THE MIGRATION OF THE FRAFRA OF NORTHERN GHANA: A CASE STUDY OF CYCLICAL LABOR MIGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

JOHN S. NABILA

1974

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H 114

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ABSTRACT

THE MIGRATION OF THE FRAFRA OF NORTHERN GHANA: A CASE STUDY OF CYCLICAL LABOR MIGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

By

John S. Nabila

Migration in Africa, especially labor movements, can be considered a form of spatial interaction. Regions of varying levels of economic and social development are connected by streams of persons who move from one region or locality to the other in order to avail themselves of real or perceived opportunities. This is a study of internal migration in Ghana, West Africa. In order more fully to understand the processes of migration patterns and their consequences for both the source and destination areas, the study focused on one ethnic group--the Frafra of Northern Ghana, for an indepth study.

The bulk of the data were collected from the field in Ghana through the use of interview schedules. Stratified and proportional sample methods were used in selecting the migrants to be interviewed at the destinations and also the respondents interviewed in the homeland. In all, 1,416 migrants at the destinations and 607 of the people at home were interviewed.

Over-population on a limited land resource base has been one of the major problems of Frafra area and in neighboring areas occupied by the Kusasi and Busansi. Consequently, there has been a serious

problem of land shortage with its related problems of soil erosion and periodic hunger.

Faced with this population problem, coupled with the recruitment efforts of the colonial administration and illegal labor recruiters, out-migration probably provided an escape valve from the stringent survival system in the area. Thus, since the 1930s a momentum of rural-urban migration has been created in the Frafra homeland and there exists today a social network of chain migration among the clan members or specific families. Among these migrants are those who go to seek jobs, visitors of all categories to the South, and oscillatory or seasonal migrants, especially those who work on the cocoa and food producing farms.

The socio-economic characteristics, migration behavior, perceptions, etc. of migrants who moved during the last five years (recent migrants) were in most cases significantly different from those who have been at the destinations for long periods. Basically the following are the conclusions of the study.

1. The dynamics of family and ethnic ties have led to the establishment of chain migration, which in some instances is solely responsible for the destinations chosen by migrants, the types of occupations done and above all the continuous flow of rural people to these destinations.

2. Economic Factors (rural-urban income differentials) have been responsible for creating labor reservoirs in some regions, while other areas with job opportunities and better social facilities are mainly receiving areas.

3. In regions where the level of education is low and yet there are no job opportunities at home the majority of movers will be the uneducated. However, when educational facilities are increased, the greater proportion of young movers will be those who are educated.

4. As a result of the striking imbalances in availability of resources and economic development, distance is generally not a hindrance to migration, especially if there is a perception of better opportunities further away.

5. People who move from urban or semi-urban centers are more likely to go to other urban centers than to rural destinations.

6. Although processes of incorporation of all ethnic groups in the urban centers are taking place, on the whole migrants tend to continue with the social networks of relationships they were used to in the rural environment.

7. It is mostly the young and single males who participate in moving to areas of employment. Education and changing roles of women in recent times have resulted in many females, both single and married, taking part in the labor movements to diverse destinations.

8. Environmental stresses, e.g., over-population, drought, soil erosion, especially if they result in displacing rural populations, will continue to be some of the underlying factors for out-migration in the Frafra homeland.

9. Basically, there are three types of returned migrants. The first is the migrant who returns home for a short visit while the second is the person who goes home, stays for quite a considerable length of time (6 months to two years) after which he rejoins the migration stream again--cyclical labor movements. The last type of returned migrant is the one who goes home permanently with no intention whatsoever of leaving the ancestral land again. The first and the second are more frequent than the third, but on the whole the first type of returned trips are the most frequent.

10. The probability of a Frafra migrant remaining in the South for a very long time depends on, among other factors, the job and other opportunities available to him at the destinations, the age at which he first moved out of Frafra, his position in the extended family and the relative importance of pull factors in the rural environment--the homeland. When a migrant has stayed at a destination for a period of time, acquired a job, gained some seniority or experience in the job, coupled with the development of some social and political networks with others within the community, he will feel reluctant to go back to the home town in Frafra.

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Geography

1974

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I take this opportunity to thank the Scholarship Committee of the University of Ghana for awarding me a Post-Graduate Scholarship. without which it would have been difficult to undertake a doctoral program in the United States.

The results of the field research presented in this dissertation would not have been achieved without the necessary financial support. The initial support was provided by the Population Council, New York. I am very grateful to the scholarship committee of the Council for the award. I am particularly thankful to Dr. Donald Heisel, then in charge of programs in Africa, and Miss Eugenia Gale, the fellowship secretary, for their continued support during and after the research period.

In the field it was realized that this initial support would not be sufficient to enable me to gather all the necessary data on the migration process. Fortunately, the Rockefeller Foundation provided the needed extra funding through the University of Ghana. My gratitude goes to the Foundation and Dr. Michael P. Todaro, Associate Director of the Social Science Division, Rockefeller Foundation, New York.

My appreciation goes to Professor K. B. Dickson and Dr. Nelson O. Addo, both of the University of Ghana, for their very helpful assistance during the field research. My gratitude goes to all the Headmen of the Frafra communities at the destinations, the chiefs and

elders in the homeland, and all the people interviewed for their cooperation. In addition I thank all the research assistants for their serious devotion to the project. I also thank the many other concerned people, too numerous to mention here, whose help in Ghana made the research a success.

My graduate program at Michigan State University has been a successful and stimulating one because of the encouragement, and dedicated guidance from Professor John M. Hunter, my academic advisor. His suggestions and guidance in the field when he visited Ghana in 1972 and during the period of data analysis were very helpful in the writing of this dissertation. I am grateful to him for all that he has done to make this possible.

In addition, I wish to express my appreciation to the other members of my Guidance Committee, Professors Stanley D. Brunn, and Robert N. Thomas of the Department of Geography and Professor J. Allan Beegle of the Sociology Department for their time and professional expertise in helping me during the whole period of my academic program at Michigan State University. The helpful suggestions of the whole committee have made this present product a reality.

During the analysis and writing stage, it was necessary to utilize facilities at the Michigan State University Computer Institute for Social Science Research and the Photo Laboratory. I thank Professor Lawrence Sommers, Chairman of the Geography Department, for computer time, and Professor Carl Eicher and Derek Byerlee of the Department of Agricultural Economics for the financial support from the African Rural Employment Research network. I am also grateful to Professor

Robert I. Wittick for the useful help he gave me to file the data on a magnetic tape at the Computer Center, and the subsequent suggestions for using some programs.

Finally, this work is dedicated to my parents. Although they have not received any formal education, they had the foresight and understanding fully to support my academic development since the day I started first grade.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM AND STUDY AREA

The Problem

Geographical mobility is a complex phenomenon of the human geography of any place. It is inter-related with a myriad of factors which are socio-economic, demographic, political, historical socio-psychological, and indeed, the totality of the human environment.

Population movements in diverse forms have been, and remain an essential component of economic development, social change and political organization in Africa. Migration in Africa, especially labor movements, can be considered a form of spatial interaction. Regions of varying levels of economic and social development are connected by streams of persons who move from one region or locality to the other in order to avail themselves of real or perceived opportunities. For instance, there are seasonal and long term labor flows from an extensive labor reservoir in the Northern Savanna zone to economic growth points and growth areas in the Southern forest and Southeastern Savanna zones of Ghana. This pattern of labor flow between less developed areas and economic growth points is a common characteristic of most of the labor movements in Africa.

Basically, all African populations are experiencing very rapid rates of population growth, on the average 2.5 percent to about 3 percent per annum with a few countries increasing about 3 percent

(Caldwell, 1968, p. 66-70; Hance, 1970, p, 120; Barbour, 1969, p. 70-80). This trend is most likely to continue for a long time if fertility remains constant coupled with the rapidly declining mortality rates.

Related to this is the concentration of population in towns and cities. High percentages of urban population have been observed in Ghana (12.3 percent in 1960), Nigeria (14.0 percent in 1963), Senegal (22.5 percent in 1960-61), Congo (Brazzaville, 25.4 percent in 1962), Zambia (16.5 percent in 1963), and Botswana (18.0 percent in 1964) (Segal B., 1972, p. 277).

Population growth in Ghana has been very rapid such that between 1921 and 1960 the population was tripled while between 1948 and 1960 the national growth was 63 percent, that is, an intercensal growth rate of about 3.6 percent per year (Caldwell, 1967, p. 78). A striking feature about this population increase is the growth in size and number of urban centers (by the Ghana 1960 census definition, an urban center is any settlement with 5,000 or more people). The percentage of urban centers increased from 13 percent of the total population in 1948 to 23 percent in 1960, and to 20 percent in 1970. During the intercensal periods (1948-1968 and 1960-1970), the urban rate of growth was more than double the rural rate, for example, 6.6 percent and 3.6 percent per annum, respectively, between 1948 and 1960 (Hunter, 1965, p. 272-290).

Generally, the population of any place can only increase or decrease in two possible ways--through reproductive change (natural increase) and/or net migration. Thus, part of this rapid rate of urbanization can be attributed to migration. It has been suggested

that between 1948 and 1960 alone, the contribution of net rural-urban migration to the increase in urban population was between 7 and 42 percent (Caldwell, 1967, pp. 81-83 and Knight, 1972, p. 204). The rest of the increase can be attributed to natural increase in the towns, foreign immigration and the reclassification of localities as urban centers (Knight, 1972, p. 203). Hence, in Africa as a whole, increased rural-urban migration has been an important contributory factor of the rapid urban population growth rates.

The outcome of human migration patterns and processes bring more rapid changes to the social, economic, political and other systems at both the homeland of migrants and the destination areas than any other phenomenon of the human geography of any place. Many African countries today are faced with socio-economic problems which have a direct link with the repercussions of migration in recent times. Rapid urbanization and its concomitant problems of rising urban unemployment; inadequate housing, educational and health facilities; the lowering of sex-ratios in rural areas and consequently high rural dependency ratios, etc. are a few. On the other hand, migration viewed positively has been a contributing factor in the economic and social development of the various countries in Africa.

Thus, for a better understanding of the socio-economic and political development of many African countries we will need a detailed analysis of both internal and international movements, which, along with other important demographic factors, influence every aspect of a nation's economy and policy (Hance, 1970, p. 30). In recent years many African countries have been hard hit by unemployment problems, the

root cause of which is the continued influx of more people to urban areas. As Todaro has noted:

> "If migration is the key determinant of the urban labor supply, then it stands to reason that in order to understand the nature and causes of urban unemployment. . .it is necessary to better understand the process of rural-urban migration" (1973, p. 3).

A survey of the pertinent literature has demonstrated the paucity of detailed demographic analysis of migratory processes in Africa. Pool, for instance, remarked that

> ". . .the study of migration in Africa is piece meal which creates problems for basic demographic analysis . . . . Thus among the priorities in African demography should be listed the collection and analysis of data on the volume and nature of migration flows" (1969, p. 168).

Recently, Eicher and others have suggested that "there is overwhelming evidence to support aggressive policies to expand demographic research in Africa" (Eicher and others, 1970, p. 55).

This is a study of internal migration in Ghana, West Africa. In order to more fully understand the nature of migration patterns and their consequences for both the source and destination areas, the study focused on one ethnic group--the Frafra of Northern Ghana, for an indepth study.

The Study Area--The Frafra Homeland

This study is designed to cover the area of the present (1) Bolgatanga-Tongo Urban and (2) Bongo-Nabdam local councils, which, until their creation in 1969, formed the Frafra Local Council (Figure 1).

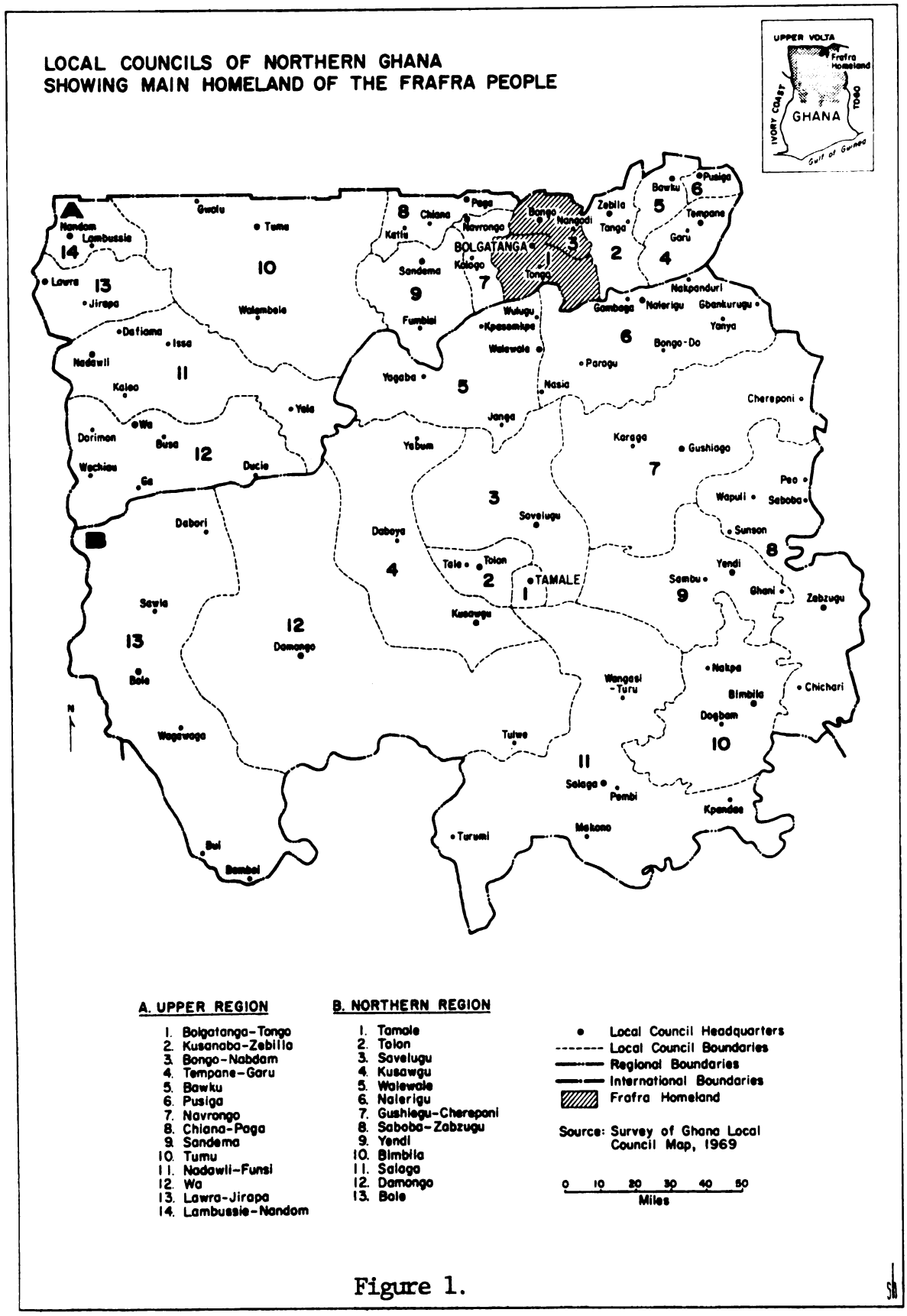

LOCAL COUNCILS OF NORTHERN GHANA
SHOWING MAIN HOMELAND OF THE FRAFRA PEOPLE
UPPER VOLTA
Frafra Homeland
IVORY COAST
GHANA
TOGO
Gulf of Guinea
BOLGATANGA
TAMALE
A. UPPER REGION
1. Bolgatanga-Tongo
2. Kusanaba-Zebilla
3. Bongo-Nabdam
4. Tempane-Garu
5. Bawku
6. Pusiga
7. Navrongo
8. Chiana-Paga
9. Sandema
10. Tumu
11. Nadawli-Funsi
12. Wa
13. Lawra-Jirapa
14. Lambussie-Nandom
B. NORTHERN REGION
1. Tamale
2. Tolon
3. Savelugu
4. Kusawgu
5. Walewale
6. Naleriqu
7. Gushiegu-Chereponi
8. Saboba-Zabzugu
9. Yendi
10. Bimbila
11. Salaga
12. Damongo
13. Bole
Local Council Headquarters
Local Council Boundaries
Regional Boundaries
International Boundaries
Frafra Homeland
Source: Survey of Ghana Local Council Map, 1969
0 10 20 30 40 50
Miles

Figure 1.

The two councils together cover an area of 735 square miles. Generally, the landscape is undulating and, for the most part, the area lies between 500 feet to 700 feet above sea level. A number of bouldery hills (incelbergs) of either Birrimian rocks or granites are scattered over throughout the region. Two examples are the Tongo Hills and the Central Range of Hills which reach a maximum height of 1,250 feet above sea level in the Nangodi subdistrict.

The climate is tropical continental or interior Savanna type with a single rainy season from May to October, followed by a pronounced dry season, when there are no rains during the period from November to March. The rainy season has a peak in August-September and the mean annual rainfall is about 40 to 45 inches. Mean monthly temperatures vary from about 97° F. in March to about 81° F. in August. Relative humidities are high during the rainy season (70 to 90 percent) but may fall as low as 20 percent during the dry season (Dickson and Benneh, 1971, p. 34).

The vegetation is basically wooded or tree savanna, i.e., with tall grass and rather low trees. In the Frafra area, human occupation and related activities have now produced an open parkland with only trees of economic value left in the landscape. In addition to these trees (notably the shea tree or buty-rosperum parkii; dawa dawa or Parkia filicoidea; the boabab or adansonia digitata; and the silk cotton tree or ceiba pentandra) are some sacred groves which are quite distinct in the landscape and are probably remnants of the climax vegetation.

In 1960, the Frafra Local Council had a total population of 150,028 and 167,286 in 1970. With average population densities of 204

persons per square mile and 234 persons per square mile in 1960 and 1970, respectively, it is one of the few areas in Ghana with high population concentrations (Figure 2).

On a cultural and linguistic basis, the people who inhabit the study area belong to the Mole-Dagbani speaking group. As Fortes has pointed out, there is a cultural uniformity in the Voltaic region (Figure 3), especially in the social and economic organization, custom, belief and material culture of the people. At times, in fact, it is difficult to have clear boundaries between the various ethnic groups in Northern Ghana (Fortes, 1945, p. 6). Thus, though the homeland of some Frafra migrants away from home can be found in the Kusasi and Navrongo administrative districts, only the area of the former Frafra Local Council will be considered as the "core" area for this analysis.

Though "Frafra" is often used to refer to the people occupying this "core" area, there are basically four ethnic groups in the two Local Councils, namely (a) Gurensi (Nankani), (b) Tallensi, (c) Boonsi and (d) Nabdam. The name, Frafra started appearing in records during the Colonial period and Cardinall writing on this said,

> "Grunshi has been further divided by us into Fra-fra, Grunshi and Kanijaga. The Frafra included all the Nankani, Nabdam and Talansi and is a word derived from a form of greeting spoken by these people, who murmur by way of thanks or petition 'fra-fra' or 'Fura-Fura'" (1921, p. viii).

Through this unfortunate development of the term "Frafra," the title has often been used so indiscriminately that at times it is difficult to distinguish the demographic characteristics of each of the four ethnic groups in the Ghana census reports, especially the

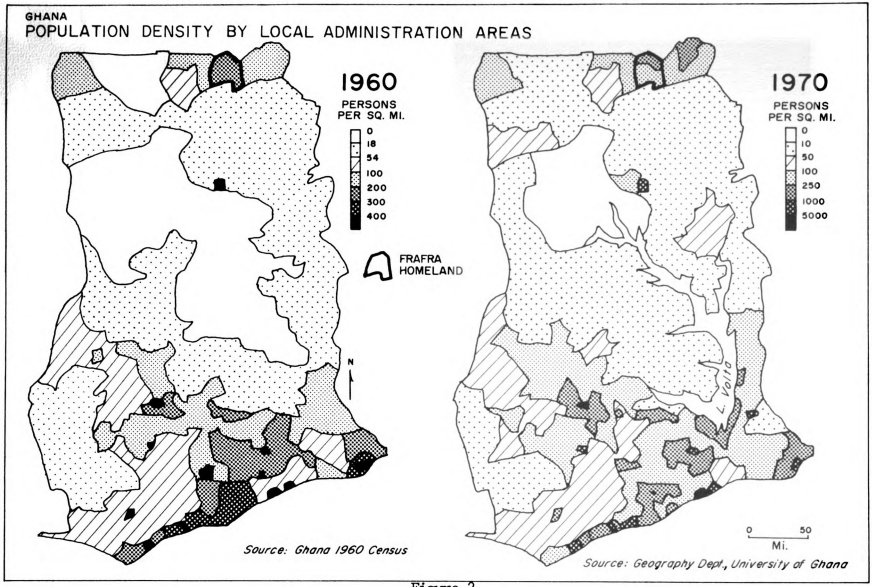

GHANA
POPULATION DENSITY BY LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AREAS
1960
PERSONS PER SQ. MI.
0
18
54
100
200
300
400
FRAFRA HOMELAND
N
Source: Ghana 1960 Census
1970
PERSONS PER SQ. MI.
0
10
50
100
250
1000
5000
L. Volta
0
50
Mi.
Source: Geography Dept, University of Ghana

Figure 2.

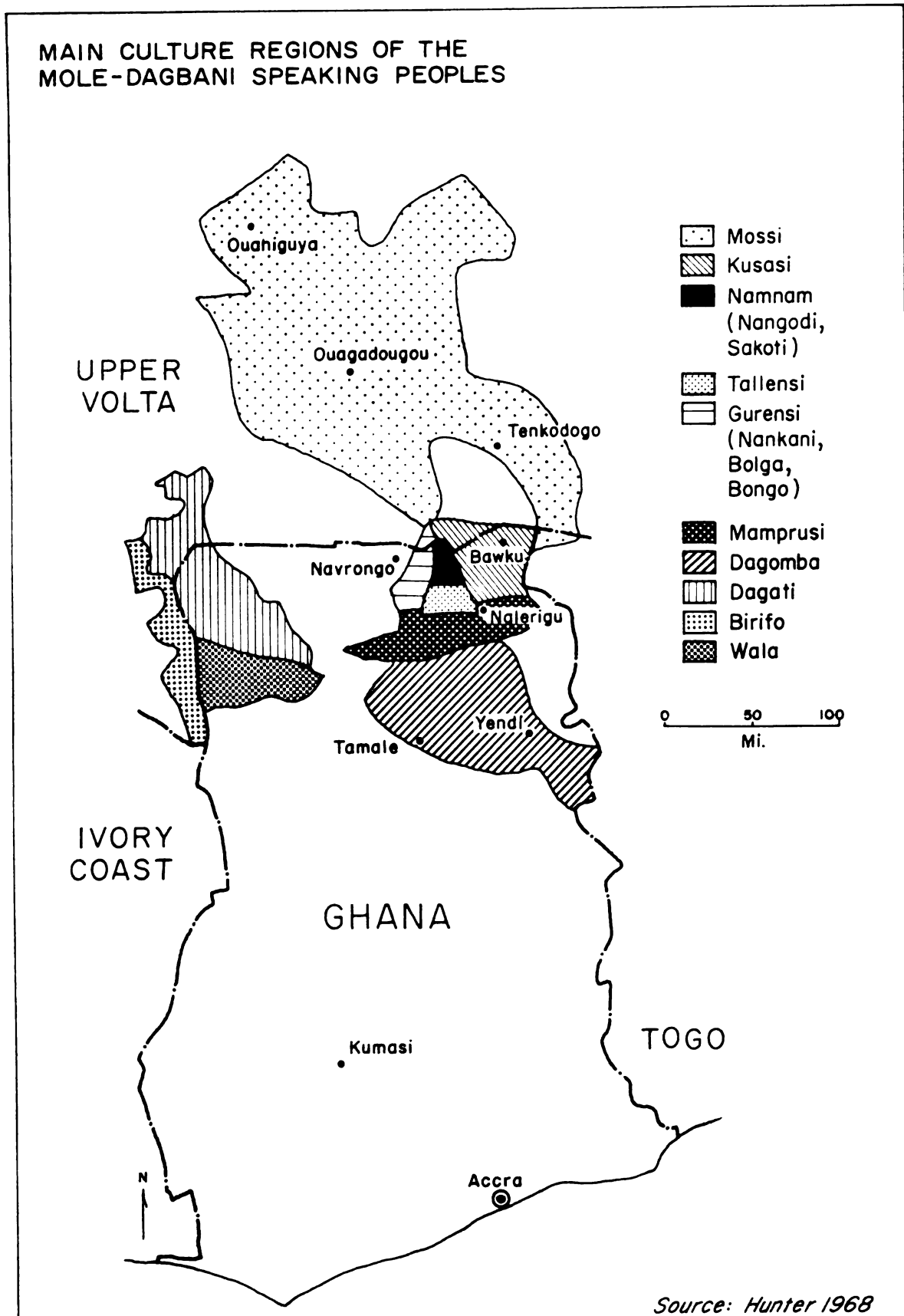

MAIN CULTURE REGIONS OF THE
MOLE-DAGBANI SPEAKING PEOPLES
Ouahiguya
Ouagadougou
Tenkodogo
UPPER
VOLTA
Navrongo
Bawku
Nalerigu
Yendi
Tamale
IVORY
COAST
GHANA
Kumasi
TOGO
Accra
N
Mossi
Kusasi
Namnam
(Nangodi,
Sakoti)
Tallensi
Gurensi
(Nankani,
Bolga,
Bongo)
Mamprusi
Dagomba
Dagati
Birifo
Wala
0
50
100
Mi.
Source: Hunter 1968

Figure 3.

census reports of the colonial period. In this dissertation, for lack of a better title to refer to all of the four ethnic groups, the term "Frafra" will be used, but individual ethnic names will be used where the analysis involves a separate treatment of each group.

As in other parts of Northern Ghana, three forms of authority and social organization exist in the Frafra area. The first is politico-military authority which is exercised through chiefdoms. There is a hierarchy of chiefdoms in each of the four ethnic divisions ranging from a divisional chief (Tong-rana, Bolganaba, Nangodinaba, Bong-rana) to village chiefs or sectional leaders.

The second form of social organization is the kinship or family system with patrilineal and patrilocal inheritance widely practiced in the area. In this category, one can think of the nuclear family as being below the ladder and grading upwards into the lineage system and finally into the clan system. According to Fortes, a lineage is

> ". . .an association of people of both sexes comprising all the recognized descendants by an accepted geneology of a single named ancestor in a putativety continuous male line. It is, in other words, a strictly unilineal, agnatic descent group."

He further explains that a minimal lineage (a lineage of minimum span) consists of the children of one father while the maximal lineage (the widest span) ". . .consist of all descendants in the male line of the remotest common patrilineal ancestor known to the members of the lineage (1945, p. 30).

The third form of authority is the spiritual or religious one which is recognized through the office of the "Earth Priest." The Earth Priest is widespread throughout the Voltaic Region, and it is believed

that before the introduction of chieftaincy in these areas, leadership was vested in these devine representatives of the Earth God. Today the Earth Priest continues to assert his original title as custodian and trustee of the land of the people, often in a ritual role.

A knowledge of these three forms of social organizations is necessary for a better understanding of the major chacteristics of Frafra migration. Fortes in one of his studies on the Talensi commented as follows:

> "It is no exaggeration to say that every sociological problem presented by the Tallensi hinges on the lineage system. It is the skeleton of their social structure, the boney framework which shapes their body politic; it guides their economic life and molds their ritual ideas and values. The social life of the Tallensi cannot be understood without a knowledge of the principles that govern their lineage organization"(1945, p. 30).

This is equally true in respect to the other ethnic groups in the Frafra area.

Objectives of the Study

Of all the ethnic groups in Northern Ghana, the Frafra people, by far, are the most migratory group. In 1948, about 5 percent of them were counted outside their homeland. This was probably an underenumeration because in 1960, of the people enumerated as Frafra (Grunsi) alone, 30.5 percent of the men and 14 percent of the women were away from home (Table 1.1). Besides, most of the people from the Bolgatanga Division call themselves Grunsi. In 1948, out of a total of 7,208 Grunsi in Ghana, 65 percent lived in the South, therefore, it is most likely that some of these were of Frafra extration. Further,

Table 1.1 Numbers Belonging to Main Upper Region Ethnic Groups Counted Outside Northern Ghana in 1960

Ethnic Group	1960 Number and Percent of Ethnic Group in the South				
	Total Number	Males	Percent	Females	Percent
Dagarti	35,430	24,860	24.1	10,570	10.7
Lobi	5,300	3,330	16.8	1,970	11.1
Walla	9,880	5,560	23.0	4,320	18.7
Sissala	8,010	5,080	17.4	2,930	9.7
Builsa	8,210	5,580	17.7	2,630	0.9
Kasena	600	430	2.5	170	0.1
Nankani and Gurense	50	30	0.1	20	0.1
*Frafra	31,100	21,780	30.5	9,320	13.9
*Talensi	500	360	2.3	140	0.8
*Namnam	10	10	0.1	0	0.0
Kusasi	16,580	11,390	18.0	5,190	8.9
Total and Percent of the 11 Groups in the South	115,670	78,410	19.1	37,260	9.3

*Ethnic groups in Frafra Local Council.

