challenges. New roles for migrants involved sacrificing their time to adequately sustain themselves and their families. The high cost of living in Accra, inability to save, tensions between families and in-laws; and spousal disagreements were among the major challenges of migrant women. In spite of these challenges, migrants were motivated by the feeling of responsibility and economic independency. There were also issues of misplaced identities where children of migrant women are not able to treat them as “mothers” but rather saw them as “another family member”. Although migration occurred internally, the level of family separation usually impacts negatively on the emotional upbringing of children. Lack of openness between migrants and their children, lack of fatherly support for single mothers and a feeling of disconnect between migrants and their children were main emotional challenges for migrants.

The destination environment also came with gender, ethnic and social discrimination which affects migrants` ability to compete for better wages. Also, hard-earned remittances sent by migrants are sometimes not easily tracked and often misused for other things aside from the purpose for which it was demanded. The status change of migrants as having more financial power often led to high demands on the part of family members. Families also made many adjustments in the absence of migrants and younger siblings tend to fill up certain domestic roles. Although patriarchal norms regulated the activities of most communities, male siblings or husbands of migrants made attempts within the domestic sphere to fill in migrant`s absence.

One important aspect of this study which is often overlooked in development studies is the significance of care to development. Migration and caring practices play an important role in shaping both origin and host communities. Care is seen as a mere activity which is undertaken by

women; however findings from this research have revealed the various acts of care women perform to sustain their families after migration. Although women care for their families before migration, they are able to sustain their acts of care post migration. Families and communities benefit from women`s financial, material, emotional, sick and parental care because they relieve their communities of social misfits and dependents that may drain the government of financial resources. The caring abilities of migrant women cannot be overlooked because of the life sustaining activities they undertake which have great socio-economic implications for communities.

Migrant women from the northern regions in Ghana are not necessarily poor, uneducated and vulnerable as most literature has portrayed them to be; however, they continuously battle gender and class stratification in Accra. They are perceived as having lower class status as compared to their counterparts in the South who are regarded as having higher class status. This leads to discrimination in wages and the kind of jobs they undertake when they migrate to Accra. Overall, this study has analyzed the caring roles of women specifically, the coordination and negotiation of care post-migration and the changes of gender and family relations after the migration process. Clearly, the root cause of the problems of most migrant women was poverty and the inability to acquire jobs in their communities. In their quest to gain financial stability and support their families, they are tasked with caring roles which they must fulfill. In responding to these challenges, there is therefore the need for migrant women to be given job opportunities within their communities after education instead of employing people from different communities. This is a good step in ensuring that migrants have a well-balanced work and family life.

It is also evident that the government of Ghana is not giving enough recognition to the growing population of northern migrants especially women in the South, particularly Accra. Although there are NGOs working with certain categories of migrant women in the informal sectors, there is the need to recognize that there is a growing population of migrant women in the formal sector from the Northern regions in Accra. The potential of migrant women can be harnessed for poverty

reduction in the North. This study has established a growing presence of migrant women from the North living and working in the formal sectors in Accra. Well-established employment centres in both the origin and destination communities in addition to integration facilities in Accra can help migrant women get jobs and be able to bring their families along. This would improve caring arrangements because families would be more stable.

There is also the need to shift ideologies concerning gender roles within the household through education. In this case, it is important to assess the available resources within the northern sector and how they could be utilized to address women`s challenges. This follows the fact that gender discrimination in access to and control over productive resources and social services exacerbates women`s vulnerability to poverty. In order to ensure family development and reduce the possibilities of family separation upon the migration of the woman, some women`s funds could be set up to help women who become unemployed during the dry seasons. This would enhance their economic participation and opportunities within their communities.

In addition to the issues addressed in this thesis, a number of questions were raised which require further research. For example, what is the impact of care giving on left behind families from their experiences? i.e. the experiences of left behind families themselves from the communities of origin. Aside that, what is the impact of return female internal migrants in their communities and how do their roles change after their return? In addition, attention should be channeled to the changing roles of men in household activities and decision-making i.e. the reconstruction of masculinities from men`s perspectives. Finally, although, this research focused on women, migration and caring practices in Ghana, the findings of this research can be further extended in an African context. This is due to the socio-cultural similarities among many traditional African cultures especially in West Africa and also the centre-periphery development dynamics that trace their origins to colonialism. Thus, this thesis makes a significant contribution to the literature on gender, caring practices, migration and development in sub-Saharan Africa.