Source: Ghana 1960 Census Report and T. E. Hilton, 1966.

between 1948 and 1960 there was a population decrease of 8 percent in the Frafra homeland indicative of the extent of out-migration during the past decades, despite the rapid growth of Bolgatanga.

Research Objectives and Organization of the Study

For a very long time, the author has been intrigued by the volume and patterns of Frafra migration. Though the Frafra people readily move to the South, resettlement programs involving them have not been very successful, as the Damongo and Parago resettlement schemes showed (Nabila, 1968 and Hilton, 1959). This poses a number of questions to the social scientist, many of which can only be answered through field research.

In this study the migration process has been considered as a system, hence there is a focus on both the areas of origin (rural Frafra homeland) and the destinations. Caldwell remarked that:

> "If meaningful results are to be obtained from analysis of determinants of rural-urban migration, two major problems must be overcome. The first is that current migrants must be compared with the population from which they originated, and secondly some attention should be paid to persons migrating during a relatively short period of time so that the characteristics of several generations of migrants are not lumped together" (1968, p. 363).

Thus, apart from collecting data on migrants already at the destinations, it was considered necessary to obtain data on rural households. Data on (1) the socio-economic characteristics of the Frafra homeland, (2) rural people's perception of job and other opportunities at the destinations, (3) the nature and types of links between the migrants and their

relatives or friends at home, (4) returned migrants and (5) characteristics of migrants, etc. are all germane to a better understanding of the processes of cyclical labor movements among the Frafra people. The objectives of this study are therefore as follows:

1. To ascertain pathways of Frafra migration, both step wise and direct;

2. To describe and examine information channels, information carriers, and information flow (content) relating to the process of Frafra migration;

3. To examine the behavioral determinants of Frafra migration both in the North and South;

4. To examine how the migration experience in the South influences society in the Frafra homeland, including economic, social and political parameters;

5. To examine the social, economic and political changes (adjustment processes) among the Frafra migrants in the South.

The study has been organized in eight inter-related chapters in order to fulfill the main objective of focusing on both the areas of origin and the receiving areas. Chapter I is a consideration of the problem and the study area. In Chapter II there is a review of the literature on the theoretical and conceptual foundations of the migration process in general, and cyclical labor migration in Africa. There is also a discussion of the migration process in Ghana and the distribution of the migration opportunity zones, that is, the relationship between migration and the location of the main urban centers, mining and farming areas. Chapter III presents the research design and the methods for the collection and the analysis of the data.

The historical background of Frafra migration is presented in Chapter IV. Since the 1930s there has been a momentum of out-migration from the Frafra homeland. Hence the brief discussion of the genesis of

the migratory patterns of the Frafra people helped to present the results of this study in the right perspective. In addition, there is an analysis of some of the major ecological or socio-economic characteristics of the homeland which are related to out-migration in this chapter.

Some of the basic questions to be answered by this study are: What are the determinants of Frafra rural-urban or rural-rural migration? Why do some people move while others stay at home? What are the characteristics of the movers and stayers? The answers for these and the many other questions on the processes of the decision to migrate or stay at home have been given in Chapter V.

Chapter VI is a discussion of the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants already at the destinations and the patterns of step-wise migration. In Chapter VII, there is an analysis of the major links between these migrants at the destinations and their relatives and friends left back home. There is therefore an analysis of such phenomena as (1) return migration, (2) the nature and types of remittances, either to people back home or to the migrants at the destinations, (3) the effects of the migration process on the Frafra area, (4) a comparison of non-migrants and returned-migrants at home etc.

In Chapter VIII it was considered useful to present a model which utilized data on the decision to migrate as well as the characteristics of the migrants already at the destinations. It is hoped that such an analytical model would be useful in explaining further any established relationships among the main components of the migration process. Finally, there is a discussion of the policy implications of the findings of this study.

This research, hopefully, will make both a practical and theoretical contribution to the understanding of the migration process in Ghana, Africa, and to some extent in other parts of the developing world. The study's strength lies in the contributions it will make to the understanding of internal migration and the problems presented by such human phenomenon in Ghana.

A Note on the Ghanaian Currency

In the following analyses, especially in Chapters V, Vi and VII, the monetary values will be given in Cedis and not dollars. The Cedi is the basic currency of Ghana (written ₵10.00, that is ten cedis). The value of the Ghanaian cedi has been fluctuating in the international market such that in 1972 one cedi was equivalent to about $0.78 U.S. Currently, one U.S. dollar is equivalent to about ₵1.13, that is one cedi and thirteen pesewas.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS IN GENERAL, AND CYCLICAL LABOR MIGRATION IN AFRICA: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction--Definitions of Migration

Migration in a broad sense can be in two forms--internal (the migration of people within a country) and international (the migration of people between countries). Each of them has subsets; for instance, internal migration has the distinctive subsets of rural to urban migration, rural to rural migration, and intra-urban migration. Though the above definitions have generally been accepted among students of demography and other related disciplines, the migration process itself has been described in diverse forms as the few examples below indicate.

1. Permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act (Lee, Evert S., 1966).

2. Essentially, rural-urban migration represents a basic transformation of the modal structure of a society in which people move from generally smaller, mainly agricultural communities to large, mainly nonagricultural communities (Mabogunje, 1970).

3. Intercommunity movement cannot be employed with precise community boundaries, since these boundaries do not reflect the data available for the study of migration. Instead, some existing set of well-established and universally familiar boundaries must be used as an approximation. Counties, communes, "municipos", and

similar areas more closely match the definition and are practical. In the United States, for example, it is customary to define migration as intercounty mobility (Bogue, 1969).

4. A relatively permanent moving from one geographic place to another preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrant that results in change in the interactional system of the migrant (Mangalam, 1968).

5. The movement of population in space is a multifarious phenomenon in which the distance of moves may vary from a few yards to many miles, and in which the duration of stay at destination may vary from a few hours to many years. A considerable part of this movement is incidental to carrying on the activities of daily life--commuting to and from work, shopping, visiting, travel for business or pleasure, to name only a few. They are, however, to be distinguished from the type of mobility that involves a sustained or permanent sojourn in the place of destination. It is this latter type of mobility that is envisaged by the concept migration (United Nations, 1970, p. 1).

The above definitions reflect the complex nature of this human phenomenon. Population movements have been going on in Africa from time immemorial. Most of the recent ones, however, are associated with national or regional differences in levels of socio-economic development, employment opportunities or the availability of some valuable resources in the environment, e.g., minerals, cocoa, sisal, coffee, etc. Regions which had the advantages of the above attracted people from less fortunate areas.

During the post-war years these movements have been so prevalent in the African continent that it is not uncommon for some men to be in the migration stream several times, thus giving rise to the concept of cyclical labor migration in Africa. Although both seasonal and short term migratory patterns still exist in Africa, the findings of the present research and the work of many other scholars indicate that in

recent years long term and permanent migration is increasingly becoming a common practice.

Concepts, Theories and Models of Migration

Theory and the Migration Process: A General Consideration

The whole concept of geographical mobility has occupied the minds of many social scientists for a long time. As a response to some of the intriguing issues posed by the whole process of migration, people have tried to develop some theories, perhaps with the hope that there will be some measure of "prediction" in migration analysis. Others have also tried to construct typologies of migration (Duncan, 1957; Gupta, 1959; Herbele, 1955; Petersen, 1958).

The causes of migration have often been defined in terms of "push-pull" and resistance factors (Bogue, 1969; Stouffer, 1960). In the past, models of migration often utilized this concept and focused on the fact that the individual maximizes the money gains of movement--consistent with the thesis of the "rational" economic man (Nelson, 1959). Apart from the money-income model of migration, researchers often sought to explain the causes of migration within the realms of psycho-social, socio-economic and other related factors. Whichever factors are considered, the migration process should be regarded as a continuum with highly interrelated or interconnected parameters. Basically, migration involves longitudinal or horizontal movement of people, but the "means" and "ends" of migration are by no means isolated.

Mitchell (1961) for instance, has remarked that single factor explanations of migration are totally inadequate and that the listing of all possible motivations is not helpful. There is a need to link together and relate the multiple causes in a logical framework. He suggested a classification whose major headings are "nexus of cetrifugal tendencies" and the "nexus of centripetal tendencies" subdivided by social and psychological and economic factors.

Ravenstein was the first to attempt providing "laws of migration" as a response to a remark by Farr that migration appeared to go on without any definite law (1885, 1889). His work led him to believe that (1) most migration covered only short distances; (2) the migration proceeded by stages, one person filling the gap left by another who had moved earlier; (3) each main current of migration produced a compensating counter current; (4) long distance movers generally went to big cities; (5) town dwellers were less prone to move than were rural residents and (6) females were more migratory than males (this was later changed to "females appear to predominate among short-journey migrants").

Not all of these findings are very true today even among industrial societies. For example, it cannot be said with certainty that most migrations cover only short distances. At least, the African experience of migratory patterns will dispute this "component law". In like manner, not all long distance migrations end up in the city. Much will depend on the perception, aspirations and the needs of the migrant at the time that he left home. However, researchers like Redford and Sjaastad have proved some of Ravenstein's hypotheses right (Redford, 1926; Sjaastad, 1962). Sjaastad in his study in Mississippi noted that

"gross migration in one direction is the best single indicator of the amount of backflow," thereby supporting Ravenstein's theory of "stream and counter-stream" in migration (1962, p. 81). At the moment, there is no exact idea about the nature of counter-stream migration in Ghana, especially for the Frafra and this will be one of the concerns of this research. It will be difficult to give the exact quantitative streams of migrations, but the field observations should help in providing some "flesh" for such analysis.

In 1940 Stouffer introduced the concept of intervening opportunities to provide a simple model to account for much of the observed movement of people in space. His main hypothesis was that the number of people going a given distance X from a point was not a function of distance directly but rather a function of the spatial distribution of opportunities (Stouffer, 1940). Stouffer's model has been applied in the field by many researchers with considerable success (Bright and Thomas, 1941; Isbell, 1944; Strodtbeck, 1949 and 1950; Ullman, 1957). The major shortcoming of this model, as Stouffer himself pointed out, is that it is inadequate in handling marked directional drifts where the uneven distribution of opportunities within the "circle" might facilitate greater movement in one direction from the starting point rather than in an opposite direction. Thus in 1960, he proposed the concept of "intervening opportunities and competing migrants" and suggested that the distance scale should not necessarily be measured in terms of miles but rather in terms of "economic distance" (Stouffer, 1960).

Everett Lee in his "A Theory of Migration" argued that:

> "No matter how short, or how long, how easy or how difficult, every act of migration involves origin, a destination and intervening obstacles; among these is the distance of the move which is always present" (1966, p. 48).

Lee gave the following as factors which enter into the decision to migrate and process of migration: (1) factors associated with area of origin, (2) factors associated with the area of destination, (3) intervening obstacles and (4) personal factors (Figure 4).

It is hereby suggested that in the treatment of migration in any place, the concepts of Lee and Stouffer must be combined. "Intervening obstacles" and "intervening opportunities and competing migrants" in one study will offer the student the advantage of examining the migration process as a continuum. This is especially true if opportunities and obstacles are expanded to cover almost everything conceivable coupled with the location of these elements at both ends and not only between two points.

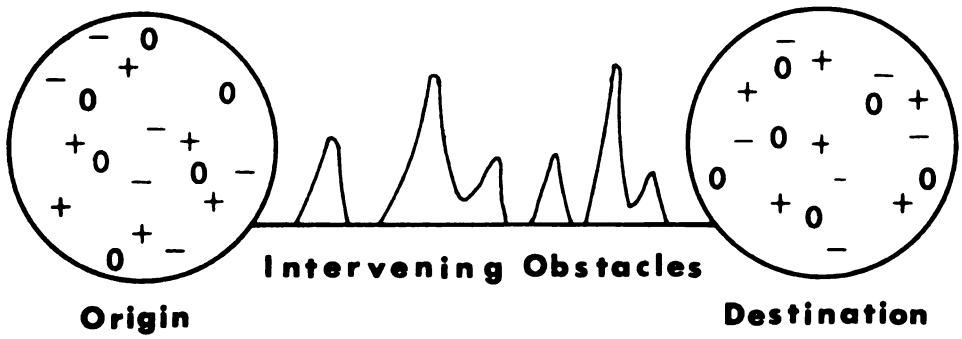
Broadening the definition of opportunities and obstacles, therefore, can accommodate some of the processes of migration in a few regions in Africa which are the very antithesis of the economic postulates of migration. For example, in some countries migrants leave rich rural areas and migrate to relatively poor urban centers.

Some Economic Models of Migration

The Money Income Model

In the past, behavioral models of migration focused on the concpet of the individual maximizing the money gains of movement, a concept which was influenced by the idea of the rational economic man.

Origin And Destination Factors And Intervening Obstacles In Migration



In The Diagram, Positive And Negative Factors Are Indicated By + And −, While o Represents Factors Which People Are Indifferent To.

(After Lee, Everet, 1966

Figure 4.

Nelson has remarked that some of the model's implications are that the further one moves, the greater the transportation cost. Hence, there should be an inverse relationship between migration and measures of industrial similarity. On the average, a migrant's efficiency, hence his wage, is greater in his present industry than in alternative industries. Consequently people tend to move back to old jobs to maximize their income (Nelson, 1959, p. 44).

Migration as a Human Investment

Sjaastad was perhaps the first exponent of the concept of regarding migration as a form of investment in human capital. He pointed out that more than direct costs (such as the cost of movement or the income gained by a migrant, i.e., returns) are involved. Opportunities or non-money costs must be taken into account if the causes and consequences of migration are to be fully understood (Sjaastad, 1962). Within this framework, we can consider the movement of a migrant from the rural areas to the urban center in terms of costs and gains, for example, socio-economic, political, and psychological (psycho-social stresses as against the acquisition of new behavior patterns) costs and gains.

Bowles in his study supported the thesis of Sjaastad and concluded that:

> "The results suggest that the present value of the expected income gain from moving out of the South (U.S.A.) is positively related to the probability of moving and provides a better explanation of migration than the mere conventional income measure based on regional differences in current incomes"(Bowles, 1970, pp. 366-362).

The comparison of costs and returns has been sharply criticized by Eckhaus (1963). Perhaps the major handicap of this model is the lack of data to facilitate such a comparison. How do we measure our "costs" and "returns" in migration? Who does it and for what component elements of migration? These are questions unanswered by the exponents of the model. No doubt, Bowles has been criticized for over-simplification of his data analysis (Apgars, 1970). Byerlee has suggested that theories on the migration process in Africa will benefit from this concept, especially in explaining the movements of young people or middle school leavers. They are more likely to choose alternatives which maximize the present value of their expected future income streams than their counterparts in the migration stream. This is more likely because younger people have a longer time horizon in which to take advantage of the benefits of migration. Furthermore, educated people are more likely to migrate since the returns to education are higher and the opportunity for further education and on-the-job training are greater in urban areas (Byerlee, 1972, p. 18).

Perception and Migration Behavior

Migration definitely involves a change in space, and this spatial location has the prerequisites of adjustments, readjustments or maladjustments. Although this is the case, until quite recently, little attention was given to the actual patterns of behavior per se in migration. This has often led to the misdirection of efforts at understanding the whole field of migration. It will be highly presumptuous to over operationalize the "capabilities" of the so-called "rational migrant"--this will be nothing less than putting him in a

straight jacket. Wolpert, for instance, criticized this shortcoming, thus:

> "Behavioral and social scientists to an increasing degree have begun to question the value of theory predicated upon the existence of an omniscient and single directed rational being such as Economic Man, as related to man's behavior"(1964, p. 532).

In doing so, Wolpert stimulated interest in studies on migration behavior in geography, some what comparable to the effect of Haggerstrand pioneer studies on diffusion of innovation in a spatial context in geography (Haggerstrand, 1952).

Perception studies in general are not very new in geography. According to Sarrinen, the work of cultural geographers, though not necessarily stated, deal with perception through the concept of cultural appraisal (Sarrinen, 1966, p. 31). The behavioral approach in geography is "an attempt to arrive at a set of empirically valid statements about individual, group and mass behavior which can be postulated in theory yielding statements of spatial structure as logical outputs" (Horton and Reynolds, 1970, pp. 36-48). The behavioral school in geography has added a new dimension to the discipline. Wolpert's second study provided a behavior model of migration which involves the concept of threshold utility based on a measure of attractiveness or unattractiveness of an area relative to alternative locations as perceived by the individual decision maker and as evaluated according to his particular needs (Wolpert, 1965).

It is in the field of intra-urban mobility that much has been done about migration behavior (Wolpert, 1964, 1965, 1966; Horton, 1969;

College, Briggs and Eemko, 1969; Cox and College, 1969; Brown and Moore, 1970; Brown and Longbrake, 1970; Horton and Wittick, 1970; Brown and Holmes, 1971; Roseman, 1971). Here the important words are "action space," "awareness space," "place utility" and "search behavior." (1) Action space has the points and paths that a person uses in his normal every day actions in space for a period of time. (2) In the carrying out of life within his "action space" the individual is aware of many component parts of the environment--both positive and negative elements insofar as his survival or interactional levels are concerned. This constitutes his "awareness space;" the structure of an individual's action space is a direct function of his cognitive image-perception. (3) Wolpert's concept of "place utility" has already been given (1965). (4) "Search behavior" involves the efforts of any migrant to look for alternative residential locations in the case of intra-urban migration or a new destination or alternative destinations in the case of both interregional and international migration. Thus, migration should contain information on both the total magnitude of population systems and the aggregate preferences of migrants for relevant characteristics of regions (Schwind, 1971).

Most of the concepts in the behavioral school developed so far have not been operationalized. They do provide a common basis for integrating various viewpoints of the migration process by focusing attention on the relevant behavioral unit, the individual migrant and the various locational decisions with which he is faced (Roseman, 1971). As a research tool, behavioral studies surely will make it possible to put together in the end the main fields of networks among the human

population. These networks define interpersonal relationships, which in turn define most of what exists in reality.

Migration--The Systems Analytic Approach

It is this need to consider migration as a field of networks that has led others to believe that migration should be considered within the framework of systems analysis (Mabogunje, 1970; Mamgalam, 1968; Brown and More, 1970). In the words of Mabogunje:

> "A system may be defined as a complex, interacting elements, together with their attributes and relationships. One of the major tasks in conceptualizing a phenomenon as a system therefore, is to identify the basic interacting elements, their attributes, and their relationships" (1970, p. 1).

Thus to Mabogunje, a system approach to rural-urban migration is concerned not only with why people migrate but with all the implications and ramifications of the process. When considered in such a way, rural-urban migration is no longer a linear, uni-directional, push and pull, cause-effect movement, but a circular, interdependent, progressively complex, and self-modifying system in which the effect of changes in one part can be traced through the whole of the system (1970).

The Migration Process in the African Continent: An Overview

Theory of Rural-Urban Migration in Africa

The formulation of theory on African migration has not been well developed because only a few researchers have attempted doing this (Gugler, 1968, 1969; Harris and Todaro, 1968, 1970; Todaro, 1968, 1969, 1971, 1973).

In an attempt to establish some theory on African migration, Gugler concentrated on (a) the relationships between economic and noneconomic factors, (b) the distinction between collective and personal forces in the migration process and (c) the economic and social consequences of labor migration for the village (area of origin). To him, "among the causes of rural-urban migration and of the maintenance of urban-rural ties, economic factors are of major importance. Analysis has, however, to include noneconomic factors. Empirically these are more important in the case of urban-rural ties" (Bubler, 1969, p. 155).

Disparities in the distribution of resources and levels of social and economic development in the various regions of Africa have long been recognized as one of the main factors of geographical mobility. A few economists in the fifties and early sixties depicted the process of economic development largely in terms of the reallocation of surplus rural labor through intersectoral population flows from low productive agricultural activities to more productive urban employment opportunities (Todaro, 1973; Lewis, 1954; Ranis and Fei, 1961).

In recent years Todaro and others "have attempted to develop a theory of rural-urban migration which can explain the apparently paradoxical relationship. . .of accelerated rural-urban migration in the context of rising urban unemployment" (Todaro, 1973, p. 8).

The Harris-Todaro model of migration utilized the concept of the probability of finding a job at an economic growth point as a major determinant of rural-urban migration. In other words, the model argues that "migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected earnings with the urban employment rate acting as an equilibrating force on such migration" (Harris and Todaro, 1970, p. 128).

It is not uncommon for a person to migrate to the urban center if there is only a 50 percent or even 33 percent probability of obtaining a job because the job in the modern sector is two or three times the average agricultural income.

According to Todaro, there are three characteristics of the basic model, and these are worth enumerating here. (1) Migration is stimulated primarily on rational economic considerations. (2) The decision to migrate depends on "expected" rather than nominal wage differentials where the expected differential is determined by the interaction of two variables, the nominal wage and the probability of successfully obtaining employment in the urban sector. (3) Migration rates in excess of urban job opportunity growth rates reflect a disequilibrium situation (1973).

Although we need more field observations on the aspects of the probability component of the model, since probability studies in Africa are few, the model has much to offer the student of migration, the politician, national planner, economist, agriculture extension officer, and other people concerned with rational, economic development. In the words of Eicher and others:

> "The contribution of the Todaro and the Harris-Todaro models are their insights into the relationships between employment probabilities, intersectoral real income differentails, and rural-urban migration. Their analysis reveal a paradox in coping with urban unemployment. Attempts to reduce the size of the urban unemployed labor force through employment expansion programs in the modern urban sector without a concentrated effort to make rural life more attractive are likely to be thwarted because rural to urban migration will actually be encouraged by the increased probability of securing urban employment" (1970, p. 7).

Types of Migration in Africa

Basically, the overall picture of geographical mobility in Africa can be considered under three categories, on the basis of characteristics, continuity and change.

a. Movements that took place in the past but which have now ceased to exist.

b. Movements that have continued from the past into the present day, for example, Muslim pilgrimages from Africa to Mecca and the movements of pastoralists.

c. Movements that have developed in recent times, mainly during the present century. (Prothero, 1968, p. 25).

Of paramount importance for our purpose, are the movements which are associated with recent economic and socio-political developments coupled with the phenomenal rapid growth of urban centers, in Africa. Urban centers and other rural "economic regions" became socio-economic growth points and continually attracted people from areas with minimum opportunities (Mercier, 1963; UNESCO, 1956).

Migration in Africa during the colonial era was either forced or voluntary. In a few cases there existed established institutions to control migration. The Mozambique Convention of 1897 and 1938, for example, enabled South Africa to recruit a minimum of 65,000 and a maximum of 100,000 Mozambique Africans in return for using the Mozambique port of Lourenço Marques of a guaranteed 47.5 percent of overseas trade (Hance, 1970, p. 136). Voluntary migrations became a common phenomenon during the latter part of the colonial period for a variety of reasons. Briefly, these are: the increase in economic activities and the associated need for labor at certain locations; a better developed infrastructure; the encouragement of the free movements

of people, at times across political boundaries, by the Colonial administrations; and above all, an increased awareness among the people who moved, of monetary gains and the acquisition of many other socio-economic benefits not available at the place of origin.

The commonest recent types of movement--(i) rural-urban migration, and (ii) rural-rural migration--can either be seasonal for periods of about six months or they may be short-term for periods up to two years. Migrants may leave the rural areas when there is little activity and go to urban centers or more economically advanced areas of agriculture development where there is usually a need for extra labor. Other men may seek work in towns at mines, and in agriculture but for longer periods of time (Prothero, 1957, 1959, 1962, 1968; Panofsky, 1963; Barbour, 1965; Mabogunje, 1962; Mitchell, 1961; Rouch, 1957). To these two types, we can add a third category in which a migrant leaves home with the intent of staying away from home for a very long period or is influenced into doing so after staying for some time at the urban center.

Labor migration, therefore, is the dominant pattern in many countries in Africa today. Gulliver, for instance, has suggested that there are two general types of labor migration ". . .in which the motivations of African workers and effects on them and their families and communities are significantly different" (1960, pp. 1959-63). Hance expanding on Gulliver's two types, said examples of (1) "low-wage rural employment, would be migration to cocoa farms in Ghana, to sisal estates in Tanzania. . .and examples of (2) higher-wage, industrial employment would be migration to the copper belt or to manufacturing plants in urban centers" (Hance, 1970, p. 165).

Causes of Labor Migration in Africa

Reasons often given for the causes of migration on the continent are varied in nature, often depending on the disciplinary orientation of the researcher. Nonetheless, there is a general trend in these analyses and one can easily draw meaningful conclusions. As Mitchell pointed out, though, single factor analysis does not consider the migration process as a continuum or a system. There is some merit in Hance's view that single factor analysis provides a synthesis for a better understanding of the complex components of migration in the continent.

Economically Motivated Migration

Numerous studies have indicated that for all practical reasons, almost all the labor movements in Africa have an element of economics. Greater earning in cash and/or in kind are desired for a variety of purposes. These include payment of taxes or of bride price, provision of daily needs, the purchase of cattle or of more sophisticated material goods, and the satisfying of nonmaterial wants such as education. Many authors have continuously pointed out that the need to earn additional income plays a major role in an individual's decision to migrate to urban areas. The pattern of migration flows is such that migrants allocate their time between work at home and work away from home in ways consistent with the maximization of their income (Hance, 1970, p. 161; Prothero 1965, p. 42; Beals, Levy and Moses, 1967; Dean, 1966; Elkan 1959; Caldwell, 1968; Barber, 1960).

Socio-Cultural Factors

Major movements caused by socio-cultural factors include those

motivated by religous considerations, ethnic ties and the whole correlates of modernization.

It has often been mentioned that African towns or cities have in them attractions such as better facilities and a good infrastructure which invariably attract rural people to them. However, as Prothero pointed out, the glamor of distant places should be considered as a motivating factor in addition to economic need (1957, p. 436). In some parts of Africa, migration is indulged in as a "rite de passage" or initiation to adult life as was found by Harris among the Thonga Society (1959, p. 59-60); by Rouch among the Savanna areas of West Africa (1956) and by Schapera in Botswana (1947) and by Prothero who stated that ". . .in many tribes a trip to town has become a recognized symbol of a boy's becoming a man"(1961, p. 233). This factor, however, was not found to be true among the Mossi, a neighboring region of Frafra (Skinner, 1960, p. 383). In a few cases, people move in order to get away from traditional authority or family control, including family quarrels or related rural elements of dissention involving the rural youths.

Of importance in the socio-cultural causes of migration are the effects of education on migration--either when people move to seek education or move as a result of the acquisition of education.

Migration Related to Environmental Conditions

Considering migration in its widest perspective, movements due to soil exhaustion, drought, flooding or search for grazing land will all come under this category. In recent years, there also have been significant movements directly related to over-population (population

pressure). Elkan noted that some of the rural push factors in migration are assoicated with high population densities (1960). Southall gives the Kikuyu of Kenya as an example of high population concentrations with an emigration rate of about 24 percent of the total population in 1948 (1961, pp. 171-172). Writing on population patterns in Ghana, Grove stated that: "There is a clearly marked movement from the more densely populated areas to the less densely populated areas" (1963, p. 14).

Migration Related to Political Considerations

Other determinants of migration are associated with political considerations. Hance has suggested that movement due to political motivations have increased during the post-independence era and are often interrelated with ethnic and racial considerations; religious animosities; nationalist sentiments and related activities such as the nationalists movements for political and economic emancipation in Southern Africa; and economic activities (Hance, 1970, p. 182).

Return Migration to Areas of Origin

On the other side of the coin, one could discuss the factors which tend to keep people from entering the migration stream or make "return migration trips home" an essential component of the migration process of Africa. These will include the importance of kinship and lineage ties in the rural area, and a need to work on farms back home in order to support parents and relatives. In a few cases, rural areas with well developed cash crop economy tend to receive migrants and do not usually have many out-migrants. Examples of these areas are the cocoa producing areas of Ghana and the Chagga and Sukuma people of Tanzania as found by Southall. He notes, however, that where there is a shortage of land in a cash cropping area, there is the tendency

for the younger people to migrate in order to find the cash they need (Southall, 1961, p. 172).

The Migration Process in Ghana and the Distribution (Location) of the Migration "Opportunity" Zones

During the colonial period and the post-independent era, Ghana served as a destination for migrants from other parts of West Africa, namely Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Sierra Leone, Mali and Niger (Caldwell, 1968, 1969). Rouch has impressively documented the flow of migration from the former French countries into Ghana (1957). Substantial numbers of people came to Ghana at such a rate that in 1960, 8.3 percent of the total population was classified as born outside Ghana. These immigrated to Ghana in order to avail themselves of job opportunities at the mines, cocoa farms and urban areas.

These movements continued into the '60s and, as Table 2.1 indicates, there were quite a few foreign immigrants living in Ghana. Apart from African migrants in Ghana, for the past few years there have always been people from the Middle East (especially Lebanese and Syrians) India, Europe, and North America, etc. The sex ratios quite clearly point to the fact that it is mostly the males who move from these faraway places into Ghana. The proportion who were in urban centers is indicative of the high concentration of these foreign immigrants in the towns (Table 2.1).

The picture of international migration is quite different now. In November 1969, the Ghana government ordered all alien's without valid resident permits to leave the country. As a result of this order, many aliens left Ghana in November-December 1969 at such a rate that the

proportion of people born outside Ghana fell from 8.3 percent in 1960 to 4.1 percent in 1970. About half of the foreigners left the country. The 1970 census also indicates that whereas the proportion of persons born in other African countries declined from 8.1 percent in 1960 to 3.9 percent in 1970, the proportion born outside Africa remained the same (0.2 percent). Thus, it was mostly African aliens who left the country (Ghana, 1970 Census, Vol. 2).

Table 2.1. Place of Birth, Proportion in Urban Areas, and Sex Ratios of Foreign-Origin Population in Ghana, 1960.

Country of Origin	Percentage Born in Ghana	Percentage of Total Foreign Population	Percentage in Urban Areas	Sex Ratio (Males per 100 Females)
Ivory Coast	40.0	6.6	12.0	134
Nigeria	40.0	23.0	54.0	127
Togo Republic	37.0	33.8	24.0	116
Upper Volta	32.0	23.5	24.0	200
Dahomey	31.0	3.8	24.0	133
Liberia	25.0	1.0	82.0	163
Mali	25.0	2.3	59.0	355
Niger Republic	19.0	3.0	43.0	447
Other Africans	31.0	0.8	41.0	204
United Kingdom	7.0	0.9	77.0	152
Other European/ American	7.0	0.4	83.0	191
Lebanon	32.0	0.2	93.0	210
Other Asian	7.0	0.2	70.0	124
All Countries	35.0	100.0	34.0	146

Source: Ghana 1960 Census, Vol. 3, Table 12, p. 103. Advanced Report of Vols. 3 and 4, Tables 11 and 12. Also, Engmann, E. V. T., 1972, p. 177.

Internal migration with its sub-sets of (a) inter-regional (either for long or short distances), (b) inter-urban, or intra-urban migration is an important demographic phenomenon in Ghana.

The place of birth data in both the 1960 and 1970 census reports give us an idea of internal migratory patterns in Ghana. The number of people born in another locality but in the same region is an indicator of intra-regional or inter-locality mobility. From the 1960 census, 24 percent of all females and about 18 percent of all males were reported as having been born in a different locality but within the same region. This suggests that women tend to be more participatory in short-distance or intra-regional migration than men, perhaps due to marital arrangements. Grove says that this feature is important in the Northern and Upper regions such as Frafra, where members of settlements are also members of a particular clan, and marriage partners must be selected from some other clan group (1963, p. 16). In 1970 women continued to dominate in inter-locality movements, especially in Upper region where 35.4 percent of the females were born in another locality but in the same region, as compared with only 8.1 percent for the men (Table 2.2).

Inter-regional Migration and Opportunity Zones

Ghana can broadly be divided into (1) forest region in the South, (2) the Savanna region of the North and (3) the savanna of the south-eastern coastal plain (Figure 5). Related to this is the distribution and utilization of natural resources.

Agriculturally, the forest areas produce cocoa (Ghana's main export crop) and staples such as plantain, cassava, coco-yam, maize

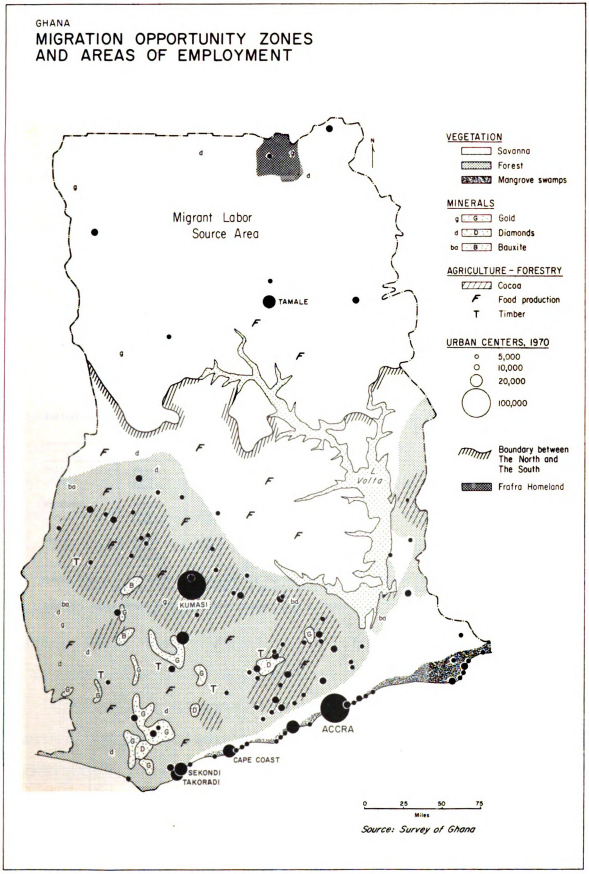

GHANA
MIGRATION OPPORTUNITY ZONES
AND AREAS OF EMPLOYMENT
Migrant Labor
Source Area
TAMALE
KUMASI
ACCRA
CAPE COAST
SEKONDI
TAKORADI
Volta
VEGETATION
Savanna
Forest
Mangrove swamps
MINERALS
g Gold
d Diamonds
bo Bauxite
AGRICULTURE - FORESTRY
Cocoa
F Food production
T Timber
URBAN CENTERS, 1970
5,000
10,000
20,000
100,000
Boundary between
The North and
The South
Frafra Homeland
0 25 50 75
Miles
Source: Survey of Ghana

Figure 5.

Table 2.2. Place of Birth By Regions and Sex in Ghana (1970)

Region	Sex	Birth Place					Total
		This Locality	Another Locality, Same Region	Another Region in Ghana	Abroad		
					West African Country	Other Country	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
All Regions	Total	57.1	20.9	17.9	3.9	0.2	100
	Male	57.5	18.0	19.6	4.7	0.2	100
	Female	56.7	23.8	16.3	3.1	0.1	100
Group A: Mainly Immigrant Regions							
Greater Accra	Total	46.0	4.8	42.2	5.8	1.2	100
	Male	43.4	4.4	43.6	7.4	1.2	100
	Female	48.8	5.3	40.8	4.1	1.0	100
Ashanti	Total	54.4	21.7	19.2	4.5	0.2	100
	Male	52.0	21.0	21.1	5.8	0.1	100
	Female	56.9	22.4	17.3	3.3	0.1	100
Brong-Ahafo	Total	53.0	17.9	23.9	5.2	0.0	100
	Male	50.7	16.3	26.5	6.5	0.0	100
	Female	55.5	19.6	21.1	3.8	0.0	100
Group B: Regions with Inward and Outward Flows							
Western	Total	48.3	20.3	27.4	3.8	0.2	100
	Male	46.6	17.9	30.2	5.1	0.2	100
	Female	50.2	22.8	24.5	2.4	0.1	100
Central	Total	65.4	20.3	12.7	1.5	0.1	100
	Male	64.4	19.2	14.3	2.0	0.1	100
	Female	66.3	21.5	11.1	1.0	0.1	100
Eastern	Total	51.4	29.1	16.3	3.1	0.1	100
	Male	50.8	27.5	17.5	4.1	0.1	100
	Female	52.0	30.6	15.1	2.2	0.1	100
Group C: Out-Migration Regions							
Volta	Total	63.1	23.3	7.5	6.1	0.0	100
	Male	63.8	21.7	7.9	6.6	0.0	100
	Female	62.5	24.7	7.1	5.7	0.0	100
Northern	Total	64.2	24.1	9.5	2.2	0.0	100
	Male	63.2	19.2	10.1	2.4	0.1	100
	Female	60.0	29.1	8.8	2.1	0.0	100
Upper	Total	70.8	22.4	4.4	2.4	0.0	100
	Male	85.2	8.1	4.8	1.9	0.0	100
	Female	57.8	35.4	4.1	2.7	0.0	100

Note: The main out-migration regions are (1) Volta, (2) Northern and (3) Upper Regions. These had very low proportions of people born in other regions (Column 4).

Source: After Ghana 1970 Population Census, Vol. 2, Table 2, p. xxvi.

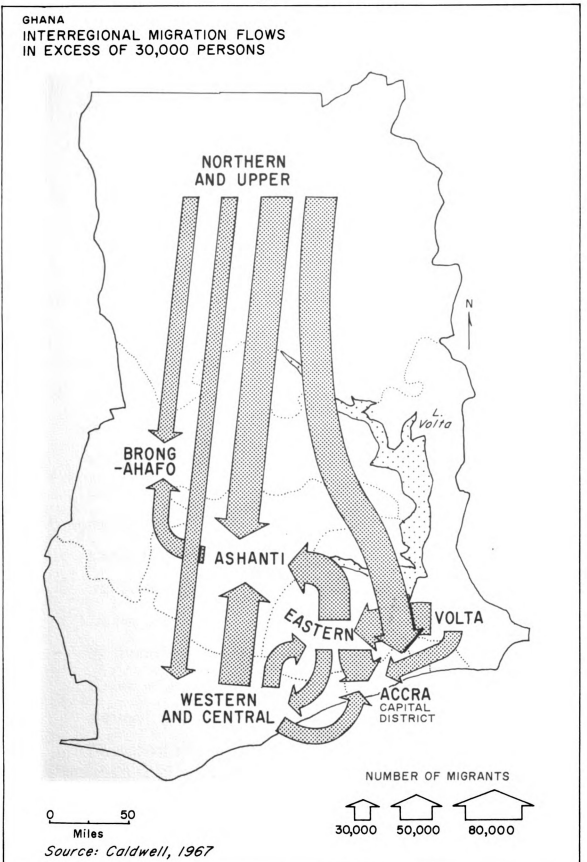
and a few others. The forest areas also provide timber resources for local consumption and for export, and other valuable tree crops for example, rubber. The Savanna areas on the other hand, produce such staples as yams, maize, rice millet and also cattle. Quite recently, rice and cotton have become important cash crops in these Savanna areas. In addition to the above, the closed forest region has valuable minerals--gold, diamonds, manganese and bauxite. During the colonial period and immediately after independence, economic developments were concentrated in the Southern half of the country as a result of the above enumerated advantages such that today even though Northern Ghana "covers nearly half of the total land surface and contains 18 percent of the total population, it contributes practically nothing to the export of raw materials on which the economy of the country rests" (Dickson, 1970, p. 1). The nearness of the southeastern Savannas to the coast, and the fact that the capital of the country--Accra--is located here has given the region, a far greater advantage over the Northern Savannas. As pointed out by Dickson, "Some of the political and economic determinants which came into operation after the 1850s profoundly affected the growth and distribution of towns in the country" (1969, p. 239). Thus, a majority of the urban centers and cities are to be found in the better developed southern part of the country.

The existence of inequalities in economic development and related opportunities has made some areas in the south basically economic growth points for other sections of the country. Hence, the major out-migration regions are the Northern and Upper regions (the two constitute Northern Ghana). The Volta region is also an out-migration region because inaccessibility and especially lack of minerals, did not

attract any colonial development projects. Ashanti, Greater Accra and Brong-Ahafo are predominantly immigrant areas, while the Eastern, Central and Western regions constitute regions with considerable inward and outward flows of migrants (Table 2.2; Figure 6).

Inter-regional migration in most respects is therefore characterized by long-distance movements. Undoubtedly, opportunities for wage employment in mining and mine related activities at urban centers and cocoa growing areas led to long-distance migration in the country. In the colonial era, mines relied on outside labor instead of local labor for a variety of reasons (Darko, 1963). Workers from the North, for instance, were purposely encouraged by the administration to migrate to mining centers. In 1927, the streams of migrants from Northern Ghana and elsewhere were diverted to cocoa production, nonetheless, mining and cocoa farms continued to attract migrants concurrently (Dickson, 1968, 1969; Darko, 1963). The main mining centers have always been Prestea, Bibiani, Tarkwa, Obuasi, Akwatia, Konogo-Odumasi, and Dunkwa. Mining tends to let migrants stay longer in the South than does agriculture, which is a seasonal activity (McNulty, 1970). However, the continuous stream of seasonal labor to cocoa producing areas has made the volume of migration to this sector higher than other sectors of the economy in Ghana (Caldwell, 1968; McNulty, 1970; Grove, 1964; Szereszewski, 1965).

From the occupational distribution of the Frafra migrants (all the four ethnic groups together) as estimated by the post enumeration survey of the 1960 census, we can characterize the main opportunity zones for Frafra as follows (Table 2.3).


GHANA
INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION FLOWS
IN EXCESS OF 30,000 PERSONS
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AND UPPER
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EASTERN
VOLTA
WESTERN
AND CENTRAL
ACCRA
CAPITAL
DISTRICT
NUMBER OF MIGRANTS
0
50
Miles
30,000
50,000
80,000
Source: Caldwell, 1967

Figure 6.

1. Food producing areas, especially in Brong-Ahafo, some parts of Ashanti, Eastern Regions. Farm laborers plus those who directly reported that they were food producing farmers, together constitute the people who were utilizing this type of opportunity.
2. Cocoa Farm Laborers--these just as the above, will be mainly seasonal migrants who move to the cocoa producing areas for short periods.
3. Mining Employment Opportunities--the mining areas indicated on Figure 5. Obuasi and Tarkwa-Abosso areas alone had about 10 percent of all Frafra migrants in the South (Table 2.4).
4. Urban Centers--most of the general laborers; those in white-collar occupations; service workers; transport and communication, would have been residing in urban centers. There is no doubt that some of these people were also located at the farms and the mines, especially the latter which are quite sizable towns. Generally, urban centers with administrative, cultural and other services to perform do attract most of the migrants. In the 1960 census, some urban centers were local authority units by themselves. It is possible, therefore, to estimate the number of Frafra in them using data from the post-enumeration survey. As shown in Table 2.4, six urban centers had about 29 percent of all Frafra migrants in the South, with Kumasi accounting for 15 percent of this proportion. The proportion of Frafra migrants living in urban centers would be well over 50 percent if there were exact figures for those residing in the many other urban centers located in various Local Councils.

The occupational characteristics (Table 2.3) and the proportion living in the main urban centers (Table 2.4) do suggest that a majority of Frafra migrants are to be found in the cities and urban centers.

Table 2.3. A Breakdown of Occupations for Migrants Away From Home and for Nonmigrants (Homeland): Gurensi Males Aged 15 Years and Over.

Occupation	Nonmigrants (Homeland)	Migrants
Food Farmers	22,000	660
Cocoa Laborers	0	570
Other Farm Laborers	100	3,960
Total Farm Employment	22,100	5,190
Mining Laborers	0	1,240
General Laborers	300	5,350
Service Workers	120	1,800
Professional, Clerical	290	0
Traders	850	0
Own Account/Self-Employed	350	630
Other Employment	550	1,290
Total Nonfarm Employment	2,460	10,310
Grand Total	24,560	15,500

After Ghana 1960 Census Report E.

Thus far, it is quite evident that we are dealing with basically long-distance movements. Generally, it has been found that there is an inverse relationship between migration and distance--that is, as a result of transportation costs the longer the distance the fewer the number of people who will participate in the migration process. Caldwell found this to be true for migration in Ghana but he also noted the peculiar pattern of migration flows from Northern Ghana where people travel for

long distances to their destinations (Caldwell, 1969). The main important factor of migratory patterns from the North, therefore, is the location and the availability of real or perceived opportunities; in most cases not available in the North.

Table 2.4. Proportion of Frafra Migrants Living in Major Urban Centers in 1960.

A. Urban Center		
Urban Center	Number	Percent of All Frafra in the South
1. Kumasi City	4,740	15.1
2. Accra City	2,320	7.4
3. Sekondi-Takoradi City	1,240	3.9
Sub-Total in Three Cities	8,300	26.4
4. Cape Coast Municipal	410	1.3
5. Tema	330	1.0
6. Sunyani	150	0.5
Total	9,190	29.2
B. Major Mining Towns		
1. Tarkwa-Abosso	1,870	5.9
2. Obuasi	1,220	3.9
Total	3,090	9.8

After Ghana 1960 Census, Special Report E.

Research Hypotheses

Through the review of the literature, coupled with a consideration of the research objectives stated in Chapter I, the following hypotheses will be examined.

Hypothesis 1: There should be a direct relationship between migration

on one hand and literacy, ability to speak English and formal education on the other. In like manner, the migration "experience" as found in families should in turn affect "the number of children in school" in that family (Caldwell, 1968).

Hypothesis 2: The extent of out-migration in any locality (settlement) in Frafra should be a function of the total population of that locality. Here, it is assumed that over-population coupled with lack of any cultivable land should be one of the prime factors which enter into the decision-to-migrate (Southall, 1960; Grove, 1963, p. 14).

Hypothesis 3: The number of people to migrate from any locality to the South should decrease with increasing distance from Bolgatanga--a commercial and administrative capital since 1936. Bolgatanga is assumed here to be the center of Frafra out-migration, through its influence as a recipient of local migrants and the fact that almost all lorries bound for the South from the Frafra areas start from this urban center.

Hypothesis 4: Considering the location of Frafra in relation to destination areas, it is here assumed that the long distance destinations of migrants are predetermined at home and therefore intervening opportunities or obstacles should be of minor consideration. This assumption also means that "step-migrants" decide on the intervening stops before they leave home.

Hypothesis 5: The number of migrants over time should be concentrated in some families, clans or lineages who make frequent movements to other regions. The migrant who has been to the South once is more likely to go again than the one who has not. Consequently, migration experience, contacts, friends, knowledge of job opportunities etc. should easily be

passed from migrant to clan members. The initial "social security" for the rural migrant on arrival at his destination for the first time from a family or clan member will also affect the decision-to-migrate process. Therefore, there should be a social network of chain migration in such families (Caldwell, 1968; Fortes, 1945, 1949).

Hypothesis 6: Considering the role of economic factors in the decision-to-migrate process, the probability of a person migrating for the first time will depend on, among other factors reliable information about job opportunities at the destination area (Caldwell, 1968; Todaro, 1969, 1971, 1973).

Hypothesis 7: Returned migrants should be "better off" in the home area. The probability to obtain regular employment for wages in the homeland itself should be directly related to the number of migration trips to the South or the length of stay in the South or both. Here, it is assumed that the returned migrant who probably has acquired some skills, some form of education, knows other languages apart from the mother tongue, and above all, is used to being paid at the end of the month is likely to join the labor force in the modern sector at home. On the other hand, the nonmigrant who is used to subsistence agriculture will continue to keep up with his responsibilities in the traditional sector.

It should be noted that these assumptions, just as the objectives, have a focus on both the Frafra homeland and the destinations. The empirical data collected in the field were used to test the hypotheses through some statistical methods (tables of descriptive statistics, multiple regression and component factor analyses).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Rational for Selecting the Frafra

Labor movements from Northern Ghana to other parts of the country have been going on for quite a considerable length of time. Apart from the migration studies on Ghana as a whole, there are only a few specific studies on the migratory patterns of the individual ethnic groups in the North. Most of the rural environments in Northern Ghana are basically labor reservoirs for the rest of the country. The ideal thing will be to have both extensive and intensive research projects which will cover the migratory patterns of all the major ethnic groups in Northern Ghana, especially those in Upper--the main labor reservoir region for Ghana (Table 1.1). However, due to financial and time constraints, only the movements of one ethnic group--the Frafra--were studied. Although the Frafra are second to the Dagarti in terms of numbers in the South they were selected for the study for the following reasons:

(a) There is substantial background material--anthropolotical and geographical-on the Frafra which were of a great help to the author during the period of data collection and analysis (Fortes, 1969; Hilton, 1966; Hunter, 1965, 1967; Lynn, 1937; Hart, 1970, 1971).

(b) A majority of the Frafra migrants are to be found in the major cities or towns in the South and this made it possible

to interview many migrants for sufficient data for the analysis. This factor also helped in reducing the cost of in-country travelling for purposes of interviewing the migrants.

(c) The capital of Upper Region--Bolgatanga--is in Frafra Local Council and the author decided to find out what effects Bolgatanga's spatial relationships have on out-migration in Frafra.

(d) The author's hometown is in South Mamprusi, which lies immediately south of Frafra. He is therefore familiar with the Frafra area more than the other homelands in Upper Region. He understands the dialects in Frafra Local Council, and Hausa which is a major lingua franca among Frafra migrants in the South.

Data Collection

Public Records

Some of the available books and articles on Frafra were utilized where necessary for the study. The colonial administrative officers wrote a number of monographs and reports on various aspects of both the physical and the human geography of Ghana. Some of these are only available in London, United Kingdom, at the Public Records Office. Two stops were therefore made in London (25th March to 30th March, 1972 and 10th February to 20th February, 1973) for the purpose of extracting relevant data on Frafra migration. During the stay in London trips were made to Cambridge University for full discussions of the research with Professor Meyer Fortes, who has numerous studies on the Frafra area, especially the Talensi.

Related to the records in the Public Record Office, London, is the archival material available in Ghana. The Ghana National Archives has a branch office in each regional capital and these were utilized for compiling data on the Frafra from some of the Departmental Reports and records on the Colonial and Independent periods. Data were also derived from libraries in Ghana, Employment Agencies, Government and private departments, and the Mining establishments.

Ghana Population Census Reports

The first population count to be carried out in Ghana was in 1891. After this count there have been subsequent censuses every ten years, except in 1941 due to the Second World War. There were counts again in 1948, in 1960 and the latest in March-April, 1970. Apart from the last two the accuracy of the first counts are in doubt. For instance, the chief census officer of the Ghana 1960 census remarked that the 1948 census had about 10 percent under-estimation (Gil, 1963, p. 68).

Data on migration in Ghana are very limited, because there are no population registers in Ghana with basic information such as migration rates, birth and death rates, etc. Whatever is available is mostly in the Census Reports, especially those of 1960 and 1970. Both the 1960 and 1970 reports have "place of birth" data and these were used for the study. The 1960 census had an added advantage for this study because there is some information on the number of each ethnic group in Ghana counted outside their homeland.[1]

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[1]This information is available from the 1960 Census, Special Report E based on the results of the Post Enumeration Survey on about five percent of the total population. Although a similar survey was carried out after the main 1970 census no results will be published on the

Although place of birth data on migrants tend to ignore the total migrant stock (migrants' children and grown-up migrants who were born in the South will all be left out) the use of data on both "place of birth" and "the number of an ethnic group enumerated in a locality" offer a better opportunity for analyzing patterns of migration in Ghana. If we had similar data (number of an ethnic group counted in a locality) for the 1970 census it would have been possible to compare and account for the spatial distribution of Frafra migrants in 1960 and 1970.

Field Research Strategies

Field Interview Schedules

With the absence of any substantial data on migration in Ghana the bulk of the data used for this study were derived from first hand field research. The basic research instrument was a formal interview schedule. There were two types, one for the homeland and the second for migrants at the destinations. Open interview schedules, which allowed the respondents to provide their own answers, were used instead of closed ones or questionnaires.[2] Most of the migrants have never been to school hence the schedules were more appropriate than questionnaires. Besides, apart from Caldwell's study there are no detailed studies on the migration process in Ghana and therefore it was difficult to think of typical

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different ethnic groups in Ghana. The current military regime on resuming control of the national affairs in 1972 abolished the word tribe or the presentation of data on ethnic groups from all public records, a step aimed at creating a stronger national consciousness among all Ghanaians.

[2]According to Peil and Lucas the main difference between questionnaire and interview schedules is that questionnaires are self-administered (completed by the respondent) while schedules are administered by an interviewer (who asks the questions and writes down the answers) (1972, p. 146).

answers which would have made the use of a closed schedule possible (Caldwell, 1969). Further, the open schedule had the advantage of obtaining all possible answers from the respondents. The research period in Ghana was from April, 1972 to December, 1972.

In addition to obtaining general demographic data on the migrants (age, sex, marital status, religious affiliation, etc.) the schedules for the destinations had the following sections: (a) information about the home area, (b) pathways and step-wise migration, (c) channels and carriers of information flow and migration behavior, (d) information on residential locations, (e) education of respondent and family, (f) social networks among migrants, (g) return migration and rural-urban links, (h) the urban experience--attitudes, problems, benefits and social integration into the urban milieu, (i) economic changes among migrants--occupational characteristics, property and unemployment, (j) attitudes towards rural-urban migration (Appendix 1).

The schedule for the homeland had almost the same format but differed greatly in some sections which had questions on a variety of topics, for example, past migration experience (returned migrants), characteristics of intending migrants and stayers, relatives, friends, etc. away from home, occupational characteristics and job aspirations of intending migrants, etc. (Appendix 2).

Research Assistants

It would have been very difficult to carry out a research project of this type alone, therefore field assistants were used for interviewing purposes. The decision to use interviewers to help in the field is of paramount importance that can affect the course and nature of the research

(Williams, 1967, pp. 31-33; Diop, 1963; Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques, 1961).

With this in mind, the selection of the field assistants depended on the following (a) previous experience in census taking, (b) their knowledge of Frafra migration or the whole concept of migration, (c) their ability to speak English, Frafra (Talensi or Nabnam or Grune or all of them) and Hausa, (d) their acceptance in the areas in which the interviews were to be carried out, and (e) their ability to devote substantial amounts of their time to the research. Almost all the field assistants used were of Frafra extraction (university students, secondary scholars and a few completed middle scholars). An intensive interviewer training was carried out at the beginning of the research. Besides introducing the interviewers to the principles of interviewing and the methods of the sample survey, they were given detailed instructions on how to fill the schedules. A uniform, mutually agreed upon Frafra (Talensi, Gurensi, Nabdam and Boonsi) and Hausa translation of the English schedule was established and followed by all interviewers.

Pilot Survey

A pilot survey was carried out in Madina, a suburb of the University of Ghana where quite a substantial number of Frafra migrants live, for the sole purpose of pre-testing the schedules. This took one and a half weeks after which each question was checked for its feasibility or usefulness in the field. Some were left out of the final schedules and a few, realized from the pilot survey, added.

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The Sample Survey

The South

With the limited time and finance at the author's disposal it would have been difficult to interview all Frafra migrants in the South, or visit all the settlements in the Frafra homeland. Sample methods were therefore used for selecting both the areas to be visited and the number of people to be interviewed in each location.

Berry and Baker remarked that if the spatial distribution of any phenomenon being studied is random, any of these probability sampling methods--random systematic, stratified or a combination of any two--will give unbiased estimates with approximately equal variations (1968, p. 94). According to Matern (1960) from the statistician's point of view, it is important to have a good knowledge of the spatial variation of the studied phenomenon in the region where a sample survey or field experiment is to be conducted. Thus the author's knowledge of the destinations to be visited was a great asset.

The 1960 census was used as the basis for the sample design because at the beginning of the research the results of the 1970 census had not yet been published. If even they had been published it would have been difficult to use that because of the lack of data on individual ethnic groups.