APPENDIX

Appendix A

Detailed Profile of Migrant women in the study

Sahadah: She is a 27-year-old woman. She works in the formal sector. She is a muslim born in Tamale, in the Northern Region of Ghana and she belongs to the Gonja ethnic group. She has been living in Accra for five years. She has been married for two years now. She is has a child and a large household of 10 members. She left her elderly sick parents in her hometown in the care of her aunt. She is a university graduate. She is from a poor and low class household.

Mama: She was born in 1970. She works as a housekeeper in Accra. She is a Muslim woman and a Busanga by ethnicity. She comes from Bolgatanga in the Upper East region of Ghana. Mama`s husband died in 2005, making it 10 years since the death of her husband. She moved to Accra after the death of her husband and she has been living in Accra for the past six years. She had three children with her late husband. She comes from a household with 14 members. Her highest level of education was Junior High School. She is also from a poor and low class household.

Fati: She is 25 years old and she was born in Bawku, in the Upper East region. She owns a hairdressing shop in Accra and she has been in Accra for 9 years. She is a Muslim and she is one of the few migrants in this study who met her husband in Accra and got married. Her marriage is two years old. She currently lives with her husband and two children in Accra. All her siblings and her sick mother are in her hometown. Her household members back in her hometown are nine in total. She also comes from a poor low class household. Fati did not have any form of formal education.

Pat: She was born in 1991, she worked in the informal sector for some time as a trader. She is currently learning a skill as a hair dresser. She comes from Bolgatanga in the Upper East region. She is single with no child. She has been living in Accra for three years. There are 13 members in her household. She has attained only basic education and she comes from a low class household.

Rita: Rita is a 29 year old lady who is working in the formal sector. She has attained university education and she is currently living in Accra. After her degree, she had a job in Accra and she has been living in Accra for 10 years. She is a kusasi by ethnicity and a Christian. She comes from a small town in the Upper East region. Her household is a large one with tem people. Her household have low finances. Rita is single with no child and comes from a low class family.

Asibi: She was born in 1977; she is a Mamprusi by ethnicity. She comes from a small town in the Northern region and she has been living in Accra for three years. Asibi is married and has three children who she has left behind in her hometown. She attended a Teacher`s Training College, and she is currently teaching in Accra. She comes from a seven member household, low class and her family finances are low.

Aisha: She is 27 years old. She works in the informal sector. She is a Muslim and she belongs to the Sisala ethnic group. She is from a rural community. Aisha has been living in Accra for two

years. She is separated from her husband. She left two children behind in the care of her mum. Her household has eight members. She only attained basic education and her family's finances are low. She is from a low class family.

Evelyn: Evelyn was born in 1980. She works in the formal sector, she is a Christian and she is a Nanumba by ethnicity, she comes from a rural community. She has been in Accra for five years. She has a child and she is currently divorced. She attended a vocational skills college. Her household is a very large one with seventeen household members who have a lower class status.

Teni: She is a young lady of 32 years old. She is a Christian with a formal level of education. She is a mamprusi by ethnicity and she comes from a rural area. She has been living in Accra for four years. She has two children. She belongs to a household of eleven members. Teni is a trained nurse who attended a nurses' training college and her household are low on finances and class within their society.

Moda: Moda was born in 1979, she works in the informal sector, and she is a Muslim and a Sisala by ethnicity. She comes from a rural area and she has been in Accra for the past two years. Moda is married and has a child. She comes from a household of eight people. She has attained basic education, and she comes from a poor low class household.