For administrative and organizational purposes, the 1960 census utilized the then existing 69 local administrative units (Local Authorities)[3] (Appendix 3 and Figure 7). From the Special Report E,

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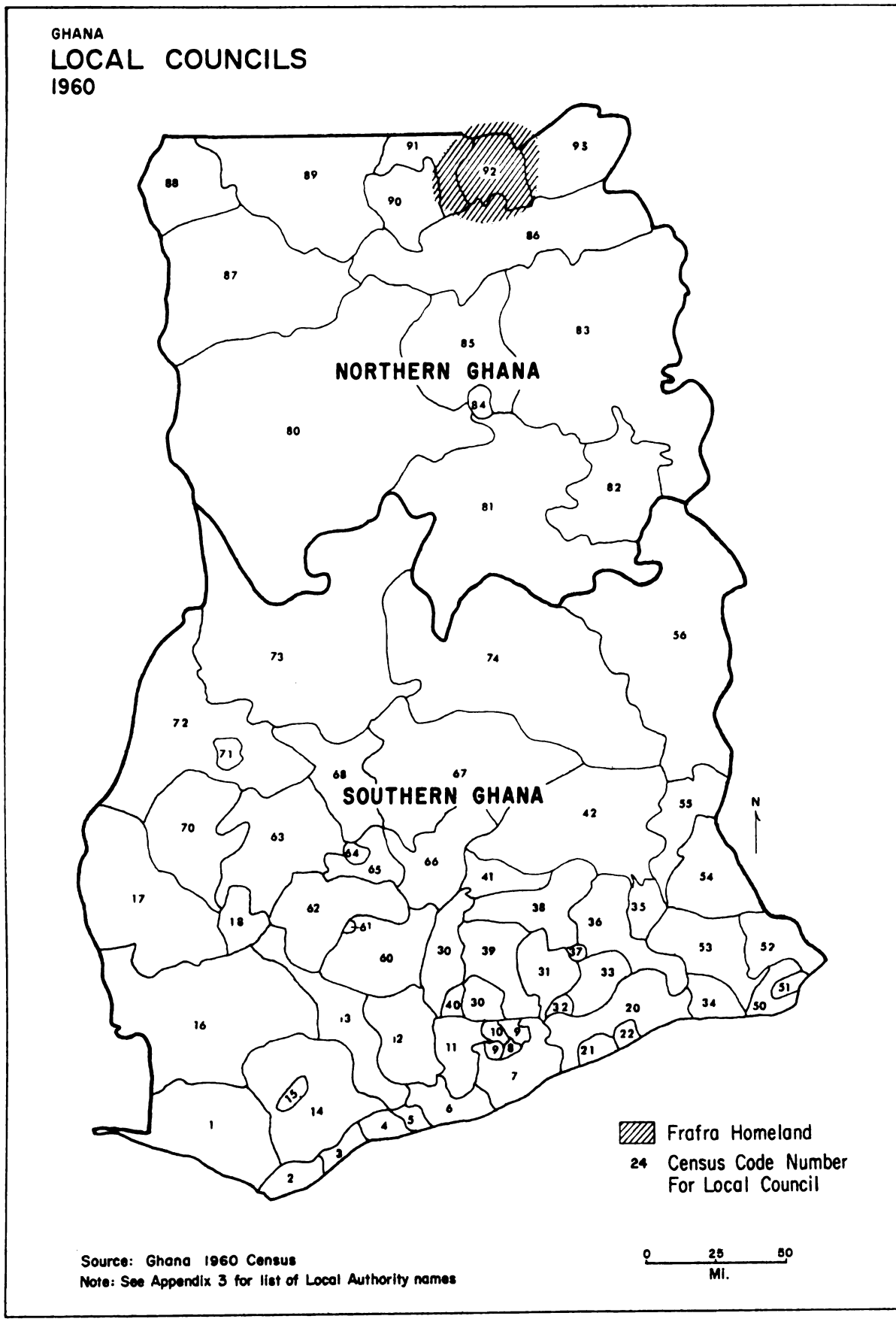
[3]In 1969 the Local Administrative structure in Ghana was reorganized into 140 Local Authorities, hence the 1970 census utilized these instead of the previous 69 Local Authorities.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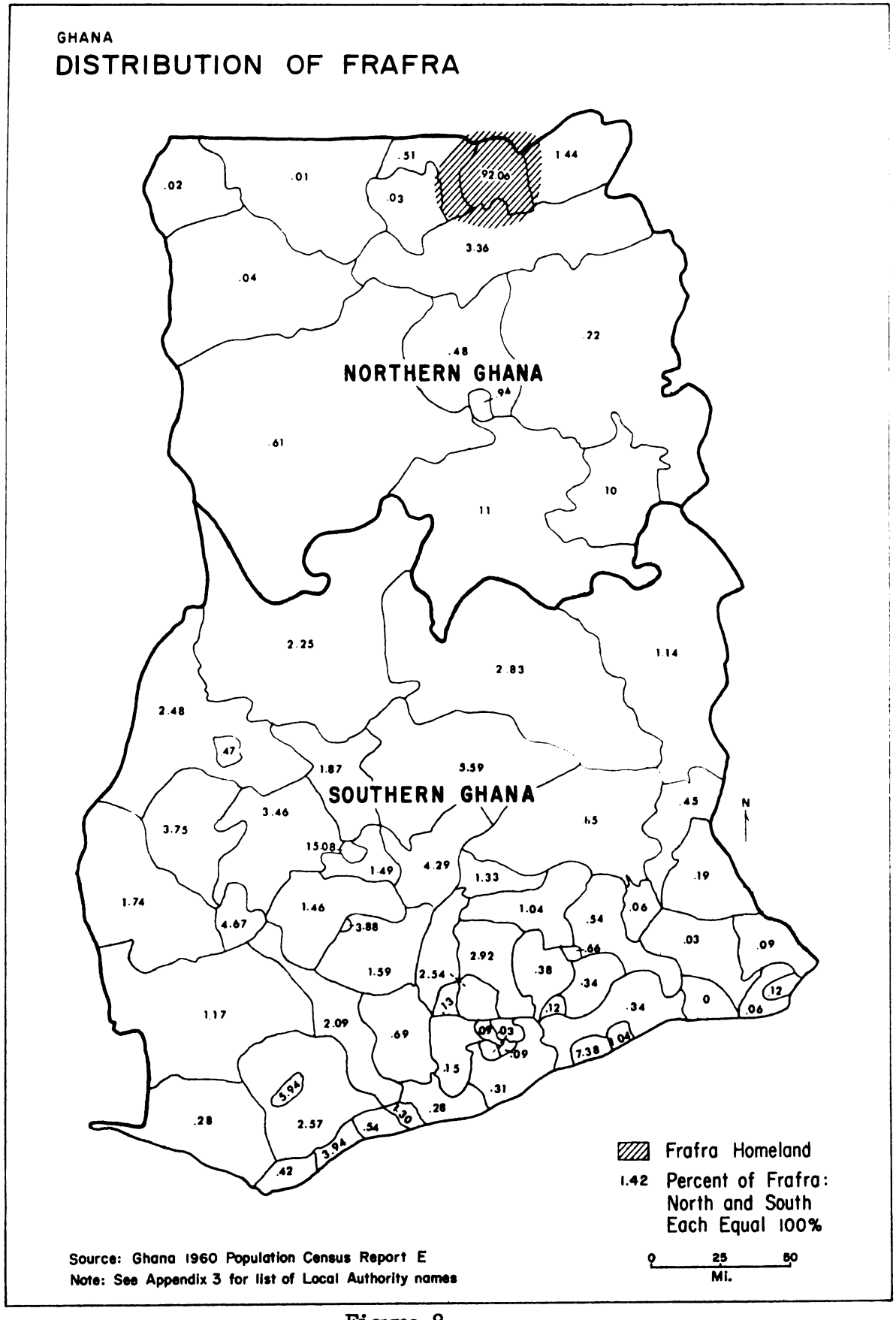
Source: Ghana 1960 Census
Note: See Appendix 3 for list of Local Authority names

Figure 7.

it was possible to have an idea about the number of Frafra migrants in each locality (Appendix 3 and Figure 8). There is a very high probability that during the past decade or so this distribution pattern might have remained proportionally the same with only minimum changes. Apart from a few places like Tema, which mushroomed from a small settlement to an industrial center during the intercensal period, the attraction force of the other localities for migrants remained almost the same as in 1960.

Since it was impossible to visit all the local authorities in the South, the localities to be visited depended on the proportion of Frafra migrants living in it. One basic consideration was to make sure that interviews were conducted in all the migration-opportunity zones (a) towns/cities, (b) mining areas and (c) farming areas (food and cocoa production). The first stage was therefore cluster sampling by drawing up a hierarchy of localities on the basis of the number of Frafra migrants in them (Table 3.1). Fortunately, out of the then 55 local authorities in the South, 20 had 82 percent of all Frafra migrants. Besides, this list contains localities characterizing the three migration opportunity zones. The first two cities--Kumasi and Accra--which together had 23.5 percent of Frafra migrants formed the first stratum. The rest were divided into three groups, on the basis of the percent of Frafra migrants in the localities, that is Stratum Two (4-6 percent), Stratum Three (3-3.5 percent), Stratum Four (2-2.5 percent). A few of these local authority units were single towns whereas the others covered quite extensive areas. The next stage of the sample design was therefore, the compilation of Census Enumeration Areas in each local authority which had clusters or many Frafra migrants. This was not very difficult to



Source: Ghana 1960 Population Census Report E
Note: See Appendix 3 for list of Local Authority names

Figure 8.

Table 3.1. A Hierarchy of Local Councils in the South with Many Frafra Migrants.

Rank	Census* Code No.	Local Council	No. of Frafra in Council	Percent of Frafra in South	Remarks
1	64	Kumasi M.C.	4,740	15.08	Stratum
2	21 & 22	Accra-Tema City Council	2,650	8.42	I
3	15	Tarkwa-Abosso	1,870	5.94	Stratum
4	67	Sekyere	1,760	5.59	II
5	18	Sefwi-Anhwiaso-Bekwai	1,470	4.67	(4-6%)
6	66	Kumasi East	1,350	4.29	
7	3	Sekondi-Takoradi	1,240	3.94	
8	61	Obuasi	1,220	3.88	
9	70	Brong-Ahafo-South	1,180	3.75	
10	63	Kumasi West	1,090	3.46	Stratum
11	39	West Akim Abuakwa	920	2.92	III
12	74	Brong-Ahafo East	890	2.83	(3-3.5%)
13	14	Wassaw-Fiasse	810	2.57	
14	30	Western Akim	800	2.54	
15	72	Brong-Ahafo Central	780	2.43	Stratum
16	73	Brong-Ahafo North	710	2.25	IV
17	13	Denkyira-Twifu-Hemang	660	2.09	(2-2.5%)
18	68	Kumasi-North	590	1.87	
19	17	Sefwi-Wiawso	550	1.74	
20	60	Adansi-Banka	500	1.59	
		Total	25,780	82.0	

(All figures represent the three ethnic groups--Frafra, Talensi and Nannam. After the Ghana 1960 Census, Special Report E.)

Note: In 1960 out of the 55 local councils in the South, 82 percent of the Frafra migrants were in 21 councils (Tema and Accra together).

*Refer to Figure 7 for the location of these local administrative units.

achieve because, apart from the very rural areas, almost all the migrants live in sizable towns. Before the beginning of the research, necessary contacts with Frafra headmen through reconnaissance field surveys (visits) in most of these localities were undertaken. This helped a great deal with the final sample design, as well as paving the way for the high level of cooperation we received from all migrants.

With a list of enumeration areas in each locality, the systematic random sample method was used to choose the actual enumeration areas to be visited. For the actual interviewing purposes, a list of houses with the migrants was drawn in each selected enumeration area. Systematic random sampling was still used for selecting houses to be visited. There are only a few houses which are solely occupied by Frafra migrants. Also, many migrants live as individuals and not with others as household units. The individual migrant was therefore the target for interviewing and not the head of the household. Proportional sampling was used such that the number of migrants interviewed in each local authority was proportional to the number of Frafra living in it, as given by the 1960 census. In all 1,229 individual migrants, both men and women aged 15 years and over, were interviewed. This number represents 3.9 percent of all Frafra migrants (31,430) in the South (Ghana, 1960 Census, Special Report E).

Rest of Northern Ghana (Intermediate or Intervening Destinations)

With the time and money available it was decided to concentrate on only Tamale, the major intermediate destination between Frafra homeland and the South. With a list of houses, coupled with the location of Frafra migrants in the various residential sections in Tamale, the

systematic random sample method was used (187 individual migrants in Tamale were interviewed). Considering the number of migrants interviewed at the destinations--intermediate and target or final destinations in the South--in all, data were collected on 1,416 migrants (1,229 + 187 = 1,416).

The Homeland

The rural population at home is somewhat homogeneous and therefore the interviews were done by selected houses. A list of enumeration areas was compiled and through the use of systematic sampling, some of these enumeration areas were visited. In each enumeration area, the detailed list of localities (1960 Census Special Report D) was used for selecting specific localities, through the use of systematic random sampling. In a selected house or locality a number of residents were interviewed and not only the head of the household. In all, 607 people were interviewed in the homeland.

Methods of Analysis

Editing, Coding and Key Punching The Data on Cards

Although close supervision of interviewers was rigorously carried out in the field it was necessary to edit the filled interview schedules. The forms were checked for completeness and consistency. In a very few cases, it was necessary to have a follow-up field visit in order to obtain the necessary and accurate data.

The editing was followed by the construction of coding instructions which made it possible for all the responses to be key-punched on IBM cards as numerical values. All these were carried out in Ghana, utilizing

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the facilities of the University of Ghana (editor-coders from the Institute of Social, Statistical and Economic Research and the Computer Center).

Data Analysis

It was noted that in any meaningful analysis of migration data "some attention should be paid to persons migrating during a relatively short period of time so that the characteristics of several generations of migrants are not lumped together" (Caldwell, 1968, p. 363). Frafra migrants can be considered as a heterogeneous group in two possible ways, (a) by migration opportunity zones, because migrants at the farms may not necessarily be the same as the typical urban dwellers or the mining laborers, (b) by length of residence at the destinations. The last criterion is of crucial importance because the characteristics, migration behavior, perceptions, etc. of people who moved for the last five years will definitely be different from those who have been away from home for more than 10 years. The length of residence offered the best aggregate level of analyzing the data on migrants. It was also no problem aggregating the data by the migration ecological zones. Throughout the analysis where there was a need for comparing the migrants in these zones, this aggregate level was used. In a majority of cases, however, the two approaches were complementary.

Of the 1,416 people interviewed at the destinations, 2.7 percent reported that they were born in the South. A further 1 percent could not determine their length of residence. Thus it was decided that the data on the 3.7 percent of these respondents should be excluded from the analysis. At least, this eliminated bias in the data--the responses

of people who did not really migrate from home. Perhaps in the future, it will be interesting to analyze this bit of the data and find out how second generation migrants differ from first generation ones (Table 3.2).

Multiple regression and component factor analyses were the basic statistical techniques employed in analyzing the data. These methods have been discussed in the appropriate chapters. In addition, it was decided to use the Chi-square statistic[4] as a test of independence among the four migrant categories. One basic question which this statistic was meant to help in answering was; Are there any significant differences in the responses of migrants by length of residence? With such a statistic it will be possible to determine whether migration behavior among Frafra migrants has changed throughout the years. This being the case, the null hypothesis was "There are no basic differeces among the responses" of migrants.

The Chi-square statistic is basically

$$X^2 = \Sigma \frac{(fo-fe)^2}{fe}$$

Where: X^2 is the chi-square statistic

fo = the observed data

fe = the expected

According to Noether it is possible to compute the expected frequencies by first organizing the data into a data matrix and then using the following method:

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[4]The consulting services of the Department of Statistics and the advice of Dr. Stanley Brunn were utilized in deciding on this particular statistical technique.

$$\text{Expected frequency} = \frac{(\text{Total for column}) \times (\text{total for row})}{n}$$

(Noether, Gottfried, 1971, p. 97).

Using chi-square distribution tables and the chi-square statistic (X^2) derived, it was possible to establish probability confidence levels for each table.[5] Levels which were .25 or less were considered significant enough to reject the null hypothesis of no difference (Guilford, J.P., 1965, p. 227-251).

Table 3.2. Migrant Categories by Length of Residence at the Destinations (Aged 15 Years and Over)

Migrant Category*	Number Interviewed	Percent of Total
Recent Migrants (0-5 years)	434	30.65
Intermediate (6-10 years)	352	24.86
Old Migrants (11-20 years)	373	26.34
Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)	205	14.48
Sub-Total	1,364	96.33
Born at Destination	38	2.68
Cannot determine length of residence	14	0.99
Sub-Total	52	3.67
Grand Total	1,416	100.00

*For lack of established names in the literature, these names were used to facilitate the analysis of the data. "Old" and "Very Old" should be read in the thesis as pertaining to length of residence and not necessarily actual age categories, though there is a strong relationship between the two, i.e., length of residence and the actual age of the migrant.

[5]The actual numerical values in each table were used for calculating the chi-square statistic and not the percentage frequencies as presented in the tables.

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Special Supplementary Field Research

During the research period it was decided to carry out special interviews which involved generating a list of migrants in the homeland. The specific locations in the South were determined (recent letter from him, visits, etc. all helped in this exercise). Particulars about these were obtained (occupation, marital status, when left home, income and properties, gifts sent back home, number of visits, when expected back home, etc.). The next phase was the location of these at the destinations by the author. Special interviews were carried out with the sole purpose of matching the data of the homeland and what was obtained from these migrants. This data are still untouched, and hopefully the author will examine that in a future project.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIGRATION PROCESS IN NORTHERN GHANA: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE MIGRATION SYSTEM IN THE FRAFRA HOMELAND

The Genesis of Out-Migration in Northern Ghana

Records available indicate that labor migration from Northern Ghana started as a result of the policies of the colonial administration. At the turn of the century, labor supply needs at the mines, harbors and for railway construction were met by the employment of local people from Southern Ghana and the immigration of workers from other parts of West Africa, especially, Liberia and Nigeria (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Sources of African Labor in Ghana's Mining Industry, 1904.

Ghanaian*		Alien	
Ethnic Group	Percentage	Ethnic Group	Percentage
Fanti	38.40	Kroo (Liberian)	13.97
Ashanti	16.22	Lagos (Southern Nigerian	6.97
Krepi	11.35	Bassa	4.97
Apollonian	1.42	Mendi	4.36
		Hausa	2.34
Total	67.39	Total	32.61

*Note the absence, at the time, of workers from Northern Ghana.

Source: Department of Mines, Annual Report, 1904. See also, Dickson, 1969, p. 190.

Competition for immigrant workers and the increasing need for more labor supply by the various sectors of the economy caused a labor shortage by 1906. In that year (1906) the colonial administration agreed to help miners, cocoa farmers and other employers in the South to recruit labor from the North. Consequently, different gangs of laborers were recruited by the colonial administration in the North and taken to the South between 1906 and 1909. Although in a few cases the colonial administrators were highly successful in obtaining labor, conditions at the destinations did not really attract workers from the North.

> ". . .in 1907 two gangs of laborers were brought into the colony from the Northern Territories but owing to the local conditions in the cocoa districts and to the fact that the Northern Territories' men were absolutely strange to the conditions the experiment was not successful and it is not likely to be repeated until such a time as the Northern Territories men can be trusted to look after themselves" (Letter from W. H. Grey, F. and A. Swanzy Ltd., Sekondi, to the Colonial Secretary, Accra in March 1909: National Archives, ADM 1/24:1909-10: Tamale).

In the same letter, Grey advocated the importation of more Yoruba laborers from Lagos instead of the men from the North because:

> ". . .the language difficulty is another drawback to the employment of Northern Territories men in the cocoa district. There are so many Lagos Yoruba people in the country that a Yoruba speaking native can always find someone in the village to interprete for him but Northern Territories men with their various languages may not meet any one in a day's march capable of understanding a word said by them" (National Archives, ADM 1/24:1909-1910: Tamale).

The Colonial Secretary, however, held a different view regarding recruitment of labor from the North. In his reply he pointed out

that ". . .the question of attempting to secure a large number of labourers from the Northern Territories is being considered." With regard to the importation of labor from Southern Nigeria, the Colonial Secretary ruled out that possibility because:

> ". . .the supply of labour in Southern Nigeria appears to be insufficient for local requirements and a similar request was made not long ago to this Government by that of Southern Nigeria. In these circumstances it would be of little use to again attempt to obtain labour from that colony" (Reply of Colonial Secretary to Mr. Grey's letter in June 1909. National Archives ADM 1/24: 1909-1910: Tamale).

Another letter from the mining companies through their representative in the Gold Coast to the Colonial Secretary also mentioned the problems of recruiting labor. They emphasized that the only source open to them was the Northern Territories, because of the following reasons: a) labor supply from the indigenous populations around the mines was insufficent. The few such people employed could not be relied upon because "they came to work at such times as they think fit." b) The labor from the Eastern end of the colony which used to be brought to the mines was no longer obtainable. c) The supply of foreign labor from the Kroo Coast in Liberia had dwindled to very small numbers. d) The Transport Department (the main government department for recruiting labor) was not able to cope with the demand for labor at the time (National Archives, ADM 1/24: 1909-1910: Tamale).

The letter also stated that the management of the mines was certain that the

> ". . .protectorate[1] was capable of supplying a sufficient number of labourers to ensure that no less than 12,000 workers (in addition to the already existing numbers as explained in subsequent correspondence) (sic) shall always be available at Tarkwa and Prestea. . ."

to work at the mines. To enable them to achieve this the management wanted to know if the government would assist the mines to form a Native Labor Association. This association would keep its recruiting agents at work in the Protectorate, engaging men, organizing them into bands, and transporting them to the South. Or, as an alternative, they asked if the government would undertake these responsibilities in return for a fixed payment per head.

The government agreed to help the mines not only to establish a Native Labor Association but also to help with the actual recruitment of labor from the North. In addition, the colonial secretary asked the British government to import 200 Indians to the colony for employment as an experiment in the Public Works Department (National Archives ADM 1/24:1909-1910: Tamale).

Mass scale recruitment of labor from the North, however, was abandoned in the 1910s because (1) people from the North were completely strange to conditions in the forest areas, having come from savanna regions, (2) they were not accompanied by their wives, because they feared taking their wives to such faraway places, even though some of the colonial officers tried to encourage them to take their wives, (3) they were compelled to work underground at the mines, (4) they could

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[1] Present Northern Ghana was first known as the "Protectorate" and then later was called the "Northern Territories" until independence in 1957.

not obtain food to which they were accustomed, namely guinea corn and (5) as a result of the above, many workers recruited in the North either deserted before reaching the mines or immediately after arriving at the mines (National Archives: ADM 1/24:1909-1910: Tamale).

The continued need for labor at these economic growth points and growth areas in the South, forced the administration to revise its policy of helping southern farmers and miners recruit labor from the North in 1923. It was not an easy undertaking and the recruiting was left to the miners and farmers themselves. As late as 1950, the Finsbury Pavement House Transit Welfare Centre established a labor recruiting camp at Bogatanga with the approval of the Colonial Secretary for engaging and transporting labor to the mines of the Finsbury Pavement group in the Tarkwa area at the rate of 1,500 annually and subsequently increased to 2,000 annually. In the 1950s and 1960s the Tarkwa mines made one of their old laborers, who is of Northern extraction, responsible for helping in the recruitment of labor from the North. For instance, in 1967 a team of recruiters from Tarkwa to the North were asked to recruit candidates from the North because the

> ". . .experience of underground workers has taught the mining management that only nationals from Northern Ghana have shown aptitude for underground work with very few exceptions with regard to recruits from the Apam area along the coast" (A letter from the Mines Administrator to Recruiters in the North: Correspondence File, Tarkwa Mines, 1967).

Apart from this government sanctioned recruitment of labor from the North, there were illegal recruiters who lured to the South a vast majority of laborers, especially around Bolgatanga and Wa, without these men knowing exactly where they were going and under what

conditions they were to work. All these recruitment efforts, government sanctioned or illegal recruiting, especially since the 1930s, formed the embryo of voluntary labor migration from the North to the South. Further, the enlistment of many people of northern origin in the Gold Coast Regiment for action during the Second World War resulted in quite a few people remaining in the South after the war.

The Frafra Homeland and Out-Migration: A Consideration of Some Push Factors

It has already been pointed out that population growth in Ghana as a whole has been very rapid. An analysis of census reports starting in 1921, however, will reveal that there were varying differential growth rates at regional or even local council levels, with some areas in Northern Ghana showing the least percent increase. Though intercensal population change rates in Frafra have been negative since 1948 due to out-migration, it is one of the few areas in Ghana with high population concentrations (Figure 2 and Table 4.2).

During the colonial period many migrant settlers moved into the northeastern and northwestern parts of Ghana, so that after 1921 it was immigration which accounted for population change in those areas. Dickson has commented that:

> "The north-eastern and north-western areas received from Upper Volta, Northern Togo, Mali and the Ivory Coast, significant numbers of immigrants who were seeking land for cultivation or were desirous of escaping the stringent policial and administrative tax systems in their respective countries. In the Upper Region over 50 percent of the immigrants settled in North-Mamprusi (present Kusasi and Frafra areas)" (Dickson, 1969, p. 280).

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In 1921, the Frafra area had a population density of 82 persons per square mile but later census counts gave higher average densities (Table 4.2). Until 1960, when for the first time a well-organized census was carried out, the early counts were done by very few personnel and at very little cost. Not everyone was counted and the Chief Census Officer in 1960 remarked that the 1948 census alone had about 10 percent under-estimation (Gil, B.Z., 1963, p. 68). Although these figures are not very accurate, they do serve as an approximation and as a guide to what the trend was in population growth and densities during the intercensal periods.

Table 4.2. Population Growth and Densities in Frafra Homeland (1931-1970).

Year	Area (Sq. Miles)	Population	Density (Per Sq. Miles)	Average Annual Increase
1931	735	132,479	180.2	---
1948	735	163,474	222.4	1.38
1960	735	150,028	204.1	-0.67
1970	735	172,202	234.3	2.1

Source: After Ghana Census Reports.

Densities in some localities as revealed by both the 1960 and 1970 censuses are far higher than the average population densities given above. For example, population concentrations exceed 512 per square mile in the Kulubiliga-Kuldaga watershed and around Bolgatanga (Hilton, T.E., 1966). In the Nangodi traditional area, the problem of overcrowding was found to be most acute in central areas of fixed cultivation which had densities ranging from 1,000 persons to 1,240

persons per square mile (Hunter, 1967). Further, a detailed analysis of population densities by census enumeration areas has shown that some very small enumeration areas have densities far beyond the average density figure, for example, Yazore-Kpatia 1,568 psm;[2] Shiega-Tindongo 1,360 psm; Tarongu-Akunsigibisi 1,345 psm; Bolga Zuabisi 1,312 psm; Tongo Nayiri 1,268 psm and Zanlerigu 1,144 persons psm (refer to Figure 9).

The traditional agriculture pattern here is the compound farming system, characterized by fixed farming around compounds (houses) in a dispersed settlement pattern without any fallow periods. Thus, over population on a limited land resource base has been one of the major problems of the Frafra area and in neighboring areas occupied by the Kasena-Nankani, Kusasi and Busansi.

The influx of immigrants from further north already referred to above, created a serious land shortage with the concommitant problems of soil erosion, periodic hunger and the like. To compound the land problem, the incidence of some epidemic diseases, such as sleeping sickness (trypanosomiasis), and river blindness (onchocerciasis), have resulted in the retreat of population from rich infested riverine areas. Further, the availability of water in these areas is a critical problem. Even then, soil erosion (sheet and gully erosion) and extensive rock out-crops have been responsible for the reduction fo cultivable land available to man here. Table 4.3 clearly shows the extent of uninhabited land in the divisions which are now not available

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[3] Psm is the persons per square mile.

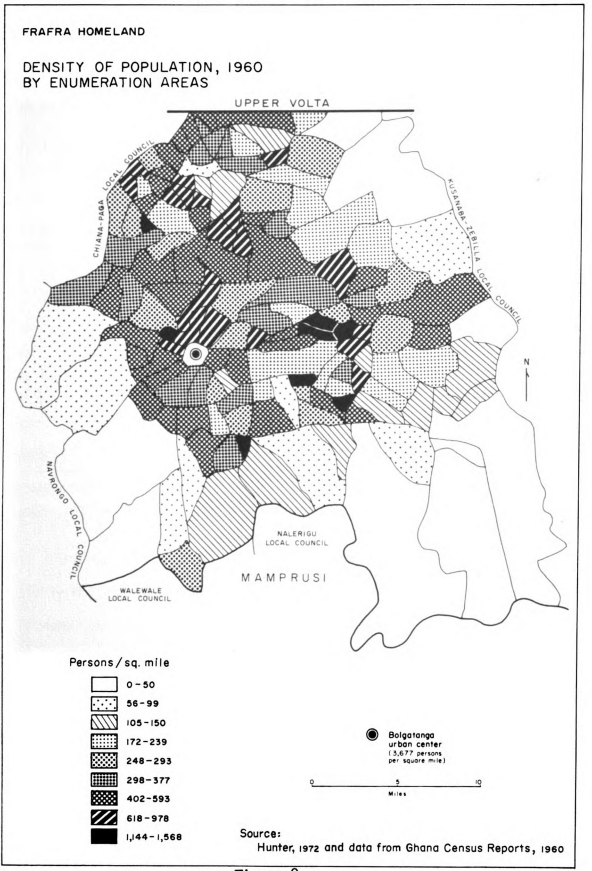

FRAFRA HOMELAND
DENSITY OF POPULATION, 1960
BY ENUMERATION AREAS
UPPER VOLTA
CHIANA-PAGA LOCAL COUNCIL
KURUGUBA-ZEBILLA LOCAL COUNCIL
N
NAVRONGO LOCAL COUNCIL
NALERIGU
LOCAL COUNCIL
MAMPRUSI
WALEWALE
LOCAL COUNCIL
Persons / sq. mile
0 - 50
56 - 99
105 - 150
172 - 239
248 - 293
298 - 377
402 - 593
618 - 978
1,144 - 1,568
Bolgatanga
urban center
(3,677 persons
per square mile)
0
5
10
Miles
Source:
Hunter, 1972 and data from Ghana Census Reports, 1960

Figure 9.

for farming. If the factor of uninhabited land is therefore considered in the computation of densities as in Table 4.2 then the densities discussed above will be far higher than these averages.

Table 4.3. Estimated Areas of Uninhabited and Inhabited Portions and Densities of Inhabited Portions of the Frafra Area (1948 and 1960).

Division	Uninhabited (Square Miles)	Inhabited (Square Miles)	Density of Inhabited Portion*	
			1948	1960
Bolga	33	111	422	421
Bongo	28	150	380	347
Nangodi	12	41	423	326
Sekoti	11	20	258	211
Talensi	204	125	296	268
Frafra	283	447	365	335

*Persons per square mile.

Source: After Hilton, January 1966, p. 33.

The land problem and the periodic hungers here were also made worse by the invasions of locusts in 1929-30, 1933-34 and finally in 1939 when they destroyed many farms. Add to these problems the fact that onchocerciasis (river blindness) affects many men in the prime of life and who consequently become disabled. This means a definite reduction in the farm labor force--a further bitter element of the vicious cycle of poverty here.

The colonial administration recognized this problem and most of the officers encouraged new agriculture methods, but they also considered out-migration as one of the best answers to the population

problem in Frafra. For instance, in 1930 Messrs. Muir and Williams (1930), carried out a survey on the agriculture system here. They reported that the average land cultivated per person was about 0.4 acres in the more densely populated areas and 0.8 acres in the sparsely populated areas. Through their findings and, of course, the reports of District Commissioners, it was recorded that ". . .the population in Zuarungu and Navrongo areas of the Northern province was congested and suffered recurrent food shortage and yet there had been unsuccessful efforts to encourage the population to migrate" (National Archives, ADM 1/208:1935: Tamale).

As a result, an Agriculture Station was established in Zuarungu in 1932 with the main objective of finding the causes of the recurrent food shortages here and to suggest ameliorating measures to combat the situation. It was hoped that "farming colonies" or "land settlement schemes" could be developed whereby Frafras could be encouraged to move. The overall targets of the agriculture station were clearly outlined in a letter from the Provincial Superintendent of Agriculture for the Northern Territories, to the Agriculture Officer, Zuarungu.

> ". . .to obtain a thorough working knowledge of local crops, yields, normal consumption per head, etc. you should get as much first hand information as possible on the attitude of the people towards moving to new areas; and presuming that they move, what their wishes and requirements as to new land are. Such information appears necessary if eventually we are to put up a scheme attractive to the people themselves" (National Archives: ADM 1/208:1935: Tamale).

C. W. Lynn, a very capable agriculture officer, was in charge of the Zuarungu Agriculture Station and the monographs he wrote are still some of the most comprehensive studies on the relationship

between man and his environment in the Frafra area. In 1932-36 he carried out a survey of 54 houses in North Mamprusi. Among other things, he found out that the average amount of land cultivated per head per annum was 0.66 acres, of which 78 percent was fixed (i.e., cultivated each year) and 22 percent in bush farm. The average farmer cultivated 2.49 acres which supported 3.7 persons including the farmer himself (Lynn, C. W., 1937).

In recent years, the bush farm has disappeared from the agriculture landscape in these areas and all the land has been converted into fixed cultivation. Very little fertilizing of the soil takes place therefore the system has been beset with problems of declining crop yields and of sheet and gully erosion especially in the areas with very high population concentrations. In 1942 Lynn pointed out that continuous fragmentation of farm holdings by inheritence tended to intensify the compound farming system, resulting in soil erosion and consequently periodic hungers. He proposed a number of remedies basically concerned with the modification of the agriculture practice in Frafra (Lynn, 1942). His recommendations eventually gave birth to the establishment of Land Planning and Resettlement Schemes in Northern Ghana, especially for the Frafra people.

The Frafra Land Planning Committee formed in 1948, established land planning areas in Frafra and also tried resettling families outside the area. The Kamba (1938), Parogo (1952) and Damongo (1951) Resettlement Schemes were three different programs aimed at easing the population problem at home, but all met with limited success and were abandoned.

From the above, it can be seen quite clearly that the population problem in Frafra is quite serious and no satisfactory solution to the problem has yet been found. In 1959 Hilton suggested that in order to relieve the pressure on the land at least 80,000 people (roughly 12,000 to 13,000 compound families) need to be moved from the Frafra area (1959, p. 237). Also, in the Nangodi area, Hunter (1967) estimated that approximately 280 persons per square mile is the maximum possible carrying capacity of the land in these areas. This is very true for most of the areas with population concentration.

In the above account an attempt has been made to bring to the fore the population problem in the Frafra area. Relating this problem to the recruitment efforts during the colonial period coupled with the objectives of the colonial administration to encourage emmigration of Frafra families give us a very good idea about the genesis and nature of Frafra out-labor migratory patterns. It does seem that the colonial administration tackled the population problem here from three fronts: (a) improvement of the traditional agriculture system at home, (b) land planning and resettlement schemes and (c) encouragement of out-migration to areas in the South needing labor. From the records, the first two were very difficult and not easy to achieve, but the third objective had very remarkable successes, the repercussions of which are still with us today.

Faced with such a situation, out-migraiton probably provided an escape from the stringent survival system in the area. As a result of the encouragement from the colonial administration, the efforts of the illegal labor recruiters, an improved transportation system,

coupled with the difficult conditions in the peculiar environment of the Frafra area, out-migration by the 1930s was a permanent phenomenon in the population geography of the district. In the 1930s, Fortes noticed that "whereas, in former years, a young man moved out temporarily to the periphery of settlement on account of a shortage of land in his natal community, nowadays he often goes to Ashanti or the mines as a labourer" (Fortes, Meyer, 1945, p. 10). Among the Talensi alone he found out that about one man in three had at sometime or other in the past decades visited the South.

An important development which also helped to raise the aspirations of many Frafra people was the discovery of gold (about 200 feet long and 3-4 feet wide) in Nangodi by Messrs. McQuiness and Reid in 1933 (Dickson, 1969, p. 191). Mining started here in 1934 and undoubtedly local sources of labor were utilized fully because the people were readily available. The mining operations were rather short-lived, 1934-1952 because ". . .the cost of transporting machinery up to them or of sending the ore to the ports was high" (Dickson, 1969, p. 322). On the whole, the operations had the following effects: (a) there was an immediate transfer of most of these workers to other mining operations in Southern Ghana, (b) for the first time, there was a substantial number of wage earners at home and this probably increased the demand for more goods, better social amenities and consequently, a possible tendency in quite a few people to move to areas with better opportunities, (c) mining operations had been exposed to the area, therefore, hitherto doubtful intending migrants were in a better position to determine whether they wanted to go to the mines or to the urban centers.

Since the 1930s, a momentum of rural-urban migration has been created in the Frafra homeland and today there is a social network of chain migration among clan members or specific families who make frequent movements to and from the better developed areas of Ghana. Among these migrants are those who go to seek permanent jobs, visitors of all categories to the South, and oscillatory or seasonal migrants, especially the few who work on the cocoa and food producing farms.

Extent of Frafra Out-Migration

In March 1954, the results of a pilot survey conducted at the Yeji ferry on migrants returning home demonstrated quite clearly the high rate of mobility of the Frafra people. Migrants returning to the Frafra homeland accounted for 34 percent (2,501) of all the migrants returning north via the Yeji ferry. This was a greater percentage than any other ethnic group (Davidsons, 1954, refer to Table 4.4). The pilot survey missed migrants returning to the Northwest, but an analysis of the 1960 and 1970 census data supports quite clearly the high rate of mobility in Frafra. For instance, in 1960 30.5 percent of the men and 14 percent of Frafra women were enumerated in other regions of Ghana (Table 1.1). Table 4.5 gives the number of Frafra in other regions of Ghana in 1960, indicating that the Frafra are to be found in all regions of Ghana with the Ashanti region capturing most of the migrants, especially Kumasi city, where 15 percent of all Frafra migrants in the South were enumerated (Table 4.5 and Figure 10). Migration to other parts of Ghana has become an integral part of the socio-economic life of the people at such a rate that in one locality of 13,346 people, Hilton found that about 1,091 inhabitants (8.2 percent

Table 4.4. Yeji Migrant Labour Survey, March 1954, A survey of Migrants Returning Home from the South

Ethnic Group	Number	Percent of Total
1. Frafra	2,501	34.0
2. Hausa	1,217	16.0
3. Kusasi	487	7.0
4. Dagomba	437	6.0
5. Builsa	265	4.0
6. Mamprusi	147	2.0
7. Konkomba	129	2.0
8. Kanjarga (Builsa)	116	2.0
9. Gonja	95	1.0
10. Ashanti	77	1.0
11. Nigerian	53	0.7
12. Dagarti	51	0.7
13. Bimoba	43	0.6
14. Lobi	43	0.6
15. Chokosi	32	0.4
16. Fanti	20	0.3
17 "Grunshie"*	1,574	21.0
18. Not Stated	32	0.4
Total	7,319	

*According to Davidson, "The number of Frafras was probably greater than the above, because men of this tribe are sometimes in the habit of concealing their true identity under the nickname Grunshie when they are away from home."

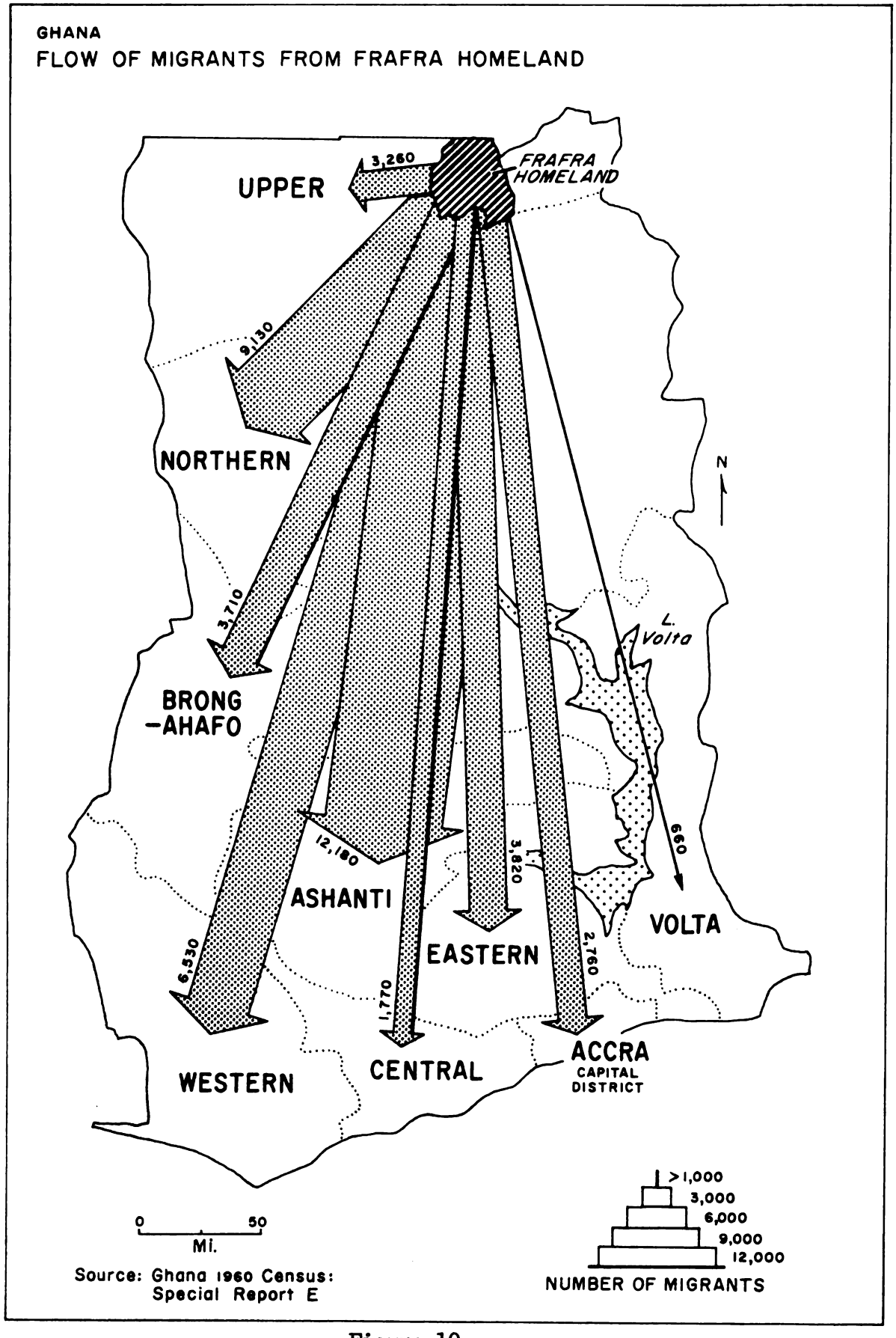
Source: After Davidson, Migrant Labour in the Gold Coast A Pilot Survey, December 1954, p. 10.

Table 4.5. Number of People from Frafra Enumerated in Other Regions of Ghana, Including Number of People Staying at Home, 1960.

Ethnic Group	(a) Frafra L. Council Homeland	(b) Rest of Upper Region	(c) Northern Region	Regions in Southern Ghana (d)								(e) Grand Total of Group in Ghana	(f) Total Number Living Outside Frafra Area	
				(i) Accra Capital District	(ii) Eastern	(iii) Ashanti	(iv) Brong Ahafo	(v) Volta	(vi) Central	(vii) Western	Total (South)		Number	Percent of All the Group in Ghana
1. Frafra	96,540	3,170	7,740	2,710	3,600	12,000	3,690	660	1,760	6,500	30,920	138,370	41,830	30.2
2. Talensi	30,840	60	1,380	50	210	180	20	0	10	30	500	32,780	1,940	5.9
3. Namnam	16,450	30	10	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	10	16,500	50	0.30
Total	143,830	3,260	9,130	2,760	3,820	12,180	3,710	660	1,770	6,530	31,430	187,650	43,820	23.4

Note: It has already been pointed out that the use of "Frafra" since the colonial period, to refer to all the people from the homeland, has made it increasingly difficult to identify in the Census Reports the actual numbers of the different sub-ethnic groups. Definitely, there are more Talensi and Nabdam living outside the homeland than the numbers depicted in the above table. Most of such migrants gave their ethnic identity as Frafra hence the low numbers, nevertheless the table gives an idea of the extent of Frafra out-migration.

Source: Ghana 1960 Census: Special Report E.


GHANA
FLOW OF MIGRANTS FROM FRAFRA HOMELAND
FRAFRA HOMELAND
UPPER
3,260
NORTHERN
9,130
BRONG -AHAFO
3,710
ASHANTI
12,180
WESTERN
6,530
CENTRAL
1,770
EASTERN
3,820
ACCRA
CAPITAL DISTRICT
2,760
VOLTA
660
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Source: Ghana 1960 Census: Special Report E
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3,000
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NUMBER OF MIGRANTS

Figure 10.

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of the total population were mostly migrant laborers absent from home (Hilton, 1959, p. 235). An analysis of sex ratios for the Frafra area indicate quite clearly that it is mostly the men who migrate to these faraway towns. Although female preponderance in Frafra and other nearby areas could have partly been caused by clan exogamy, out-migration accounts for these low sex ratios. The average sex ratio here was 59 in 1960 and in 1970. For the 15-45 years age group, there are some localities with sex ratios far lower than these average figures (Table 4.6 and Figure 11). The propensity to migrate among the Frafra people since the 1930s, as depicted by the steady decline in sex ratios for the 15-45 years age group has increased at such a rate that in 1960, apart from the Ada[3] Local Council, there were Frafra migrants in all the other 68 local Councils in Ghana (Figure 8 in Chapter III).

Table 4.6. Sex Ratios (Males Per 100 Females) of the Working Population in Frafra.

Year	15-45 Years	46 and Over	Total
1931	92	56	88
1948	84	79	83
1960	59	130	73
1970	58	120	89

Source: After T. E. Hilton, 1968, p. 287 and Census Reports.

[3]The main economic activities in the Ada Local Council are shallot growing and fishing; and these have apparently not attracted many migrants from the North. Besides the Ada area itself is noe of the labor reservoirs in Ghana.

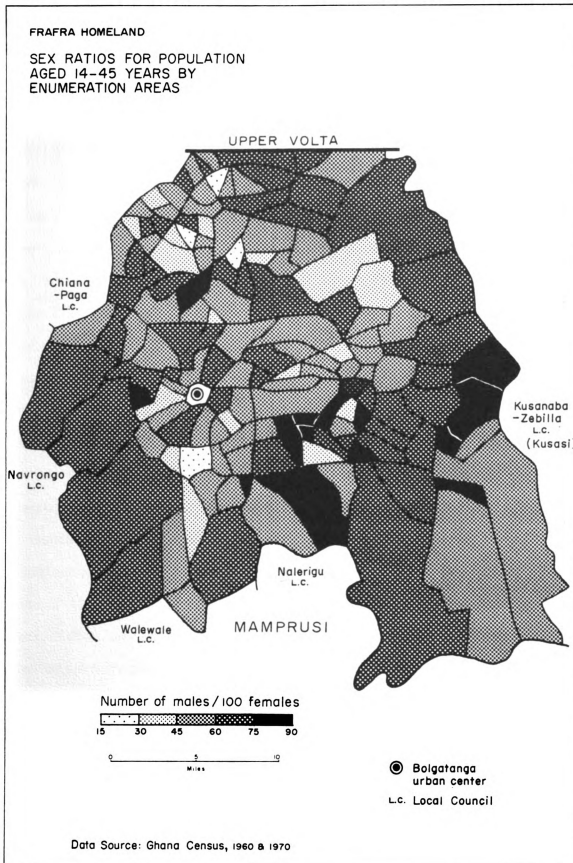
FRAFRA HOMELAND
SEX RATIOS FOR POPULATION AGED 14-45 YEARS BY ENUMERATION AREAS
UPPER VOLTA
Chiana -Paga L.C.
Kusanaba -Zebilla L.C. (Kusasi)
Navrongo L.C.
Nalerigu L.C.
Walewale L.C.
MAMPRUSI
Number of males / 100 females
15
30
45
60
75
90
0
5
10
Miles
Bolgatanga urban center
L.C. Local Council
Data Source: Ghana Census, 1960 & 1970

Figure 11.

A Factorial Ecology of the Frafra Homeland: Rural Community Differentiation and Propensity of Rural-Urban Migration

In the preceding discussion we focused on the importance of historical dimensions on the migration process in the Frafra area. In addition to the above information, it will be very helpful if we have data on the current demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the whole area. The difficulties of obtaining relevant data in Ghana, especially on Northern Ghana, has already been highlighted in Chapter III. However, it is possible to use the information available in the Census Reports for the purpose of aggregating the necessary characteristics in the home area. Using the 1960 and 1970 census enumeration areas as our basis, we can derive 143 units and thereby be in an position to build a data matrix for our analysis.

The data so derived comprises 15 important demographic and socio-economic variables which describe conditions in each of the 143 1960 census enumeration areas. It must be noted that the variables were selected with the migration process in mind (refer to Table 4.7 for a list of 15 variables). Also, the 143 localities excludes Bolgatanga, the main urban center and regional capital. In the past years it has attracted many migrants from all over Ghana and has many facilities not attainable in rural Frafra. It was considered appropriate to exclude it and concentrate on only rural Frafra for the factorial ecology.

Table 4.7. Variables and Factor Loadings.

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Total Population in 1970	.93*	-.08	.32	-.01	.11
Pensity of Population in 1970	.10	-.66*	.00	.10	-.13
Population Change 1960-1970	.27	.04	.12	-.10	.71*
Number of Houses in 1970	.91*	-.08	.12	-.06	.02
Percent Born in this Locality	.93*	-.03	.23	-.05	.07
Percent Born in Another Locality, Same Region	.82*	-.16	.18	.00	.18
Percent Born in Another Region	.11	-.04	.78*	.14	.03
No. Never Been to School (15-45 Years)	.92*	-.07	.28	-.01	.09
No. with Past Education (15-45 Years)	.27	-.11	.85*	-.10	.05
No. with Present Education (15-45 Years)	.39	-.03	.56*	-.12	.10
No. Attending School Now (6-14 Years)	.40	-.01	.78*	-.15	-.01
Distance to Bolgatanga	-.14	.59*	-.10	.33	.37
Distance from Main Road	.02	.73*	-.04	.03	-.20
Sex Ratio (15-45 Years)	-.01	.004	-.04	.72*	-.07
No. Employed in Secondary and Tertiary Occupations	.70*	.21	.49	.11	.06
Highest Loading	.93	.73	.85	.72	.71

*Highest loadings for the factor.

A Brief Consideration of the Variables

Population Size, Density and Population Change

It has been hypothesized that the larger the number of people in any locality, the greater the number of people who will be away from home. It is assumed that population size and density will help in giving an idea about the effects of population pressure in the localities. The clan and lineage system here is very important and so the number of houses in 1970 was included with the assumption that it would be indicative of family cohesion or otherwise, i.e., the more united a lineage the less the number of houses. Also, with the absence of exact data on rural farms and since the compound farming system predominates in Frafra, the number of houses should also give us an idea of the number of "farm holdings" in a locality.

Education

Education has been found in other studies to have a direct influence on migration. The search for education itself, the usual tendency in the educated persons to look for better opportunities outside the home area, and, of course, the role of education in attracting many literates to urban way of life, are some of the functions of education in the migration process. In Frafra area, there are different levels and attitudes toward education, hence the effects of education on migration should vary from one locality to another. Further, returned migrants who have been exposed to modern ideas at the destination areas should be more receptive to sending their children and dependents to school than those who have never migrated.

The number of pupils in primary school (6-14 years) in a locality should be an indicator of "modernity" and level of exposure to the outside world.

Place of Birth

Both the 1960 and 1970 censuses give information on whether a person was born in (1) the locality of enumeration, (2) another locality in the same administrative region (intra-regional migration), (3) another administrative region (inter-regional migration) and (4) abroad, including Africa (international migration). These are crude measures of the volume and sources of migration into an area during an indefinite number of years. An analysis of migration based on this is very crude because such data do not take into consideration migrants who have died between the time of migration and the date of the census; migrants who have returned to their place of birth or moved on to other areas after migrating to the area in question; or previous migrations between the time of birth and the time of entering the given area. In any case, we can obtain meaningful generalizations from these variables. It is very unfortunate that we have no "direct measure" to determine the number of out-migrants from each locality.

Distance

Generally, out-migration from the Frafra area is of the long distance type, apart from those which terminate at intermediate areas in Northern Ghana. With this in mind, only distances from each enumeration area to Bolgatanga and to the nearest main road were computed for the factor analysis. These two variables (distances from

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each enumeration area (1) to Bolgatanga and (2) to the nearest main road) should help to determine the roles of Bolgatanga as an urban center, and accessibility in the migration process in Frafra.

Sex Ratio and Migration

It is predominantly the young adult males who migrate and therefore sex ratios are by and large good indicators of whether an area mostly "supplies" or "receives" migrants.

Occupational Characteristics

The number of people employed in agriculture was not used because it is too broad a category and would have no meaning in a district with basically a subsistence economy. The number employed in secondary and tertiary activities was used because of its potential in giving an idea of the level of "modernity" and consequently level of "exposure" to the migration process in an area.

The Factor Analytic Method

Obviously the volume of migration out of each of the 143 localities is not the same throughout the "homeland." Therefore, we need to have an idea of some of the factors which account for any variations. The number of migrants from the localities will vary with differences in resource endowment, socio-economic characteristics of the people, especially the 14-45 years age group and the level of rural development. It will be helpful to delineate the various ecological zones in order to have a better understanding of the migration process at home.

To achieve this, the factor analytic method was used with the hope that the results can show "what patterns are in the data and how

they overlap, what characteristics are involved in what pattern and to what degree, and what characteristics are involved in more than one pattern" (Rummel, 1967, pp. 447-448). In this way, the factor analytic method will help us to disentangle the complex inter-relationships of these variables into their major and distinct regularities.

In the preliminary calculations where the "R" Mode was run, the principle components or factors derived were based on arbitrarily located axis. Hence, it was found necessary to rotate them to a position which made the factors more meaningful and consistent--that is, an orthogonal position or varimax rotation at which the common factors were uncorrelated, thereby "delineating distinct groups of interrelated data" (Rummel, 1967, p. 474).

It has often been suggested that factors should be restricted to those with eigen-values greater than unity (Kaiser, 1960, pp. 144-151). Of the rotated factors, three have eigen values greater than unity and together account for 74 percent of the total variance. In the analysis here, however, the next two factors which have eigen-values of .7027 and .6207 have been considered because of the high loadings on sex ratio and population change, both important variables for the migration process. The five factors together account for 86 percent of the total variance (Tables 4.7 and 4.8).

Identification and explanation of these factors depend on the nature of the factor loadings that indicate which variables are involved in which factor pattern (direction) and to what degree. In this particular study, loadings which are .50 or more are considered worth discussing. However, loadings below .50 in the analysis will be given only for

variables

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process.

Table 4.8

Factor Number
1
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3
4
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variables which by being "recognized" by the factors in question will help in explaining variations in the characteristics of the migration process.

Table 4.8. Factors and Variance Explained.

Factor Number	Factor Name	Percent Explained	Cumulative Proportion Explained
1	Traditional-Rural	.40	.40
2	Distance-Density of Population	.11	.51
3	Education	.22	.73
4	Sex Ratio	.06	.80
5	Population Change	.06	.86

In addition to the factor loadings, there are factor scores[4] for the localities derived from each of the five factors. The scores have been mapped (Figures 12 to 14) and do depict the spatial variations of the variables used.

Factor One

The first and largest factor identifies rural-traditional dimensions. This factor alone accounts for 40 percent of the total variance. Number of people born in the locality of enumeration is definitely the key variable here (a factor loading of .9346). Total population in 1970 (.9299) and total houses in 1970 (.9146) are also important variables and help to identify localities with high population concentrations.

[4]Factor scores are derived for each locality as the sum of the products of each variable value and loading of that variable on a factor. These scores are normalized so that teach has a mean of zero and unit variance.

Level of education is generally low in the Frafra area and it is therefore appropriate that the variable uneducated adults (.9186) should be associated with this typical rural factor. Internal movements, especially those connected with clan exogamy, shifts in settlements and intra-regional migrations are a common feature in the rural areas. In general, rules of exogamy forbid anyone to marry a genealogical kinswoman, so that all clanswomen are prohibited as wives. As a result men have to look outside their natal areas for prospective wives. Thus, clan exogamy and virilocal residence at marriage encourages a high rate of female local mobility (Fortes, 1936 and Oppong, 1967, p. 13). The secondary loading of .4988 on the variable, "number of people employed in secondary and tertiary occupations" brings out the fact that there are a few rural areas which have quite sizable populations and are also traditional authority capitals, for example, Tongo, Nangodi, Sekoti, Bongo and Zuarungu. These are better developed (with health posts, primary and middle schools, local administrative institutions sectional markets) and consequently have an appreciable number of workers in nonfarm occupations. Figure 12 depicts the spatial patterns of this factor and most of the localities have scores above zero.

Factor Two

This is a distance and density of population dimension and accounts for 11 percent. The bi-polar nature of the factor loadings suggest that the further you move from Bolgatanga or the main roads, the less the concentrations of populations. Figure 12 shows the road and population densities in the various localities.