Appendix B

Table of Profile of migrant women in the study

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	BIRTH YR	OCCUPATN	RELIGION	ETHNICITY	BIRTH PLC	YRS ACC	MARITAL STATUS	NO CHILD	HOUSEHOLD	EDU.	FINANCES
SAHADAH	1987	FORMAL	ISLAM	GONJA	CITY	5	MARRIED	1	10	UNI	LOW
PSDM	1970	INFORM	ISLAM	BUSANGA	CITY	6	WIDOW (10YRS)	3	14	JHS	LOW
FATI	1990	INFORM	ISLAM	BUSANGA	SMALL T	9	MARRIED (2YRS)	2	9	NONE	LOW
PAT	1991	INFORM	CHRISTIAN	SAMRE	SMALL T	3	SINGLE	NONE	13	BASIC	LOW
RITA	1986	FORMAL	CHRISTIAN	KUSASI	SMALLT	10	SINGLE	NONE	10	UNI	LOW
ASIBI	1977	FORMAL	CHRISTIAN	MAMPRUS	SMALL T	3	MARRIED	3	7	TTC	LOW
AISHA	1988	INFORM	ISLAM	SISALA	RURAL	2	SEPARATED	2	8	BASIC	LOW
EVELYN	1980	FORMAL	CHRISTIAN	NANUMBA	RURAL	5	DIVORCED	1	17	VOCATN	LOW
TENI	1983	FORMAL	CHRISTIAN	MAMPRUS	RURAL	4	MARRIED	2	11	NTC	LOW
MODA	1979	INFORM	ISLAM	SISALA	RURAL	2	MARRIED	1	8	BASIC	LOW

KEY

1. NAME OF MIGRANTS

2. BIRTH YR- BIRTH YEAR

3. OCCUPATION

4. RELIGION

5. ETHNICITY

6. BIRTH PLACE

7. YEARS IN ACCRA

8. MARITAL STATUS

9. NO. CHILD-NO. OF CHILDREN

10. HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

11. EDUCATIOON

12. LEVEL OF FINANCES

Appendix C Interview Schedule

Negotiating Caring Practices among Internal Migrant Women in Accra-Ghana

Objective: To understand how care is redistributed among family members after migration

1. How long have you been in Accra? How long did you intend to live in Accra? Have your migration plans changed? Why?
2. Why did you decide to migrate?
3. Were there any care arrangements made before you left? If yes, with who? What are the care arrangements in your family? Who is responsible for what?
4. How / in which ways was care provided?
5. Who is taking care of your family now? How do you understand these caring arrangements? Who does what for whom?
5. What kind of care arrangements did you (and your spouse/ family) put in place before leaving? How long do you want your family to be cared for? What feedback / news do you receive from family members? Are the care arrangements working well?
6. Are you happy with your migration decision and how care arrangements are been carried out? What improvements would you like to see?

Objective: To assess how migrant women re-negotiate care provision with others (e.g. spouses, families and friends)

1. How are you caring for your family from here?
2. Who is the main care-provider in your absence? How was it decided who should take care of the home in your absence? Why did you decide to choose the person? Did you explain to him or her you expected of them as caretakers? What did you expect them to do in your absence?
3. Are they benefitting directly or indirectly from caring for your family? Yes/No. What kind of benefits or compensation do you provide them? i.e. in cash, in kind, medical, educational assistance etc.
4. What kinds of contact do you maintain with family members or friends caring for your family? How frequent is the communication and for how long have you maintained it?

Objective: To assess how these migrant women engage in caring practices differently during post migration, i.e., across distance, economically, physically and psychologically.

1. How often do you send gifts home?

2. How often do you send money? How much? For what purposes?
3. Are you responsible for the upkeep of the home when you go back?
4. What kind of connection do you still maintain with your family i.e. advice, regular calls, contribution to funerals/weddings, visits etc. Please explain what connections you maintain with each family member away.
5. How often do you travel back home to see your family?
6. Do you pay the caregivers? How much? How often?
7. How does your family respond to these acts of care?
8. Are you satisfied with the kind of care you are providing?
9. What other supplementary care do you provide from a distance? What kind of care are you extending to your family back home after migration? Do you feel you have provided enough resources to cater for their needs? How do you wish to improve it?

Objective: To understand how migration influences gender relations in the household

1. Before migrating who decided about things at home? Was it a joint decision-making or did each one of you decide in different areas? What kinds of things were decided by who?
2. How was the decision about migrating to Accra made between you and your spouse or family? Did you have a say in the decision making process?
3. What is the relationship between your spouse/family and yourself after you migrated to Accra? Has there been any change about who makes household decisions now?
4. Have there been any changes in your roles in the family? If so, of what kind? What new roles do you have? How is your spouse/family responding to these changes? Is your spouse/family contributing to taking care of the children?
5. Are you able to provide material and financial resources to cater for your family? Did you use to provide such resources before migrating? If, no, how do you feel about your new roles?
6. What challenges do you face in providing care for your family from a distance?