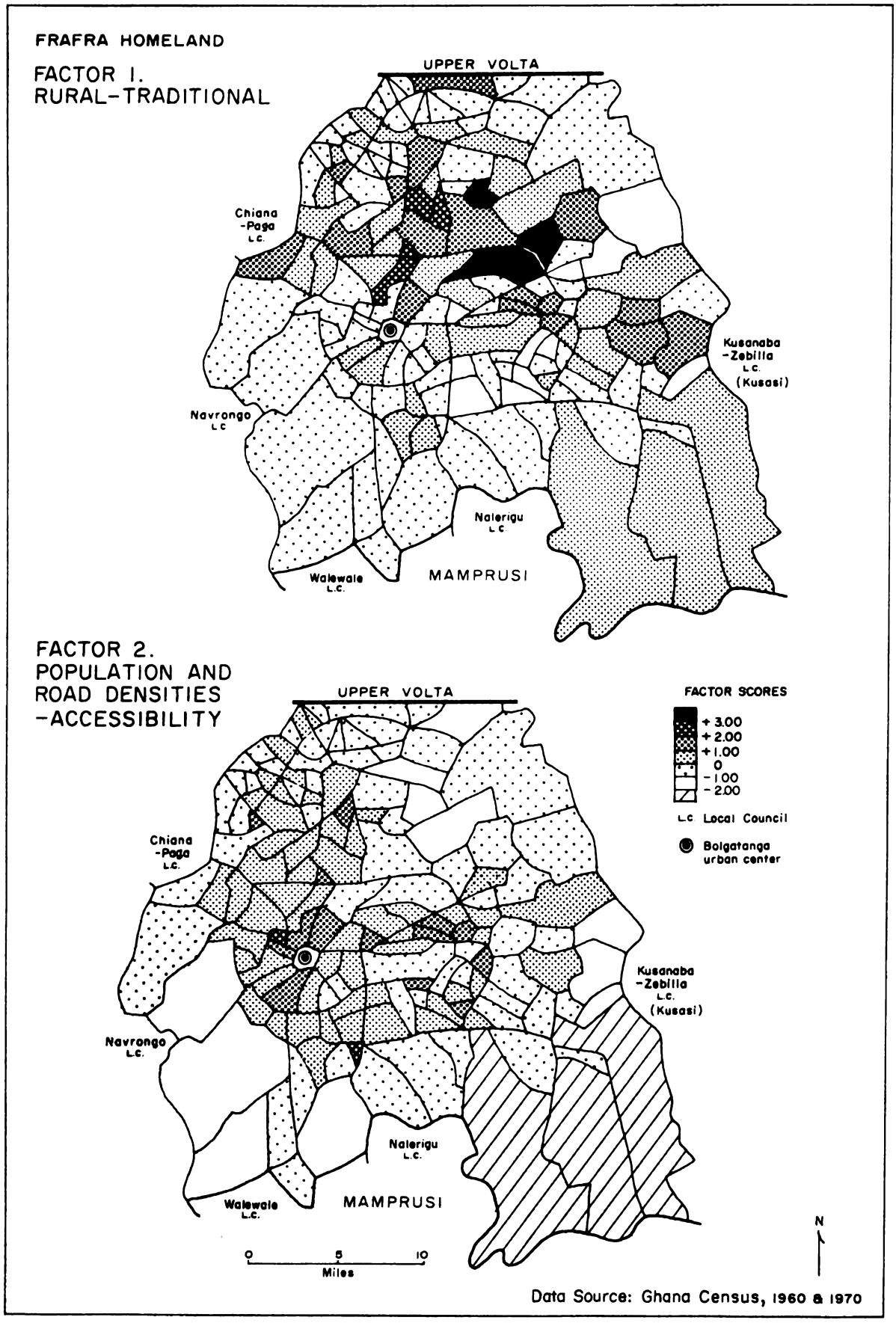

FRAFRA HOMELAND
FACTOR 1.
RURAL-TRADITIONAL
UPPER VOLTA
Chiana -Paga L.C.
Kusanaba -Zebilla L.C. (Kusasi)
Navrongo L.C
Nalerigu L.C
Walewale L.C.
MAMPRUSI
FACTOR 2.
POPULATION AND
ROAD DENSITIES
-ACCESSIBILITY
UPPER VOLTA
FACTOR SCORES
+3.00
+2.00
+1.00
0
-1.00
-2.00
L.C Local Council
Bolgatanga urban center
Chiana -Paga L.C.
Kusanaba -Zebilla L.C. (Kusasi)
Navrongo L.C.
Nalerigu L.C.
Walewale L.C.
MAMPRUSI
0 5 10
Miles
N
Data Source: Ghana Census, 1960 & 1970

Figure 12.

Factor Three

The third factor is clearly an educational dimension and as can been seen from Figure 13 only a few localities have past educated adults, students still in school and elementary school pupils. The factor loadings of .7810 and .6988 on the variables, number born in another region and "number employed in nonagriculture activities," respectively clearly bring out the fact that most of the educated people in Frafra area are from other regions. By virtue of being educated, these people are employed in secondary and tertiary jobs in the public sector.

Factor Four

Figure 13 isolates the sex ratio characteristics in the various localities of the population aged 14-45 years. The secondary factor loading of .33 on distance from Bolgatanga suggests taht the further away a locality is from Bolgatanga the higher the sex ratio, that is, the less the out-migration of males. This supports the assumption at the beginning of the analysis that Bolgatanga, as an urban center, should create incentives in people nearby to move out.

Factor Five

This is basically a population change dimension and even though the average population change between 1960 and 1970 was -4, there were quite a few areas which increased in population (Figure 14).

Relationships Between Migration and Factors

Numerous studies have shown that a combination of the factor analytic and regression models has the advantage of explaining a

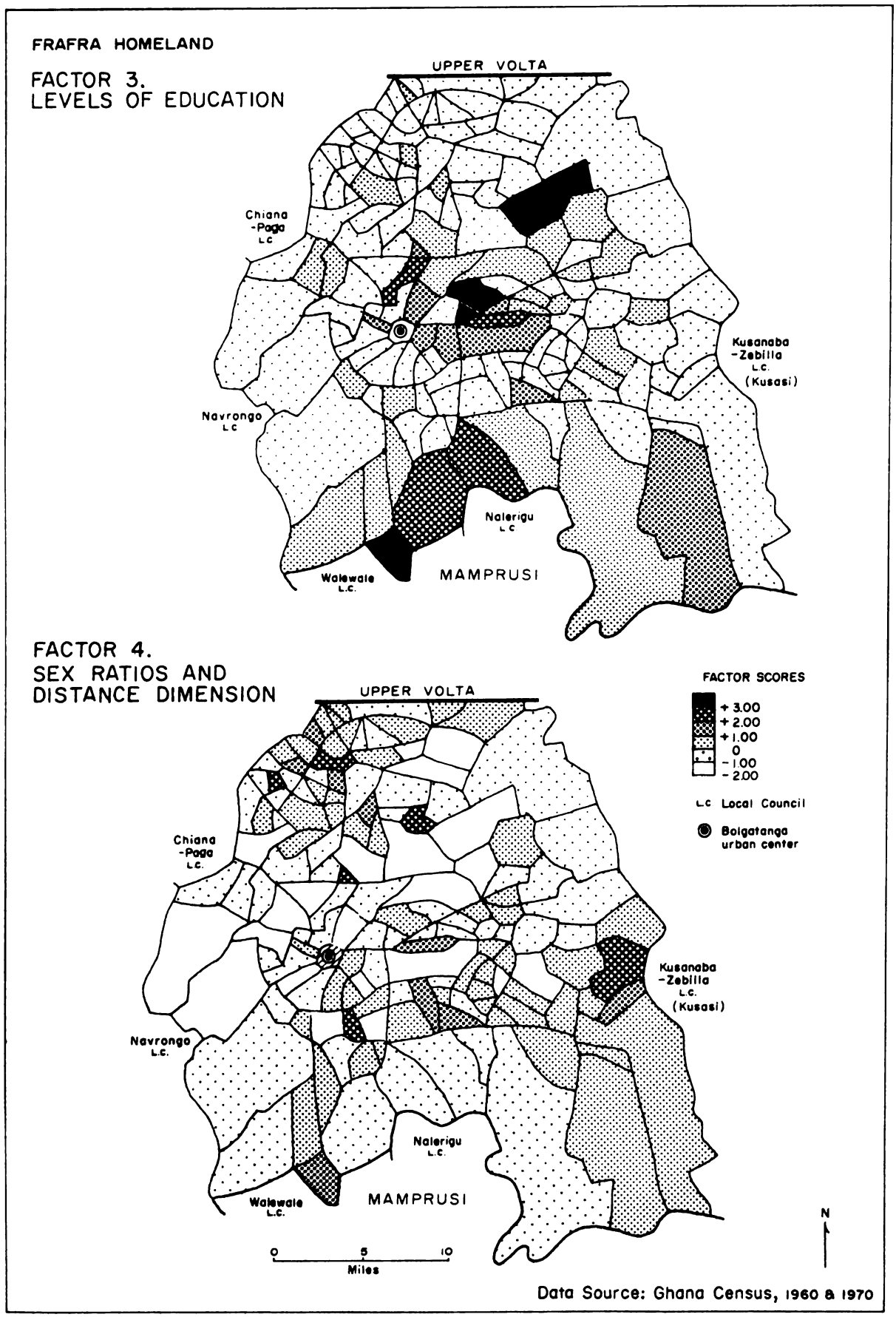
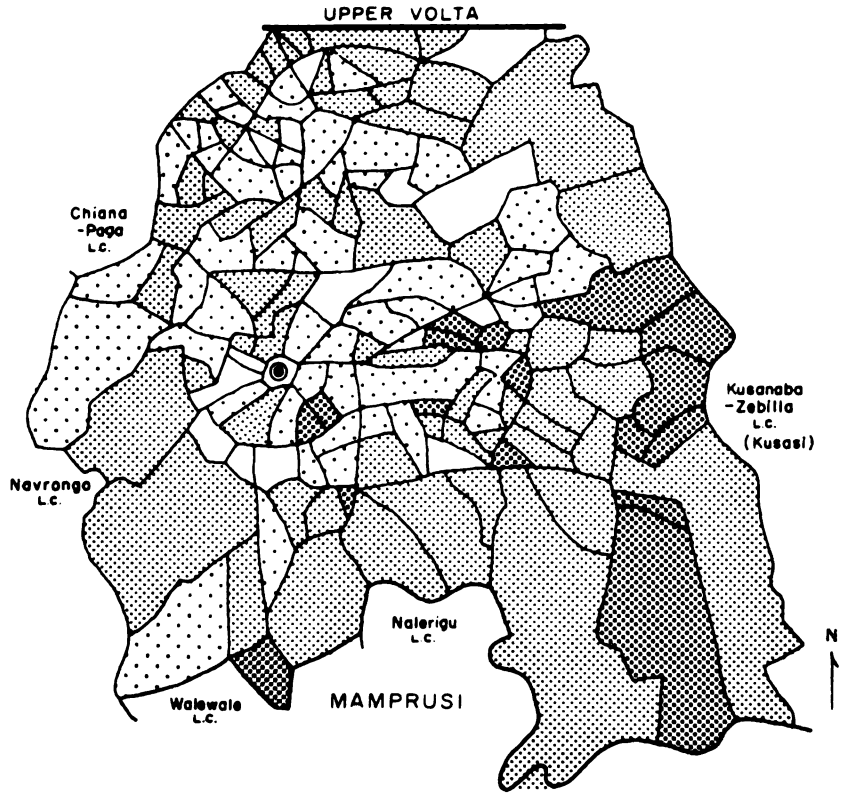

FRAFRA HOMELAND
FACTOR 3.
LEVELS OF EDUCATION
UPPER VOLTA
Chiana -Paga L.C.
Kusanaba -Zebilla L.C. (Kusasi)
Navrongo L.C.
Nalerigu L.C.
Walewale L.C.
MAMPRUSI
FACTOR 4.
SEX RATIOS AND
DISTANCE DIMENSION
UPPER VOLTA
FACTOR SCORES
+ 3.00
+ 2.00
+ 1.00
0
- 1.00
- 2.00
L.C. Local Council
Bolgatanga urban center
Chiana -Paga L.C.
Kusanaba -Zebilla L.C. (Kusasi)
Navrongo L.C.
Nalerigu L.C.
Walewale L.C.
MAMPRUSI
0 5 10
Miles
N
Data Source: Ghana Census, 1960 & 1970

Figure 13.

FRAFRA HOMELAND

FACTOR 5.
POPULATION CHANGE, 1960-1970



FACTOR SCORES

+ 3.00
+ 2.00
+ 1.00
0
- 1.00
- 2.00

L.C. Local Council

Bolgatanga urban center

0 5 10
Miles

Data Source: Ghana Census, 1960 & 1970

Figure 14.

dependent variable (Brunn and Wheeler, 1971; Brunn and Thomas, 1971; Romsa, et. al., 1969; Harvey and Riddel, 1973). Thus, the factor scores on each factor were considered as a set of independent variable, thereby yielding five independent variables.

Here, the main objective of these analyses is to explain migration out of Frafra area and therefore a migration variable was used as the dependent variable. There are no vital statistics for Ghana nor any estimates of the rate of internal migration for each enumeration area in the census reports. At first, it was decided to use the method devised by the Bombay Demographic Training and Research Center[5] because it does not need vital statistics to compute the migration rate. However, the idea was dropped because the rate of natural increase in Ghana is not the same throughout as required by the formula, summarized below.

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[5]According to the Bombay Center, "if the total counts of the population of an area are available from two censuses, a rough indication of the extent of net migration may be obtained by comapring the rate of growth of this area with the rate of natural growth of the nation. This method assumes that the rate of natural increase is the same throughout the country." Here:

$$m_i = \left[\frac{P_i' - P_i^o}{P_i^o} - \frac{B_T - D_T}{P_T^o} \right] K$$

Where m_i is the migration rate; P_i is the population of the area at the beginning of the period; P_i' is its population at the end of the period; B_T is national births; D_T is national deaths and P_T is the nations population at the beginning of the period. K is a constant thus the last term is the national rate of natural increase. Demographic Training Research Center, Bombay, "Internal Migration in Some Countries of the East," in International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, International Population Conference, New York, 1961, Vol. I, London, 1963, pp. 420-427. A similar method has been recommended for developing countries but it also assumed that natural increase and international migration are the same throughout the geographical sub-divisions. See U.S. Department of Commerce, The Methods and Materials of Demography, Vol. 2., 1973, p. 625.

During the research period, migrants at the destination areas were asked to indicate the villages back home from which they migrated. Of the 1,416 migrants interviewed at the destinations, only 38 said they were born at the destinations therefore only the remaining 1,378 were used for the regression model. There were two factors in favor of using the number of migrants interviewed as the dependent variable. First, the sampling method (proportional and systematic random sampling) was consistently carried out in all the destinations visited and therefore there is a fair chance of prediction, than if consistency had not been maintained. Secondly, datawere collected on the villages where migrants moved from, for example, distances of hometowns to Bolgatanga, their ethnic affiliations, and the names of traditional divisions in Frafra. This made it possible to designate the migrants to their various enumeration areas (the units for the factor ecology).

A linear descriptive model relating migration to the group of factor scores on the five factors was derived in the form:

$$Y = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_5$$

Where: Y = the dependent variable (Number of migrants from each enumeration area who were interviewed at the destinations).

X_1 = independent variable 1 (Factor 1)

X_2 = independent variable 2 (Factor 2)

X_3 = independent variable 3 (Factor 3)

X_4 = independent variable 4 (Factor 4)

X_5 = independent variable 5 (Factor 5)

a = the intercept

$b_1 . . ., b_5$ = the regression coefficients.

The results of the multiple regression showed that factor one (the rural-traditional dimension) was a better variable for predicting migration in the Frafra homeland (Table 4.9). The proportion of total variance explained by the five factors in the regression model was 83 percent. The rural-traditional factor accounted for 82 percent and the other four only one percent of the explained variation.

Table 4.9. Results of Multiple Regression Model.

No.	Factor (Variable)	R	R^2	Increase or Contribution	Significance Level
1	Rural-Traditional	.9015	.8205	.8205	<.0005
2	Distance-Density	.0044	.82178	.0013	.719
3	Education	.0766	.8227	.0009	.114
4	Sex Ratio	.0603	.82532	.0026	.090
5	Population Change 1960-1970	.1078	.8255	.0002	.041

Most of the Frafra migrants in the South are basically from the rural areas, hence the significance of factor one. It has been mostly people with little education who continuously move out of Frafra. Apart from Bolgatanga, which is the main urban center, almost all the settlements in Frafra are rural. It is only the few traditional capitals (Nangodi, Zuarungu, Tongo, Bongo, Sekoti) which have quite sizable populations, but these are the central areas for traditional affairs, religious and politico-military. They therefore tend to have populations with dominant rural characteristics instead of urban ones. This factor should help us in the analysis of the data on the decision to migrate, and the socio-economic and political organization of the migrants at

the destinations. The role of the family and the clan system are of paramount importance in discussing Frafra migration.

Factors 2 and 3, that is, distance-density of population and education, respectively were not good predictors of Frafra migration. Basically, Frafra settlements are dispersed and therefore this probably affected the role of the density variable considering the fact that high densities are to be found everywhere (Figure 9).

Although sex ratio and population change had very weak correlations with the migration rate they were significant at .10 and .05 levels (Table 4.9). Sex ratios of the population aged 15-45 years are very low in Frafra, a few of them being negative. Bogue has observed that the percent of population which is male is "a much better measure for use in correlation and regression analysis" than sex ratio (Bogue, 1969, p. 166). This was tried but this did not prove to helpful, neither as a variable in the factor analysis nor in the regression model. Probably, the very unusual low sex ratios in Frafra did not make this variable (factor) a good predictor of the migration process.

CHAPTER V

PROCESSES OF THE DECISION TO MIGRATE: THE MOVER-STAYER DICHOTOMY

Introduction

In the preceding chapter there was an attempt to define some of the important ecological characteristics of the homeland which are related to out-migration. It is quite obvious that apart from the few relatively better developed rural areas, the environmental stresses and other related problems discussed in Chapter IV affect many parts of the Frafra homeland. We also know that since out-migration became an integral part of the socio-economic life of the people in Frafra not everyone has moved out of the home area. This raises a basic question to be answered--the mystery of the "mover-stayer dichotomy." Why did some people migrate while others stayed at home? Also, we will want to know the nature of the migration system itself and the characteristics of the movers and stayers.

An examination of migration literature reveals that the factors of the decision to migrate are generally conditions associated with (a) the generating area (push-factors), (b) the area of destination (pull-factors), and (c) personal considerations (Lee, 1966; Bogue, 1969). The details of these three categories are very complex in nature; and, in addition to the factor of intervening opportunities, we have to consider the whole migration process as a system. In this way, either

the generating area or the destination area can possess characteristics of both push and pull factors. As a matter of fact, much will depend on the migrant's perceptions of the two areas. The individual whether as an "intending migrant" or a migrant already away from home, is of paramount importance in the understanding of the migration process. In stressing the importance of personal considerations, Lee remarked that:

> ". . .personal sensitivities, intelligence, and awareness of conditions elsewhere, enter into the evaluation of the situation at the origin, and knowledge of the situation at the destination depends upon personal contacts or upon sources of information which are not universally available. In addition there are personalities which are resistent to change--change of residence as well as other changes--and personalities which welcome change for the sake of change" (Lee, 1966).

The types of recent labor movements in Africa discussed in Chapter II have a strong bearing on the nature of the decision making process. Any particular type will, by and large, determine whether the decision making unit will be composed of one person or more than one person. For example, the Northern Savannas have only one farming season, from April to November, thereby making it possible for a young farmer to take off and work in the forest areas which have double maxima annual rainfall. Where a family is in need of extra money for expenses like taxation, it will be accomodating to a father for a son to migrate for the short period. In such a case, the decision making unit may be the family. In contrast, the young male or female taking off for the town against the wishes of family members will usually "run away" from home, that is make a decision of his own.

The Role of Momentum and Information in the Migration Process

According to Gulliver, ". . .the incentives to labor migrants in Africa are pre-eminently a desire for cash and material wealth which are not available at home, or at least which are far more readily available away at work" (1960, p. 159). Although this might be true, the money income hypothesis is not completely exhaustive, because for a migrant to take advantage of an opportunity he must be aware of its existence (Nelson, 1959). Also, when rational decisions are made, the role of information is to reduce uncertainty. Thus, the more information an intending migrant has available to him, the better will be his expectations, the less the uncertainty attached to his decision and the more rational the final decision will be.

It is generally accepted that distance has an inverse relationship with the number of migrants from any place. But as Morrill and Pitts have pointed out, superior information about the destination area can and does overcome great distances (Morrill and Pitts, 1967, p. 406). As a matter of fact, the availability of information about the destination areas plays a major role in helping the intending migrant decide on where he would move to (Gober, 1972). Before we have a look at the main components of the decision to migrate, it will be appropriate to examine first the role of information in the Process. In like manner, it is also fitting that we examine the significance of the historical factors already discussed in the creation of inter-regional information and migration fields as we know of them today.

The Factors of Momentum and the Establishment of Information/ Migration Fields

The first migrants out of the area at the turn of the century, probably had very little information about where they were going and what to expect, considering the fact that initial movements were involuntary. In subsequent years the use of District Commissioners and the traditional system of political authority (chiefs) as channels for recruiting labor indirectly made these institutions sources of information to the intending migrants. The role of the chief for disseminating information to other people was considered very important. In fact a few free excursions were organized for selected northern chiefs to visit the mines and thereby be in a better position to advise their people on the benefits of migration. This was a very successful propaganda method used by the mines to realize their labor requirement goals. Nonetheless, it went a long way to create an awareness among many people in the North about some of the economic opportunities farther away from home. These trips were significant for people living in the Frafra area because there was always a Frafra chief among the delegates, an apparent recognition of the successes of the recruitment efforts in the area.

Of late, it was the establishment of the labor recruiting center in Bolgatanga which created a real awareness among many people about job opportunities in the South. This was in the 1950s, and more labor was needed in the South, especially at the mines. The Finsbury Park used the already existing labor camp for large scale propaganda activities in order to attract people to these mines. The center was furnished

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with large numbers of photographs taken at all the mines, which showed men from the North at work, both on the surface and underground. Ex-miners at the Finsbury Pavement House Transit Welfare Center, as it was called, explained the rates of pay at the mines for each particular type of work and also aspects of welfare, housing, etc. at the mines. Locally employed agents working on a commission basis recruited labor for the Finsbury Pavement Companies. Information about the destination areas reached many people through the activities of the illegal labor recruiters. The Colonial District Commissioner in Frafra in 1952 considered these illegal recruiters as performing a necessary function essential to the economic development of the country and therefore recommended that such people should be licensed.

The single factor, however, which helped most to raise the aspirations of many intending migrants was the improvement of the transportation system, and the subsequent establishment of Bolgatanga as a commercial center in 1937. By 1939 there were second class motorable roads in the North which facilitated easy communication between the South and the North.

By the 1960s Bolgatanga had grown into a huge commercial and administrative center and was linked to the South by a first class road. All these developments meant that people could move freely both out and into the Frafra homeland. This also meant there was an exchange of ideas, flow of information, the creation of new perception surfaces in the midst of the fast "shrinking Ghana." The journey to the South which in the past was accomplished on foot and took more than two weeks could now be done in only a day to Kumasi from Bolgatanga. The

cattle routes were no longer channels through which knowledge about the destination areas flowed to the people. More importantly, national socio-economic development efforts, political activities and new educational policies in the 1960s all helped to create a new wave of "perceptual thrusts" about the destination areas. They were no longer perceived as strange areas, but rather they were considered as forming part of the whole matrix of "Ghanaian" nationalism.

Inter-Personal Relationships and the Information Flow in the Migration Process

Relatives and friends play an important role in the dissemination of information in a typical rural setting. Migrants away from home and returned migrants at home do have a significant impact on the migration behavior of fellow country men (Nelson, 1959, p. 49). On one hand, relatives and friends can be sources of information to their peers and in most cases do directly influence out-migration. On the other hand, relatives and friends can be highly influential in providing the mechanism necessary for keeping an individual from migrating. In each case, the decision making unit and process, to move or stay, will be different.

In an attempt to characterize the sources of information available on the destinations, nonmigrants and intending migrants were asked to indicate these sources (Table 5.1). A similar question was also asked of the migrants already at the destinations as to how they learned about the towns to which they moved (Table 5.2). It was easier for the intending and recent migrants to name these sources than it was for the migrants who moved more than ten years ago. Consequently the responses

Table 5.1. Indicate in Order of Importance the Sources of Information About the South and Other Areas You will or Others Move to. (Homeland)

Responses	Most Important Source		Second Source		Total (Percent Proportion)	
Category	A	B	A	B	A	B
1. Friends	41.9	52.17	9.54	3.26	51.45	55.43
2. Other Relatives/Ethnic Members	10.10	9.24	2.68	9.78	12.78	19.02
3. Brothers and Sisters	8.76	7.61	4.12	1.63	12.88	9.24
4. Mass Media (Dailies/Radio, etc)	9.11	11.96	3.04	2.72	12.15	14.68
5. Employment Agent	2.45	4.35	0.10	0.0	2.55	4.35
6. Spouse (Wife/Husband)	6.46	0.0	2.00	0.0	8.96	0.0
7. Others--Miscellaneous	18.87	13.59	18.87	13.59	37.74	27.18
8. Not Reported/No Answer	1.84	1.09	59.65	69.02	60.74	70.11
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	200.00	200.00
N:	423	184	423	184		

Category Key: A = Stayers or Do Not Intend to Move.
B = Movers or Intending Migrants

Table 5.2. Migrants at Destinations--How Did you Obtain Information at Home About the South Before Your First Migration Trip

Responses	Most Important Source				Second Source				Grand Total (Percent Proportion)			
Category	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Total Number	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	202				
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
1. Friends	36.4	42.6	43.9	43.9	9.2	10.2	17.6	11.2	45.6	52.8	61.5	55.1
2. Other Relatives/Ethnic Members	19.3	21.0	23.3	25.4	9.2	10.2	7.5	9.8	28.5	32.2	33.5	35.2
3. Brothers and Sisters	16.8	16.2	10.5	10.2	1.8	0.9	1.1	4.9	18.6	17.1	11.6	15.1
4. Mass Media (Dailies/Radio etc)	13.1	9.1	7.5	6.8	4.4	4.8	2.9	3.9	17.5	13.9	10.4	10.7
5. Spouse (Wife/Husband)	7.6	4.8	3.2	4.4	0.2	0.0	0.5	1.5	7.8	4.8	3.7	5.9
6. Others—Miscellaneous	6.7	5.7	11.5	8.8	4.4	4.6	4.3	3.9	11.1	10.3	15.8	12.7
7. Not Reported/No Answer	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.5	70.7	69.3	65.9	64.9	70.7	69.9	65.9	65.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	200.0	200.0	200.0	200.0

Category Key: *A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years)
*B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years)
*C = Old Migrants (11-20 years)
*D = Very Old Migrants (21 years and over)

Chi-square test for independence showed that the responses for the four groups were significantly different at the .001 level.

of the former might have been more accurate than the latter. However, the tables do give a good picture of the nature of information flow connected with out-migration.

The importance of friends and relatives as sources of information stand out very clearly in the two tables. Both intending migrants and migrants already at the destinations found friends as a better source of information and probably the best associates with whom they could confide about their intentions to migrate. This is even very true for those who indicated that they had no plans of migrating. Relatives were considered as the next important source of information.

Friends and relatives here refer to either those staying at home or away from home, or even both. Thus, an intending migrant might receive information from a friend staying at home or away from home. It has to be noted here that until recently migration as such was not generally accepted as the right thing to do especially when one considers the whole dynamics of parent-child relationships in Frafra. As a result, it was easier for a young man to enquire about the South or discuss his plans to move with a friend or a distant relative than with anybody in the immediate family.

Fortes (1945) has described in detail the bonds between siblings in the Tale society, a phenomenon which is widespread in the Mole-Dagbani cultural area. It is not surprising, therefore, that brothers and sisters, especially those who grew up together and therefore confide in one another, were mentioned as the third important source. It is far easier to discuss matters with members of ones peer group than it is with grown-ups or for that matter ones parents.

Certainly, a very major factor in the transfer of information largely depends on the return trips of people who migrated to the South or who went there on short visits. Also, there are the numerous visits of friends and relatives at the destinations back home for such events as funerals and festivals and it is not out of place to suggest that people derive a host of ideas and information from these visits. It is also known that quite a few do make one or more casual visits to these destinations before they finally migrate and apparently this is a direct method whereby such people acquaint themselves with events at the target towns. As Caldwell noted in his study, chain migration,[1] which is now an established phenomenon in Frafra, "allows the flow of information and permits easy and cheap visits to the town. There is little evidence in Ghana that problems of communication delude villagers about the real nature of the town or that rural-urban migration is based largely on false hopes" (Caldwell, 1969, p. 138).

In the same study Caldwell suggested that there is a very little evidence to show that mass communications play a significant role in stimulating migrant flow. Although this is very true in Frafra, especially considering the fact that the illiteracy rate is higher here than the national average, one must not lose sight of the growing importance of this source as revealed in the above tables. Whereas 12 percent of the intending migrants considered the mass media as their

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[1]Caldwell has defined chain migration as the type "whereby once migration from a certain family or village begins it tends to gain momentum." This is caused by the fact that "Ghanaian migrants to the town usually go first to join a relative or fellow villager" (Caldwell, 1969, p. 80).

most important channel of information, the figures for migrants who have been away for 5 years, 10 years, 20 years and more than 20 years are 13 percent, 10 percent, 8 percent and 7 percent, respectively. This surely is indicative of the increasing number of people who now go to school in the homeland. It is also a reflection of the better developed system of the mass media in Ghana since the early 1960s. The ubiquitious transistor radio has had a significant impact in rural areas in terms of creating an awareness in people about what is going on in Ghana and elsewhere in the world. Programs in English and the main Ghanaian languages used over the air (Dagbani, Akan, Hausa[2] and English in particular, in so far as Frafra listeners are concerned) are all helpful sources. Also, the important Ghanaian daily newspapers, "Ghanaian Times," "Daily Graphic" and others, are now distributed in Bolgatanga usually the same day they are released in Accra. From Bolgatanga, these do get to a few other rural areas, especially the traditional capitals where there are quite a number of people who are capable readers. We have to note the effectiveness of this source (mass media) on the few who utilize it and who in most cases, pass it on to their uneducated peers or relatives. Much research is needed in this area, especially in assessing the overall importance of information in the whole migration process.

As shown in the tables, employment agents, spouses (wife/husband) and others are the other sources of information about the South. The insignificant role of employment agents can be explained by the fact

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[2]Many returned migrants have a good knowledge of spoken Akan and Hausa.

that few people get recruited or employed in the home area before the principle move. Also, spouses have not been important sources of information on the destinations because the majority of the people who move for the first time are usually single. Therefore, the figures for spouses in the table represent the few who were married before moving and those who actually got information from their husbands or wives. This is usually very true of wives left behind and who later join their husbands at the destinations.

Determinants of Migration: Rural-Urban Push and Pulls

Above, we have examined the remote (historical or factors of momentum) and intermediate (environmental stresses and information flow) characteristics of the decision to migrate. We will now turn our attention to some of the immediate factors which either make people decide to leave or stay at home. In doing so we will be looking at some of the characteristics of both movers and stayers because these will tell us more about the perceptions and preferences of the migrants or nonmigrants.

People decide to move or stay at home for diverse reasons, but it is possible for different types of movers or stayers to give the same explanations for their actions. For instance, both an illiterate and an educated person can all claim to have moved in order to obtain jobs. Analytically, however, the means by which they arrived at that decision, especially if we consider the individual behavior of people, will by and large be different. Thus, a combination of "stated reasons" given by migrants, intending migrants and nonmigrants for their decision to move or stay, together with their characteristics, will make it possible

to relate in a logical framework the multiple causes of migration. It has been pointed out by Morse that push-pull factors alone cannot explain the whole migration process. These must be tied to the attitudes and decisions of individuals. Migration is not necessarily a demographic response to specific social and economic conditions, but a direct and overt behavioral response (Morse, 1965).

The Role of Economic Factors

Previous migration research in Ghana has emphasized the importance of economic factors in pushing people out of their home areas. Caldwell found that more than 80 percent in both rural and urban respondents in general, and in specific households gave an economic reason (to obtain jobs, money and consumer goods) as the main reason for their movement (Caldwell, 1969, p. 89). An econometric study by Beals, Levy and Moses, utilizing the Ghana 1960 census data of inter-regional migration, indicated that a high income in the labor reservoir regions deters movement, but in the destination regions high incomes encourage movement (attracts migrants) (Beals, Levy and Moses, 1967). Gill and Omaboe also found that gross migrations between regions in Ghana was a negative function of distance between regional capitals and of a positive function of the relative private per capita consumption of the destination and origin regions (Gill and Omaboe, 1963).

Respondents at the towns were asked to give the reasons why they migrated while intending migrants were requested to give their expectations or reasons for their decision to move from home. In addition, information was obtained from the respondents in the homeland, especially intending migrants, on their perceptions of the destination areas; the

wages they expected to receive on migrating; the towns which they considered to have better job opportunities; why they felt they could not obtain the aspired jobs at the homeland; and their socio-economic characteristics.

The motivations for migration as given by the respondents are shown in Tables 5.3 and 5.4. Although migrants were asked to give all the possible motivations, only three choices are given here. The fact that both tables indicate that more than 80 percent of the respondents in each category considered two reasons as being sufficient to explain their decisions did not warrant including all the choices in the tables. (Refer to figures in the tables for "No Other Reason" in columns for third choice.) Since it was an open interview schedule whereby respondents were not restricted to already provided responses, these two tables do represent a fair distribution of the incentives to out-migration in Frafra area.

The significance of economic factors in attracting people to the destinations is quite obvious. More than 60 percent of the migrants already at the destinations in each of the four categories considered "to seek a job and money" as the most important motivation for their principle move. At the second choice level, more than 10 percent regarded economic factors as being important. When we consider all the three choices together, the importance of economic factors stand out more clearly than the other reasons. In each category, the accumulative value for three choices is over 80 percent, reaching 88 percent with the old migrants and 85 percent with the very old migrants.

Table 5.3. Migrants at Destinations: What were the reasons for your movement from your hometown to this place (your present location); the most important first?

Reason	Most Important Reason				Second Important Reason				Third Important Reason				Accumulative Total For Three Choices			
	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
1. To seek a job and money	64.29	65.63	64.34	67.80	11.29	12.50	15.01	14.63	5.76	5.68	8.85	3.41	81.34	83.89	88.2	85.84
2. To enjoy better social life	12.21	8.81	10.19	11.22	35.02	40.91	34.85	40.98	1.15	0.85	2.95	1.46	48.38	50.57	47.99	53.66
3. I was brought by parents/ relatives	9.91	8.81	8.04	6.34	0.69	0.57	0.0	0.0	0.23	1.14	0.0	1.46	10.83	10.52	8.04	7.08
4. To know the South	5.07	7.10	9.12	5.85	4.15	3.41	4.56	3.90	0.69	0.85	0.27	0.80	9.91	11.36	13.95	9.75
5. To improve my education	2.76	2.27	1.88	1.46	0.69	1.70	1.88	0.49	0.0	0.85	0.27	0.0	3.45	4.82	4.03	1.95
6. To enable me to obtain a wife/husband	2.53	4.83	2.68	4.88	5.76	4.83	4.56	4.39	3.23	5.97	3.49	4.39	11.52	15.63	10.73	13.66
7. Others Misecellaneous	3.23	2.55	3.75	2.45	2.76	7.10	1.88	1.46	0.69	2.55	1.88	0.49	6.68	12.2	7.51	4.4
8. No Answer/No other reason	0	0	0	0	39.64	28.98	37.26	34.15	88.25	82.11	82.29	88.79	127.89	111.01	119.73	123.66
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	300.0	300.0	300.0	300.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205				

Key: A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years)

B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years)

C = Old Migrants (11-20 years)

D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

*Chi-square test for independence, significant at the .5 level. Hence, no major differences in the nature or type of responses for the four categories of migrants.

Table 5.4. Intending Migrants: What are Your Reasons for Deciding to Move?

Responses	Most Important Reason	Second Important Reason	Third Important Reason	Accumulative Total for Three Choices
1. To secure a job--money	75.54	4.35	0.54	80.43
2. To enjoy better social life	9.24	18.48	7.61	35.33
3. To obtain personal effects	6.52	27.17	3.80	37.49
4. In order to know the South	2.72	2.72	1.62	7.06
5. To improve my education	2.72	1.62	1.09	5.43
6. To enable me to obtain a wife/husband	2.17	1.62	1.09	4.88
7. No Answer/No other reason	1.09	44.02	84.24	129.35
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	300.0
N	184	184	184	

The responses of the intending migrants also stress the importance of "to seek a job and money" in their decision to migrate. Seventy-six of them considered it as the most important, but of the three choices put together 80 percent mentioned it as a motive for their plans to move from home (Table 5.4).

The outstanding role of economic factors in the decision to migrate as given by the respondents is a clear indicator of the wide gap in rural-urban income differentials in Ghana. In the rural sector, job opportunities are predominantly agricultural and usually involve working on the family farm. In the Frafra area, commercial farming is still to be developed and most of what is produced on the farms is for

local consumption, i.e., at the subsistence level. Expected rural incomes, therefore, are very low, especially if we add the factors of over-population and the proportion of the land not available for cultivation here (Chapter IV).

In Ghana, the government is the employer of many workers and, therefore, wages and salaries in the public sector have been standardized. Thus, a road-laborer or a school teacher in rural Frafra should receive the same remuneration as their counterparts in Accra or Kumasi or, for that matter, in any of the other destinations. If monetary rewards and other conditions of service, in the case of civil servants and many others, are the same in the public sector, why do some people move to the urban sectors? The expalnation can be derived from the fact that jobs in the public sector are not available in any appreciable variety or even within an expanded regional planning program which will provide jobs for many rural folks. The government, by the very nature of the burden of national development programs it undertakes, can only create or provide jobs for a few. In a majority of situations, these job opportunities happen to be concentrated at the urban centers.

When one looks beyond the government programs, it is the private sector which has a host of jobs to offer rural people, especially if we consider the point that a majority of these are of the unskilled type. Since a major proportion of the jobs in the private sector are connected with secondary and tertiary activities, they are mostly found at the urban centers and other "islands of economic activity." In the private sector, wages or salaries, mostly the former, are not standardized. The expectations of a migrant hoping to earn a certain level of income will depend very much on his perceptions of the availability of jobs and also

his awareness of the variety of activities in the private sector. The fact that jobs are nonexistent or only available at a very low level in rural areas is likely to create a situation where people will move to regions or towns where they can also benefit from the income rewards of such occupations. Modernization brings in its wake a host of prerequisites for human survival, including the possession of actual cash. An area where even subsistence farming is not sufficient to support the base population unless food is brought in from outside cannot be expected to have any substantial income generated from the agricultural sector.

Even the cattle which quite a few people have here, on the whole, are not regarded as a source of income, but rather as property which has an intrinsic value embedded in the cultural values of the people. Cattle, therefore, form part of the traditional sacrifices to the Gods, or are usually killed during festivals and funerals. More important still, is the role cattle play in the marriage system because they are used for paying dowry by the men (usually between two and four cattle for any woman married). A few farmers raise poultry and other animals at home and occasionally these might be sold in the market for some money. But the raising of these is carried out at such a low level of operation that the income from such sources is very insignificant as compared to the continued rising cost of living experienced in both urban and rural areas.

If we accept the concept that the introduction of cash economy brought many changes in Ghana, then one of the major effects it had on rural Frafra and many other places, was to set in motion chain

migration, sparked off by an embryo of organized involuntary movements. Since the colonial period, the need for modern consumer goods of all types, which have not eluded any hamlet in Ghana, has increased the importance of the possession of cash. Even as early as the 1930s there was already the pressing need for actual cash and modern consumer goods in Frafra as this observation by Fortes suggests:

> "Nowadays a common form of independent labour and enterprise by young men is to go south for a season or longer. The chief economic stimulus for this is the desire for money to buy clothes or to make certain of payment of pride-price[3] for a wife. A father is not bound to provide his sons or any other dependent with clothes. These young men go in the dry season carrying crates of fowls to sell or seeking 'white man's work'" (Fortes, 1949, p. 206).

The percentage distribution of wages earned in present occupation (Table 5.5) shows quite clearly that only a few people had paid jobs--17.1 and 11.9 for stayers and intending migrants, respectively. Also, analysis by actual occupations revealed that apart from elementary school teachers, two nurses, and one accountant, all the occupations were of the unskilled type. This was more apparent with the occupational types of the few intending migrants who had paid jobs. The actual wages earned per month are also indicative of the low level or menial nature of these jobs because today the standardized minimum wage in the public sector is about ₵30.00 per month. We also have to note the low earning

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[3]Where a family has no cattle to pay for any dowry, actual cash is sought for this purpose. The cash when acquired can be used to purchase cattle or many parent-in-laws will accept the cash value. On the whole, many families prefer cattle to cash, because animals received may also help in paying off dowry for a member of the family. Thus, it is common for ownership of a number of cattle to change from family to family.

capacity of the intending migrants which suggests that an individual who has a good paid job at home is unlikely to migrate unless transferred by his employer. Also, there were fewer intending migrants in paid jobs than the stayers and this is a pointer to the fact that the demand for actual cash earning capacity is one of the strongest motives today for migrating from home.

Table 5.5. Percentage Distribution of Wages Earned per Month from Present Occupation in the Homeland.

Wages Earned	Stayers	Intending Migrants
1. Less than ¢20.00	0.5	1.6
2. ¢20.00 - ¢25.00	3.9	2.7
3. ¢26.00 - ¢30.00	3.6	2.2
4. ¢31.00 - ¢35.00	3.1	3.2
5. ¢36.00 - ¢40.00	2.6	2.2
6. ¢41.00 - ¢50.00	1.9	0.0
7. More than ¢50.00	1.5	0.0
8. Not Reported/No Answer	3.0	0.0
9. Not in any Wage Employment	79.9	88.1
Total	100.0	100.0
N	423	184

Respondents who were farmers were asked to <u>try</u> and give an approximation of the annual income value of what they derived from their farms (Table 5.6). Although these figures could be guess work and are probably not very accurate, they do give an idea that on the whole farming does not provide much either, to farmers in Frafra area. These figures were based on all possible products from the farm but it is possible that these might not necessarily have been sold by the farmers for real cash.

Table 5.6. Percentage Distribution of Estimated Income From Farms per Annum in the Homeland.

Income	Stayers	Intending Migrant
1. Less than ¢50.00	15.4	13.6
2. ¢51.00 - ¢100.00	16.8	13.1
3. ¢101.00 - ¢200.00	3.8	1.6
4. ¢201.00 - ¢300.00	1.0	0.5
5. ¢301.00 - ¢400.00	0.2	0.5
6. Not Reported	26.5	22.3
7. Has No Farm/Land	36.4	48.4
Total	100.0	100.0
N	423	184

To many farmers, the farm is more of a symbolic income source (supplying family food needs) rather than a real income source, therefore other channels of obtaining actual cash have to be sought. A further analysis on these farmers showed that a few full-time farmers who work on their own farms participate in migration (Table 5.7). Farmers who work on family farms are more likely to move (32 percent of intending migrants as compared with 21 percent of the stayers). Again, the role of lack of a job or land to farm in pushing people away from home is reflected in the figures for the response, "not in a paid job or none of the above." The figures for part-time farmers can possibly mean two things. First, we can assume that most of the paid workers usually maintain a farm in addition to the regular occupation in order to meet some of the food needs of their families. This is a common practice in Northern Ghana. Secondly, it can also be inferred that although some

people work on farms, they may regard it as a temporary occupation or an activity below their level of job aspirations, or expectations. On the whole, the proportion of intending migrants who were engaged in some form of farming were less than the proportion of the stayers. This can be explained by the fact that most of the intending migrants were middle-school leavers or had some form of education and these usually disassociated themselves from farm activities. As a matter of fact, it is the search for white-collar jobs which usually drives many educated people out of the rural environment.

Table 5.7. Percentage Distribution of Full-time and Part-time Farmers in the Homeland.

Category of Farmer	Stayers	Movers
1. On my own farm--full time	32.81	10.91
2. On family (group) farm--full time	20.80	32.02
3. Part-time farmer on own or family farm	10.87	10.33
4. Wage Occupation only or none of the above	33.81	44.02
5. Not reported	1.89	2.72
Total	100.00	100.00
N	423	184
Note: Total engaged in some form of farming--1, 2 and 3	64.48	53.26

To many intending migrants, the home area has few jobs to offer them as compared to what they expect to find at the destinations. Sixty-nine percent of them considered this as the most important factor

for looking elsewhere for jobs (Table 5.8). With the increasing number of youths who pass out from elementary school in the rural areas (where there is no adequate provision for absorbing them into the labor market) out-migration rates will continue to rise in the Frafra area. Back home, people with little or no education are disadvantaged because the few jobs available, especially in the public sector, usually go to the educated. The level of competition for jobs at home is even made higher by the fact that some of these are held by people from other regions who were either transferred there or who moved to Frafra on their own accord before being employed. There are better educational facilities in the areas these workers come from so they stand better chances of obtaining jobs than unskilled Frafra people. This is one aspect of the spirit of nationalism in Ghana--there is no regionalism or, to some extent, there is less tribalism in the labor market--which is a very good development for welding the people together. What is important, perhaps, is the provision of jobs in the rural areas to absorb the numerous middle-school leavers or the increasing number of people released from the agricultural sector as a result of over-crowding and consequently lack of land.

We also have to realize that many rural people are aware of the fact that most of the jobs in the urban environment favor the unskilled person. In that respect, lack of education is no hinderance to migration. As a matter of fact, the need to be enlightened has often been one of the important factors pushing people out of the rural environment. Those who complained of having little education could be the elementary school drop-outs, or the few middle-school leavers, who at home have to

compete with secondary and college leavers in a tight labor market. Responses three and four in Table 5.8 are all related to the lack of jobs at home, but response five does suggest that some paid workers migrate with the expectation of obtaining higher paid jobs at the destinations, most likely in the private sector.

Table 5.8. Reasons for Failure to Obtain Jobs in Homeland by Intending Migrants

Reasons	First Reason	Second Reason	Third Reason	Value for all Three Choices
1. There are no jobs available	68.5	3.8	0.0	72.3
2. I have little education	9.8	0.0	0.0	9.8
3. Employers do not want to hire me	7.1	0.5	0.5	8.1
4. Labor Office not doing its best	4.4	2.2	1.1	7.7
5. Wages are too low	5.4	0.0	0.0	5.4
6. Others--Miscellaneous	4.9	1.6	1.6	
7. No answer	0.0	91.9	96.7	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	300.0
N	184	184	184	

It is generally accepted in the literature that income factors play a major role in the migration process, but to what extent has not yet been established (Caldwell, 1969; Knight, 1967; Beals and others, 1967). It has been suggested that the difficulty in studying economic factors in rural-urban migration is three fold (a) measurement of the relevant rural income, (b) measurement of the relevant urban income and (c) comparing the two incomes (Byerlee, 1972). Knight has demonstrated

clearly the problems involved in comparing rural and urban incomes especially in developing countries like Ghana where records are rather few. As he observed,

> ". . .we need a fine classification of rural and urban incomes by all the socio-economic characteristics which distinguish migrants and nonmigrants; both for rural and urban populations as a whole, and also for intending rural and recent (urban) migrants" (Knight, 1972, p. 208).

During the research period, it was rather difficult to obtain detailed data on incomes in rural and urban areas in Ghana, in order to compare incomes in Frafra with what prevails at the destinations. However, the results of surveys carried out in 1961-62 on expenditures of urban and rural households in Ghana and in 1967 on income of urban and rural households in Eastern Region, which were used by Knight in his paper, do help to give a general picture of what prevails in Ghana (refer to Appendix 4(a) and 4(b) for tables). Here, only the salient points as they pertain to the present discussion will be given. In terms of rural-urban income differentials as depicted by the 1967 survey, Knight observed that (a) urban income per household was 13 percent greater than rural income per household (line 1), but the income of the household head alone was 31 percent greater (line 2) owing to the larger contribution of other household members in rural areas (line 3, 4, 16). (b) The average income of household heads exclusively engaged in one occupation at the urban centers was 33 percent higher than rural counterparts (lines 17 and 10). (c) Comparing the income of household heads exclusively engaged in wage employment in the towns to those in full-time farming in rural areas, we find a differential of 39 percent (lines 10, 13). He added that this figure could be a little misleading

because of the problems in computing the actual income contribution of farming. The urban income is still 30 percent more than the rural income even when we exclude from such a comparison people educated beyond primary school, because in Ghana household income increases sharply with education of the household head (line 32) (Knight, 1972, pp. 209-212).

With reference to the table on expenditure levels in Ghana, Knight remarked that

> ". . .consumption per household was higher by one-third in urban than in rural households.. . .there was considerable regional variation in mean expenditure within both the urban and the rural areas; the figure for Northern Region being half that for Accra in the former case, and half that for Ashanti in the latter. . .it might be argued that these differentials reflect not a higher standard but a higher cost of living: urban prices are expected to be higher, particularly in the case of food and housing" (Knight, 1972, p. 209).

Knight suggested that the economic sturcture of the Eastern Region is "fairly typical of the country as a whole," it must be pointed out that if similar figures were available for Northern Ghana for both rural and urban sectors, incomes will be relatively lower than those for the Eastern Region. There will be income differentials between rural and urban areas in Northern Ghana, but a comparison between rural incomes in the North with those in towns and cities in the destination regions will be higher than the average differentials found in the Eastern Region. Tables 5.5 and 5.6 together depict the low income earning capacity of people in rural Frafra whether in paid jobs or full-time farmers. If education tends to make income increase sharply, then the Frafra area is disadvantaged because of the low

level of education. When respondents were asked to estimate their monthly household incomes, most of them had no idea how much they make in a month, particularly the farmers.

On the whole, it is not easy to compare rural and urban incomes because of (a) the lack of the necessary data, (b) the effect education attainment has on levels of wages and salaries, (c) the problems of computing actual farm incomes, (d) the computation of family expenditure, (e) the highly fluctuating nature of both the rural and urban labor markets, especially the latter, (f) different levels of cost of living, usually higher in the towns and cities, (g) computation of the actual flow of income between urban and rural areas, etc. It is quite legitimate, however, to assume that there is a wide gap between income earned in rural areas and what is earned in urban centers and other islands of substantial economic activity. This gap tends to be wider when there is an attempt to compare incomes in rural northern Ghana and those of urban areas in the better developed southern part of Ghana.

Many people in rural Ghana are aware of this income differential and will face the costs and risks of migration to move out in search of jobs. An important factor in the decision to move will largely depend on perceived income and the employment opportunities in the urban areas (Byerlee, 1972). The importance of information flow in the migration process was stressed earlier. It is sufficient to note here that with an established chain migration in Frafra, and consequently an on-going mechanism of sound knowledge of opportunities elsewhere, through rural-urban links, many people move without real information or a promise about jobs (Table 5.9). A majority of them actually leave

home hoping for the best on arrival at the destinations. The table suggests that more people nowadays have some information about jobs before moving than did people in the past. Improved transportation and communication systems in Ghana facilitate easy movements of people, flow of information and exchange of letters. It is not surprising that more people receive sound information about a job before moving.

Table 5.9. In Deciding to Migrate Did You Have Any Information About a Job?

Response	Intending Migrants	Recent Migrants
Yes	25.0	11.8
No	73.4	84.3
Not Reported	1.6	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0
N	184	434

Of those who had information about a job, the most helpful source was friends and family members (Table 5.10). The labor office or recruiting agents were poor sources of job information. Apart from the occasional recruitment efforts of the mines, there is actually no other organized recruiting system in Frafra. Only a few relied on newspapers which is not surprising because a majority of them are illiterates. Classified job advertisements in the newspapers are usually streamlined for people with education so even the few middle-school leavers will not find newspapers very helpful as a source for securing jobs. Interpersonal relationships are by far the most important in seeking a job.

Table 5.10. Percentage Distribution of Sources of Information About a Job.

Source	Intending Migrants	Recent Migrants
1. Family Members	13.1	7.4
2. Friends	9.2	3.3
3. Labor Recruiting Agents	0.0	0.2
4. Labor Office in Bolgatanga	1.1	0.0
5. Newspaper	1.1	0.2
6. Other	0.5	0.7
7. Not Reported	1.6	3.9
8. Did not have any Information	73.4	84.3
Total	100.0	100.0
N	184	434

People may move without any promise or sound information about a job. Nonetheless, they have an idea of the types of jobs they are likely to find at the destinations (Table 5.11). These target occupations, as can be seen, are all of the unskilled type, except teaching, nursing, bookkeeping and typing. The field research has shown that these are most of the occupations in which many Frafra migrants at the destinations are engaged. It stands to reason that just as chain migration continues to attract people out of Frafra, it has also led to the concentration of clan members or ethnic members in specific occupations.

The table for expected incomes (Table 5.12) depicts the high level of expectations rural people have about the migrating process. Even though some of them were not in paid jobs at home, they had an

Table 5.11. Percentage Distribution of Target Occupations of Intending Migrants Still at Home.

Occupations	Percentage
1. General Laborer	22.3
2. Housekeeper-Cook, maid, etc.	14.7
3. Farm Laborer	11.0
4. Waiters in Restaurants, etc.	5.4
5. Teachers	2.7
6. Petty Trader	1.6
7. Mechanics-Repairmen	1.1
8. Carpenter	1.1
9. Policemen/Soldiers	1.1
10. Transport, ticket seller	1.1
11. Bookkeeper, Clerk	0.5
12. Tailor, Dressmaker	0.5
13. Typist	0.5
14. Nurse	0.5
15. Religious Occupation	0.5
16. Driver	0.5
17. No Idea, No Answer	34.2
Total	100.0
N	184

idea of how much they were hoping to earn per month. Furthermore, if we compare Table 5.12 with the figures of Table 5.5, it will be realized that a greater proportion of the intending migrants gave expected incomes which were higher than what people were receiving at home. This goes to prove the earlier contention that rural people, by and large, are aware of the prevailing rural-urban income differentials. Of course, some of the expected incomes are higher than what the target occupations will actually give, especially those expected incomes which are above ¢40.00 a month. As a result of these perceived incomes (which are higher than what prevails in rural areas) people will face any risks and cost of moving in order to obtain the target opportunities. Definitely, not everybody will have these aspirations fulfilled on arrival at the destinations, but this is quite a different dimension and will be covered in Chapter VI.

Table 5.12. Percentage Distribution of Expected Income Per Month at Destinations by Intending Migrants Still at Home.

Income	Percent	Income	Percent
1. Less than ¢20.00	4.9	5. ¢36.00 - ¢40.00	14.2
2. ¢20.00 - ¢25.00	0.5	6. ¢41.00 - ¢50.00	1.6
3. ¢26.00 - ¢30.00	27.7	7. More than ¢50.00	0.5
4. ¢31.00 - ¢35.00	16.3	8. No Idea	34.3
		Total	100.0
		N	184

The Role of Noneconomic or Socio-Cultural Factors

According to Prothero, the glamor of the distant towns to rural people should be considered as one of the major motivating factors in addition to economic need (Prothero, 1957, p. 434). The better facilities in the urban centers definitely attract a considerable number of the migrants from Frafra homeland (responses; "to enjoy better social life;" "to know the South" and part of the "Miscellaneous--Others" in Tables 5.3 and 5.4). Taking the figures for these responses the attraction of the South as a social phenomenon, is the second most important factor, after economic considerations, which motivates people to leave the rural environment.

The better social life referred to, include facilities such as, better housing, medical and health facilities, better transportation system, good water supply, good lighting--electricity, better market facilities, etc. Apart from these, there is a host of different types of entertainment (bars, cinemas, dances, women's clubs, good soccer matches, recently, television, etc.) which are not usually available in the rural environment. For example, one of the migrants interviewed in Accra left Frafra in order to watch an international soccer match between Nigeria and Ghana in Accra in 1960. He is still there without having made even one single visit back home.

Towns are also centers for knowledge acquisition. Many migrants leave home with the hope that they will enlighten themselves by staying in the towns or possibly receive or improve upon their education and skills. The desire to learn spoken English (pidgin English), spoken Hausa or any of the Southern languages, especially Akan, is usually

one of the motivating factors to many migrants for making the trip to the South.

The consistent importance of the attraction of the destinations, as mentioned by the respondents in the tables, may even suggest that it is at times the underlying factor for most of the movements out of Frafra. At times, we need caution in interpreting the response "In Order to Seek a Job or for Economic Reasons" when we are trying to explain the processes of the decision to migrate. It is true that many people in the Frafra area, or for that matter, in the whole of Northern Ghana, are not completely opposed to their sons or relatives migrating to the South. Nonetheless, the fact also stands that since labor movements became prevalent in many areas in the North, the migrant has been, and is, regarded as one who has run away from his rural social responsibilities. Migrants are very much aware of this. Consequently, to minimize the effects of or in order to counteract the accusations that they left home because they were lazy or disobedient, migrants would in most cases endeavor to prove that they moved in order to be industrious or because they were already industrious. It is usually after careful interviewing that the actual motives for the departure would be given. One migrant compared his position with mine when he said, "You people attending schools in the South are alright. As for us, we are regarded as 'taa-bu usi'[4] people at home." Generally, the student in any institution of learning has a respectable or a more acceptable image at home than the average migrant whom he might be staying with in the same town.

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[4]Taa-bu usi is a Hausa word meaning a person who has no respect for authority (his elders) or has no purpose in life or generally one who has failed in life.