Objective. To assess how migration influences family relations in the household

1. How is your relationship with your extended family (your parents, in-laws, aunts, uncles etc.)? Do you live with some extended family members?
2. How does the fact that your family is split affect family members' roles (men's, women's, parent-children relations etc.)? Does this create challenges for you, your spouse, or your children? Are

there any advantages in this arrangement? Is this arrangement sustainable over time, in your opinion?

3. Were your other family members part of the decision making process to migrate? Did they help your migration to Accra? How did they respond to your decision to migrate?

4. What kind of support do you receive from your family? How has this changed since you migrated? How supportive are they (in terms of helping with household chores, taking care the kids when you are way etc.)?

5. Are any of your family members taking care of your children, parents or husband? Which family member is it? What kinds of support and care are they providing?

Objective: To understand how internal migration and migrant women's caring practices (physical, emotional, financial etc.) from afar affect the socio-economic development of communities of origin

1. Do you send remittances / financial assistance or other gifts back home? How often and how much?

2. Are you able to provide more assistance to your family now that you have migrated?

3. How has migration improved the lives of your family back at home?

4. Have there been any negative consequences from your migration? If so, of what kind and for whom?

5. How would you measure the impact on family sustenance (education, health, food, clothing etc.) before and after migration?

6. Would you say migration has helped your family as well as your community to develop socially and economically?

7. Have there been any direct benefits to your migration decision personally

Appendix D
Background Information Sheet

Negotiating Caring Practices among Internal Migrant Women in Accra-Ghana

You may have already answered some of these questions during the interview, but I would like to have confirmation on these points:

CHOSEN PSEYDONYM _____

1. Year of birth _____

2. Occupation..... (formal/informal)

3. How do you identify yourself in terms of ethnicity/religious background?

4. Where were you born? Rural area _____ Small town _____ City _____

5. For how long have you been living in Accra?

6. Have you lived elsewhere (besides Accra & your place of birth) and for how long?

7. Are you married? _____ Since: _____

8. Do you have children? How many are they? What are their ages?

9. How many members are in your household (including siblings)? _____ How are they related? What are their ages?.....

9. Are you currently in a relationship _____ for how long? _____

10. Did you attend Primary school.....high-school _____ University _____ Other (explain)

11. How would you characterize the financial resources of your family?

Low _____ Medium _____ High _____

If you would like to receive a copy of the findings from this project, please write your mailing address on a separate piece of paper and give this to the interviewer.

THANK YOU.

Appendix E
Informed Consent Form

Negotiating Caring Practices among Internal Migrant Women in Accra-Ghana

Nana Hawawu Alhassan
 Saint Mary's University, 923 Robie Street
 Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, B3H 3C3.
 Email address: nahassan88@gmail.com Tel number: +1 (902) 4927440

As an MA student at Saint Mary's University, I would like to invite you to participate in this study negotiating caring practices among migrant women in Accra. More specifically, this study focuses on how migrant women in Accra are able to provide care and also negotiate caring practices through time and space. It seeks to explore the interrelationship of gender roles, internal migration and caring practices in Ghana. This study, supervised by Dr. Evangelia Tastsoglou, forms a core part of my thesis. Interviews will take approximately an hour, on issues relating to your experiences as a migrant woman in Accra and how you are able to care for your left behind family. This research is timely because there is little research on internal migration and left behind families in Ghana. After I have collected approximately 10 interviews, data will be transcribed and analyzed. At that time I will write up the data and make a summary report available to you. I hope that participating in this study will allow you to have the opportunity to speak about your experiences and to have your voices heard. **Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from this study at any time without penalty.**

All information obtained in this study will be kept strictly **confidential and anonymous**. Before we begin the interview process you will choose a pseudonym and it is by this name that you will be known throughout this process. No information that identifies you as a specific individual will be used in this study. Please do not put any identifying information on any of the forms we provide you. To further protect individual identities, this consent form will be sealed in an envelope and stored separately. Furthermore, no individual participants will ever be identified in any writing from this study.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me, the Principal researcher (Nana Hawawu Alhassan) at (902) 4927440. If you wish to receive a summary report at the end of this study, please provide your name and postal address on a separate piece of paper to the interviewer.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board. If you have any questions or concerns about the study, you may contact Dr. Veronica Stinson at ethics@smu.ca, Chair, Research Ethics Board.

By signing this consent form, you are indicating that you fully understand the above information and agree to participate in this study.

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Please keep one copy of this form for your own records.

Appendix F**Thank You****Negotiating Caring Practices among Internal Migrant Women in Accra-Ghana**

Dear Participant,

I would like to thank you for your participation in an interview for this study: *Negotiating Caring Practices among Migrant Women in Accra-Ghana* which is under the supervision of Dr. Evangelia Tastsoglou. As a reminder, the purpose of this study has been to explore the ways in which skilled and unskilled migrant women are able to 1) provide care and 2) re-negotiate caring practices through time and space with their families back at home when they migrate. Through my study, I am hoping to contribute to a renewed interest and investment in internal migration, gender relations and caring practices in Ghana. Moreover, understanding the ability of migrant women to negotiate and fill such care gaps remains critical in studying gender, internal migration and development. The data collected during interviews will contribute to a better understanding of gender and family relations in Ghana and how these affect migration at the local level.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept anonymous. Once all the data is collected and analyzed for this project, I will share this information with you through a summary of research findings when the study is completed. The study is expected to be completed by May 2015. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or if you have any questions or concerns, please contact me, the principal researcher at either the phone number or email address listed at the end of this letter. As with all Saint Mary's University, projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by and received ethics clearance through, the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board (REB 11-022). Should you have any comments or concerns about ethical matters, please contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Board at 902-420-5728 or ethics@smu.ca.

<p>Principal Researcher: Nana Hawawu Alhassan, Department of International Development Studies, Saint Mary's University 923 Robie Street, Halifax, NS, Canada, B3H 3C3. Email address: nahassan88@gmail.com Tel number: +1 (902) 4927440</p>

<p>Supervisor: Dr. Evangelia Tastsoglou, Department of Sociology and Criminology Saint Mary's University 923 Robie Street, Halifax, NS, Canada, B3H 3C3. Email address: Evie.Tastsoglou@smu.ca Tel number: (+1 902 4205871)</p>
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Sincerely,

Nana Hawawu Alhassan
 Department of International Development Studies
 Saint Mary's University, 923 Robie Street
 Halifax, NS, Canada, B3H 3C3.
 Email address: nahassan88@gmail.com Tel number: +1 (902) 4927440

Appendix G
Invitation script

Negotiating Caring Practices among Internal Migrant Women in Accra-Ghana

I am Nana Hawawu Alhassan, an MA student at Saint Mary's University. I am studying International Development Studies. I would like to invite you to participate in this study *Negotiating caring practices among migrant women in Accra-Ghana*. This study wants to find out ways in which skilled and unskilled migrant women are able to 1) provide care and 2) negotiate caring practices through time and space with their families back at home. I would also want to find out how the changing nature of female internal migration affects socio-economic development of their communities. I believe understanding the ability of migrant women to negotiate and fill such care gaps is important in studying gender, internal migration and development.

The project forms part of my thesis research, under the supervision of Dr. Evangelia Tastsoglou. Your interview will last for approximately one hour. I am planning to conduct approximately 10 interviews, transcribe and analyze them. The interviews will take approximately an hour. When the study is completed, I will write up the data and make a summary report available to you. I will be very diligent about safeguarding your anonymity and confidentiality of your information. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me, the Principal researcher, Nana Hawawu Alhassan at (+1 9024927440) or email me on nahassan88@gmail.com. You may also contact my supervisor Dr. Evie Tastsoglou on (+1 902 4205871) or email on Evie.Tastsoglou@smu.ca.

I hope that participating in this study will allow you to have the opportunity to speak about your experiences and to have your voices heard. **Your participation is completely voluntary. You may decline questions or opt out of the interview without penalty. Due to time and logistical constraints, I will allow you a week after the interview process to contact me and withdraw from the study if you wish.**

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