Age, Sex, Marital Status and the Decision to Migrate

There is a general agreement in the African migration literature that, just as in other parts of the world, migration is highly selective with regard to age, sex, education, occupational contrasts, conjugal condition, family responsibility, position in the family and the economic characteristics of individuals (Caldwell, 1969; Prothero, 1968; Hance, 1970; Southall, 1961).

This research had the advantage of compiling data on different categories of people at home and at the destinations. Later in the analysis (Chapter VI), there will be a full discussion of all the migrants already at the destinations. Chapter V is a focus on some of the factors which cause people either to move or stay at home. Hence for this section, it was decided to concentrate on the characteristics of only intending migrants still at home; recent migrants who have been at the destinations for between 0 and 5 years; and the stayers where necessary.[5] To use data on migrants who have been at the destinations for more than five years in order to determine the general characteristics of movers is to suggest that migrants are not affected by what goes on in their new environments. This is far from being right, because although sex composition may be constant, age, educational or literacy achievements, occupational contrasts, conjugal conditions, income and property characteristics, etc. all tend to change with time. It is true that a migrant can have any of these characteristics changed

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[5]Data for all migrants have been used in this chapter only where the time element may have no serious effects, for example, refer to Table 5.3.

within five years, but at least the period is not so long that it will create many distortions. At least, a five year period is sufficient enough to enable us to make a meaningful comparative analysis between what goes on now and say five years ago. The characteristics of migrants who have been at the destinations for more than five years will be discussed in Chapter VI and this should shed some light on the periods beyond five years.

It is mostly the young, especially those between 15-25 years who migrate. In general, it is predominantly the men who continuously participate in these movements from home. Of the intending migrants, 87 percent were male and 13 percent female, while 78 percent and 22 percent of the recent migrants were male and female, respectively. Those who had no plans to move (stayers) were 75 percent male and 25 percent female (Table 5.13). This same table also gives the ages by sex of the three categories of people. The absence of any significant number of movers (intending and recent migrants) beyond age 45 years old is quite obvious from the table. Since it is predominantly the young people (ages 15-25 years) who are more prone to move than all other age groups, the propensity to migrate tends to decrease with increasing age. According to Thomlison, moving is easier for the young because usually social ties are not well established, commitments are fewer and weaker and the spirit of independence prevails (Thomlison, 1965). In recent years, as a result of education and the whole attributes of modernization, the spirit of independence in youths has risen at such an unprecedented rate, that nowadays many of them leave home without any permission. Although it is mostly the young who move,

at times a few people aged 45 years and over join the migration stream to the South (Table 5.13).

Table 5.13. Percentage Distribution of Age by Type of Migrant and Sex (Aged 15 and over).

Age Group	Migrant Category and Sex					
	Stayers		Intending		Recent Migrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
15-19 years	2.3	2.0	15.0	2.9	19.3	3.1
20-24 years	10.0	2.3	26.1	8.1	34.5	12.0
25-34 years	19.5	11.0	30.0	1.0	20.2	4.0
35-44 years	13.0	2.6	12.0	1.1	1.5	2.0
*Total Aged 15-44 years	44.8	17.9	83.1	13.1	75.5	21.1
45-54 years	7.1	6.1	3.8	0.0	1.0	0.5
55-64 years	12.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0
65 and over	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
*Total Aged 45 and over	31.2	7.1	3.8	0.0	2.9	0.5
Total	75.0	25.0	86.9	13.1	78.4	21.6
Grand Total	100.0		100.0		100.0	
N	423		184		434	

*Subtotals

An explanation for the migration of people aged 45 years and over can be a function of return migration in the first place, and then secondly as a by-product of the exodus of bread-winners from the homeland. Return migration which will be given more attention in Chapter VII is a well established phenomenon in Frafra, and there is an apparent relationship between the number of trips to the South and age. A person who has reached 40 years and has never migrated, more often than not,

is reluctant to join the migration stream unless forced to do so by catastrophic circumstances such as expulsion from ancestral land; the loss of all property, extreme perceptual thrusts of being haunted by witchcraft, etc. These are rather rare, but even when they do occur the built in "social security" for all family or clan members in the African extended family system provides some measures of extenuating the effects of such unfortunate occurences. The returned migrant on the other hand, is aware of the destination areas, and has a perceived value for migration. Moreover, he has already developed a social network of relationships at these destinations. Therefore he can decide to join the migration stream at any time regardless of his age.

The second explanation for the movement of people aged 45 years and over is the fact that since more people stay at the destinations for long periods without returning home, it is not uncommon for aging parents who need immediate support from their children to move to the South and live with their breadwinners. This is more apparent if such an old person happens not to be a head of any clan or the extended family. For instance, during the research period one old man (60+) explained his move to Kumasi in 1972. After the death of his wife in 1970 he found life very difficult to live alone since all his six sons were migrants in the South. He could no longer work on his farm and he did not want to continue depending on outside family support either. Therefore he billed himself on the first son, whom he said "can decide to keep me or throw me out, it is between him and God," here stressing on the social responsibility of the son. Of course, he is quite comfortable since the other five sons contribute towards his upkeep.

A third possible explanation is related to medical care. There is the general belief in these rural areas that medical facilities are far better developed in the cities and towns than in the small settlements. This is generally true because most of the well equipped and staffed hospitals and related establishments are in the towns and cities. Thus people, including the elderly, will travel from the North to relatives residing at the destinations for medical treatment. The factors for the primary move are one thing and quite another when we consider those for the return trip home. Hence, those who first set out for medical reasons could end up joining the urban population for quite a long time. With the few older people joining the migration stream for diverse reasons, one wonders whether long distance residential mobility, might not be developing in Ghana, and quite possibly in other parts of Africa. It is not a far-fetched idea to think of residential mobility in Africa as being quite common say 50 or 60 years hence, especially if we consider the role of education and the growing waves of nationalism. This is already happening in regions where there are high rates of urbanization, coupled with high standards of education and national occupational placement policy.

Turning to migration selectivity by sex, there were few women who moved out of Frafra (Table 5.13). The journey to the destinations involve rather long distances, therefore it is difficult for some men to migrate with their wives or for women to move on their own. Generally, there are limited professional or job opportunities for women in many urban centers, except the "oldest profession" (prostitution) in which quite a few women get engaged in the towns. But the fact that prostitutes have a long way to gain acceptance in society leaves the woman who takes

this route to survive at the urban center in a rather uncomfortable situation. Consequently, only a few girls will really be attracted to move to the city solely to engage in this type of activity.

Education is a great determinant of securing a job in many urban areas. Until quite recently women's education level was low and only a few of them were ever employed in administration business, banking nursing and other major jobs at the urban centers. As a result, male secretaries, male nurses (occupations dominated by females in some parts of the world) are common in Ghanaian cities and towns. Even in the "domestic service" there is not a monopoly of women in Africa as there is in Latin American urban centers. Jobs open to women in the urban centers, apart from the very few educated females who receive the same rights and remuneration as their male counterparts in Ghana, are house-maids, commerce (petty trade) seamstresses, and a few other unskilled activities related to the chores of the house. Apart from the above reasons, in many rural areas in Ghana, the female who leaves home by herself is highly disdained, the repercussions of which could lead to direct or indirect social sanctions against her, and at times, as well as members of the extended family. A further explanation for the low level of participation of women in migration is due to the fact that most of the young male migrants are single and this invariably reduces the number of female migrants.

In the past, many married men moved without their wives, but this research has revealed that the situation is changing (Table 5.14). The proportion of married men who moved with their wives more than 20 years ago was 7.2 percent, 48.3 percent about five years ago, while

63.2 of the married intending migrants were ready to move with their spouses.

Table 5.14. For Men Who Were Married Before the Principle Move: Will You or Did You Migrate With Your Wife?

Response	Migrant Category**				
	Intending	Recent[a]	Intermediate[b]	Old[c]	Very Old[d]
Yes	63.2	48.3	40.3	29.2	7.2
No	36.8	51.7	59.7	70.8	92.8
Not Reported	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	87	118	88	94	42

**Length of residence at the destinations.

[a]Recent (0-5 years)

[b]Intermediate (6-10 years)

[c]Old (11-20 years)

[d]Very Old (21 years and over)

Chi-square test for independence was significant at less than .001 level, indicating major differences among the categories.

Many reasons were given for decisions not to migrate with a wife. Some of these were uncertainty about jobs, lack of a supporting relative at the destinations, need for the wife to take care of the children back home, insecurity of venturing into such faraway places with a woman; and opposition from parents and relatives. Many migrants were also quick to point out that whereas a married man who moves alone can be flexible in the difficult urban millieu in terms of housing, food and clothing there is usually a multiplier factor to the problem if

such a person must support his wife. Those who migrated with wives often gave almost the opposite of the above, but an important development nowadays is that young married couples insist on being together. This might suggest that, the longer the marriage, and, of course, the number of children in the family, the more likely the wife will be left at home in the North only to be brought later on to the destination, especially when the husband decides to be away for a long period of time. Where it is a polygamous family, and the man decides to migrate, it is usually the junior wife who might get invited to move with the husband. On the whole, polygamy tends to anchor people to the rural environment. This might have something to do with age because young people seldom have more than one wife except in a few cases where the young man is from a well-to-do family.

The number of female migrants has increased in recent years because of the increasing number of girls who are not sent to school. If there are no jobs available at home, on the completion of their elementary education, quite a few such girls move to the South in search of jobs. With the developed transportation system linking the North and the South, coupled with the long standing of chain migration in Frafra, most of the risks in women travelling by themselves have been eliminated.

Another factor in the past which made some married migrants leave their wives back home was the readiness of relatives and friends in the home area to provide support for the families left behind. For some time now, the cost of living in Ghana has been rising, not only in the urban centers, but also in all the rural sectors of the country.

Poor harvests and consequently scarcity of food due to the unreliable nature of rains are common in Frafra area and other parts of Northern Ghana. The echoes of these problems are getting to the very foundation of society, the extended family system. Consequently, quie a few people are very reluctant to take on added responsibilities as a measure of "social" support for a relative. As a result, a married man who intends to migrate has to leave sufficient financial or otherwise support behind for his family or take them along. Even in the past, as many respondents explained in both the homeland and at the destinations, there were a few occasions when a man with some children moved with the wife or was joined later by only the wife while the children were left home with relatives. Today relatives seldom will accept such a responsibility, unless, of course, it is a very close relationship (e.g., father-son, especially if it was a family planned trip; brother-brother, brother-sister, etc.) and particularly if those left at home are assured of continuous help from the migrant while at the destinations. A man determined to move and who has no relative to support the family back home has no choice but to take them along. Nowadays, we are beginning to see a new pattern involving the movement of a few nuclear families including children. On the other hand, the high cost of living in rural areas is also restricting, in one way or another, the migration of some married men especially when there are several children in the family. Whereas in the past such a person could move and leave the family behind in the care of relatives, it is now becoming increasingly difficult to find such proxy parents.

Education

Numerous studies in Africa and elsewhere have demonstrated that there is a direct relationship between education and the propensity to migrate. Caldwell, for instance, found out that in Ghana the proportion of adult male respondents who had never migrated or had plans to migrate was 65 percent among those with no education, 59 percent for those with limited primary education, 38 percent for those with extended primary and middle schooling and 17 percent for those with secondary or university education (Caldwell, 1969, Table 3.3).

In other parts of Africa, such as Kenya and Tanzania, similar results have been reported, especially in Tanzania where Sabot indicated that migration selectivity by educational achievement has increased in recent years (Remple, 1971, and Sabot, 1972). Margaret Peil found that in Ghana the preference for farming and manual work declines with education while the attraction of clerical, professional and commercial occupation increases (Peil, Margaret, 1971). Thus, formal schooling turns people from rural areas towards town life and urban occupations.

An examination of the educational achievemens of Frafra migrants will reveal the insignificant role education plays in directly pushing people from the homeland to the towns. Although at the national level (as found by Caldwell) education might be important, we will need to re-examine its real influence in a basically rural area which since the 1930s has been a labor reservoir.

Most of the respondents interviewed have never been to school--80.4 percent, 53 percent and 61.3 percent of the stayers, intending migrants

and recent migrants, respectively (Table 5.15). The proportion of respondents with past education was 19.6 percent for the stayers, 47.3 percent for the intending migrants and 37.4 percent for the recent migrants. The majority of these migrants with some form of education were those with past middle school education.

Table 5.15. Percentage Distribution of the Educational Achievements of Respondents.

Responses	Migrant Categories		
	A	B	C
1. Never been to school	80.4	52.7	61.3
2. Primary school	1.7	4.9	12.4
3. Middle school	9.9	31.4	23.9
4. Secondary	2.8	7.6	0.9
5. Other Vocational Training	0.7	1.6	0.2
6. University Training	0.2	0.0	0.0
7. Teachers Training College	4.3	1.8	0.0
Total with past or present education	19.6	47.3	37.4
8. Not reported	0.0	0.0	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	423	184	434

Key for Migrant Categories:

A = Stayers--will not move

B = Intending Migrants

C = Recent Migrants at destinations (0-5 years length of residence).

One possible explanation for the high rate of mobility out of Frafra, despite the low level of education, is the nature of the labor

market. Throughout the colonial period and in the independence era, especially the former, most of the jobs in the mines, urban centers, on the farms and in the factories were of the unskilled type. Until quite recently, successful middle school leavers were not attracted to some of these unskilled positions in the labor market to the advantage of the uneducated. Despite the increased number of educated people since the mid-60s, some jobs like seasonal migration to cocoa farms and many other menial jobs in the towns will continue to be the monopoly of the uneducated. This is because education tends to turn people away from such low level jobs. The preponderance of people with no formal education can further be explained by the fact that in rural areas, especially where a momentum of migration has been established, people will move to the urban centers in order to enlighten themselves. Others may move in order to improve their education if they happen to be primary or middle school drop outs (refer to Tables 5.3 and 5.4). This enlightenment could range from the acquisition of another language--spoken English, spoken Hausa, Akan or any of the Southern Ghanaian languages--to formal training leading to proficiency in a specific skill.

Though the above is very true in recent years, say the past five years or so, education is definitely becoming an important factor in the decision to migrate in Frafra. As indicated in Table 5.15, the proportion of educated among the intending migrants was more than that of the recent migrants. If we compare the proportion of educated recent migrants with figures for the intermediate, old and very old migrants, we will realize that the number of literates in the migration stream has been increasing steadily, especially since the sixties. The

introduction of compulsory free elementary education for all children over six years old in Ghana[6] in the sixties has not been matched in the rural areas nor the urban centers with the provision of job opportunities. Generally, boys and girls who receive formal education in the rural areas tend to be out of touch with what is going on around them because of the more hours spent in school. Consequently, boys and girls who have been to school regard themselves as misfits in the social or occupational structure of the rural environment. Since their numbers have increased with this education policy, coupled with the lack of jobs for them, such youths have flocked to the urban centers.

Related to education is the ability to speak English, and literacy either in English alone or any of the Ghanaian languages. Caldwell found literacy and spoken English to have a strong effect on the tendency to move to the towns. It is quite obvious that some of the respondents who reported that they had never been to school, had some knowledge of spoken English (Tables 5.15 and 5.16). Young people who drop out of school--whether primary or middle school--are more likely to move to the towns than their illiterate counterparts. Even some of the students or "scholars" of the mass education program instituted in the North to raise the literacy rate, took advantage of what they acquired as a basis for migrating. English is the "lingua franca" in Ghana and the medium of instruction in all Ghanaian schools.

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[6]In 1962 the Ghana Parliament passed an act requiring all children in Ghana above six years old to be sent to school. No fees were to be paid by parents for their children in primary and middle schools.

All government and private businesses are transacted in the English language. It is against this background that one has to evaluate the importance of education, literacy and the possession of spoken English in the decision to migrate. Whereas in the past, the low level of education in Frafra meant that there were few literates who participated in migration, the expanded educational program in Ghana since the sixties on the other hand has resulted in the increase of educated youths in the migration stream.

Table 5.16. Percentage Distribution of the Spoken English Proficiency of Respondents.

Responses	Migrant Categories		
	A	B	C
1. None	72.1	46.8	54.8
2. Fair	13.7	24.5	20.3
3. Good	11.4	24.5	18.2
4. Very Good	2.8	4.4	5.4
Sub-Total--Good and Very Good	14.2	28.9	23.6
5. Not Reported	0.0	0.0	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	423	184	434

Key for Migrant Categories:

A = Stayers--will not move

B = Intending Migrants

C = Recent Migrants at destinations (0-5 years length of residence).

The Importance of Clan and Family System in the Migration Process

It has been noted that the typical extended African family system prevails and inheritance is patrilineal and patrilocal. Also, when we discussed the role of information flow in the migration process we noted the importance of friends and relatives. Here, we will try to identify some of the immediate factors related to the clan and kinship system which directly or indirectly affected migration.

As already mentioned, the tenurial system in Frafra is such that alloidal rights are vested in the chief priest (tendana) but in reality it is individual families who own and farm the land (Fortes, 1945, p. 177). With increased population, the limited land has often not been available to everybody and therefore prospective landless people usually move to the South. It was also noticed in the field that in many of the homeland villages the land available for actual farming has been reduced by such factors as soil erosion, rock outcrops, the modern infrastructure--roads, the built-up areas of towns, schools, expanding rural-urbanization, etc. As a result, there is under utilization of the manpower in the very densely populated areas. From time immemorial the clan or kinship system has encouraged the fixation of many families on ancestral lands, especially in the recent past. Hence, many programs to resettle Frafra families in other unoccupied areas of the North have failed. On the other hand, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, the people have found migration to the South as a means to ease this congestion problem. Just as the dynamics of kinship ties have kept Frafra on ancestral lands, such relationships have also been a big factor in the birth of chain migration here. A person

who has relatives already in the South is more likely to move than one who has none. Caldwell remarked that even visits to the towns, which often precedes more permanent migration, by families without relatives already living there were practically unknown (Caldwell, 1969, pp. 80-81). Back in the 1930s' Fortes found that among the Talensi alone about one man in three had at some time or other in the past decades visited the South. It is therefore understandable why the 1960 census reported that 30.5 of Frafra men and 14 percent of their women were away from home (Fortes, 1945, p. 10). With many Frafra migrants residing in the South and highly dispersed throughout Ghana, intending migrants have a wide range of spatio-temporal choices. More often than not, many will move to areas where they are assured at least of maximum social support from friends and relatives during the early part of their stay at the destinations.

Another important aspect of the lineage system is the patrilineal and patrilocal inheritance in Frafra. This means that inheritance is through the male line of the family and by generations and age. This is quite a common practice in the Mole-Dagban cultural area. For instance, the author is older than some of his uncles (brothers to his father) but they occupy higher positions in the hierarchy of inheriting patrilocal leadership in the extended family. The stage of inheritance in the extended family will not pass to the author's generation until all male members of his father's generation die.

This has many implications for structural relationships in the society, especially between brothers, cousins and other consanguineous relatives. A sensible family head can develop a strong family unity,

especially one who has a well-balanced relationship with all members. By the same token, a selfish family head or one who has no self-discipline can bring disunity between himself and other members of the family. When such disunity occurs, old members of the extended family with established nuclear families of their own are more unlikely to move than say young members in the extended family. With a sound perception of a better and "free" place away from home, many such discontented young men will migrate. There were quite a few respondents at the destinations who indicated that they moved because of this factor. Fortes found this to be the situation in the 1930s:

> "When young men who have been abroad, working in Ashanti or the Colony for a period of years are questioned about their motives for leaving home, the commonest reason they give is the death of a parent. 'My father died, and my junior father took over the house and so I went away' is the usual formula. One soon discovers that there was always some tension and often friction between the youth and his father's brother" (Fortes, 1949, p. 140).

In like manner, it is possible for sons to get away from home as a result of a disagreement between them and their parents--father or mother. On the whole, the tendency to migrate increases, especially if the youth has lost one or both of the parents.

> "Where there is much friction between father and son, the son is apt to find a way out by going South;. . . the likelihood of a son's leaving home is increased if one or both of his own parents are dead and he is living with a proxy parent" (Fortes, 1949, p. 206).

This problem has been magnified in recent years with increased education and the acquisition of secondary and tertiary roles by a few rural folks.

Caldwell found that there is a relationship between the number of living siblings in a family and the propensity of each to migrate to the towns. "Members of large families are more likely by random chance to have at least one sibling in the town. . .and persons with a close relative already in town are the most likely to migrate," he observed (Caldwell, 1969, p. 80). This was found to be the same in the Frafra area. Over-crowding on limited cultivable land coupled with the fact that the Northern Savannas have seasonal unemployment in the dry season when there is no farm work, has made it possible for some members of large families to move away to the towns for better job opportunities. Parents with a few children will do everything possible to keep them at home to help on the farm, though in a few instances such parents fail to keep their sons from moving.

In an effort to find out what or who influenced their decisions to migrate, respondents were asked to indicate these in order of importance (Tables 5.17 and 5.18). Most of the intending migrants and migrants arrived at their decision to move on their own, but the tables also emphasize the role of friends and relatives in the decision process. The tables also suggest that the proportion of migrants who leave on their own accord has increased in recent years, 88 percent for all three choices of the intending migrants or the 64 percent of the recent migrants as compared with the 56 percent of the old or the 48 percent of the very old migrants who moved on their own. This can be a function of the prevalent awareness of what is going on at the destinations by many people back home. Education also has influenced the number of people who leave on their own. A parent will usually not

oppose the migration of a son who has completed his elementary or secondary education, especially if he fails to obtain a job at home. Such a father knows that keeping him at home will only be a burden, because he will not help with the work on the farm. A father or mother, however, may be skeptical or cautious about allowing an educated girl to migrate to the towns on her own, especially if there are no relatives at the destinations to take care of her. But his skepticism has seldom prevented such girls from moving.

Table 5.17. Percentage Distribution of People or Factors Who/Which Influenced the Decision of Intending Migrants to Move.

Responses	Most Important	Second Factor	Third Factor	Accumulative Total for Three Choices
1. On my own	75.5	8.7	3.3	87.5
2. Father	7.6	5.4	7.1	20.1
3. Friend	5.4	14.1	6.0	25.5
4. Brother/Sister	4.9	2.7	3.3	10.9
5. Spouse-Wife/Husband	2.7	1.1	0.5	4.4
6. Labor Recruiting Agent	1.1	1.1	1.6	3.8
7. Others-Miscellaneous	0.5	2.2	1.1	3.8
8. No Answer/None	2.2	64.7	77.2	144.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	300.0
N	184	184	184	

The relative importance of fathers and mothers (accumulative totals) in influencing the principal move as shown in the tables can have two possible explanations. In the first place, tension between a youth and the parents can result in a departure from home. Secondly,

Table 5.18. Migrants at Destinations: Indicate in order of importance what/whom influenced your principal move from your hometown to the South.

Responses	Most Important*				Second Factor				Third Factor				Accumulative Total for 3 Choices			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
1. On my own	56.92	54.83	50.24	42.63	5.53	1.99	2.41	3.90	1.69	1.42	2.68	1.46	64.4	58.24	55.6	47.7
2. Father	24.42	23.58	26.83	34.85	1.61	1.14	2.41	2.44	0.84	1.70	2.41	1.46	26.87	26.42	30.73	39.67
3. Spouse—Husband/Wife	7.29	7.39	5.09	5.85	0.69	0.0	0.0	0.49	0.46	0.28	0.27	0.49	8.44	7.67	5.36	6.83
4. Friend	3.92	5.11	6.70	7.32	9.68	8.52	12.60	14.15	2.76	5.11	3.75	3.41	16.36	18.74	23.05	24.88
5. Brothers/Sisters	3.23	3.98	2.41	2.93	2.53	5.11	2.95	2.44	18.89	20.74	32.17	21.46	24.65	29.83	37.53	26.83
6. Mother	2.53	3.13	3.75	1.95	20.20	22.44	33.51	25.85	1.61	1.42	1.61	2.44	24.34	26.99	38.87	30.24
7. Labor Recruiting Agent	0.92	0.28	1.34	0.98	0.23	0.28	0.0	0.0	0.23	0.85	0.54	0.0	1.38	1.41	1.88	0.98
8. Others-Miscellaneous	0.77	1.70	3.23	3.90	0.53	0.28	3.75	0.98	1.61	0.28	1.34	2.44	2.91	2.26	8.32	7.32
9. No Answer/None	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	59.0	60.24	42.37	49.75	71.91	68.2	55.23	68.84	130.91	128.44	97.6	116.59
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	300.0	300.0	300.0	300.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205				

Key for migrant categories by length of residence: A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years); B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years); C = Old Migrants (11-20 years); D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

*Chi-square test for independence showed that the responses for the four groups were significantly different at the .010 level.

in some instances fathers or mothers really encouraged or helped some dependents to migrate. Parents in need of money at home may ask a son to migrate, work and earn some income for the family. This is more prevalent with seasonal migration to the farms, whether cocoa farms or the food producing areas, than with the long period moves. As Fortes observed:

> "The youths who go at other times of the year are often stealing away without permission. But in the dry season, when farm work is at a stand still, a man will often give his sons permission to go South until the rains commence. Some men do so very readily in the hope that the boys will bring back money and 'things'" (Fortes, 1949, p. 206).

Occasionally a son may be sent by his parents to some relatives at the destinations to bring back home some needed help. But, as has happened in a majority of cases, such an emmisary may decide not to return home to fulfill the purpose for which he was sent. He might go back home to satisfy the parents and then use the foundation of his exposure to the towns and migrate in due course.

Spouses as an influential factor in the decision to migrate apparently refers to the wives who already joined their husbands at the destinations or were planning to join them, in the case of intending migrants. It can also refer to the few men who migrate owing to encouragement from their wives. Indeed, the trip to the South can be the major instrument for a marriage between a young boy and a girl. It is not uncommon for a couple to elope and steal away to the South. Of course, not all get away from forceful parents who may follow the girl or both. Quite a few are able to "get lost" in the South until

they have children, at which time parents back home are forced to accept the marriage.

There were some people who migrated in order to get married (Tables 5.3 and 5.4). The respondents were referring to the generally held notion that migration can better the individual's status in society thereby making marriage possible or easier. Also, some young men get away from home simply because they want to elope with another girl, especially if the parents are not in agreement. Also there are a few girls who may actually move with the hope of getting a "better" husband, migration again considered as a function of social mobility.

Characteristics of the Migration Itself

The Distance Factor and Financing the Journey

This investigation is primarily concerned with long-distance migration rather than short-distance movements between settlements. Available literature all support the notion that the volume of migration tends to decrease with increasing distances. That is, transportation costs serve as a constraint on the number of people who will move for long distances.

For all practical purposes, the research has shown that in the Frafra area the distance factor in the migration process is not a major hinderance in keeping people at home. Caldwell noticed this special case when he wrote;

> "Distance from the nearest large town (50,000 or more inhabitants) has a clear effect on migration among both males and females. . .as distance rises, the number of long term absentees falls steeply. Conversely, the distance the proportion who have never migrated rises

> except for distances over 250 miles, where the special problems of the North, and the pressure to migrate from it, at least seasonally, have left their mark" (Caldwell, 1969, p. 57).

Thus as a result of the uneven distribution of resources in Ghana, and the imbalances in regional economic development, people from the North will accommodate the distance factor in order to achieve their desired goals. There is no doubt that probably more people might have engaged in migrating to the South than the current numbers if the distances were short.

Generally, why have the long distances not drastically reduced the number of migrants from many parts of the North? The first reason, of course, is the imbalance in regional economic development. Regions in the South are better developed than Northern Ghana and this has resulted in the generation of labor migration flows from the Northern Savannas to economic growth points in the South. Related to this is the fact that in the initial stages when migration was involuntary, laborers taken to the mines, farm or towns by the Colonial administration or mining companies, did not need to pay for transportation costs. Even when migration became voluntary, many migrants still enjoyed travelling to the South free (without worrying about costs involved) because the companies or individuals who recruited them in the North often paid for these. The proportion of migrants whowent by this means (Employment Agent) was higher in the past than in recent years (Tables 5.19 and 5.20). This is so because there is very little recruiting today and all migrants have to travel to the South on their own. Apart from meeting the cost of transportation the companies and a few other private

Table 5.19. Percentage Distribution of How Migrants at the Destinations Financed the Journey to the South.

Responses	Recent Migrants (0-5 years)	Intermediate (6-10 years)	Old Migrants (11-20 years)	Very Old Migrants (20+ years)
1. Financed by self	67.1	74.7	74.5	69.8
2. Close Relatives-Parents, sister, borther, etc.	19.7	15.3	16.6	13.7
3. Husband/wife	5.5	4.0	3.0	2.9
4. Friend	6.2	4.0	2.7	3.9
5. Employment Agent	1.2	1.8	2.4	8.6
6. Not reported	1.2	1.1	0.8	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Table 5.20. Percentage Distribution of How Intending Migrants Will Finance Trip to the South.

Responses	Percent
1. Financed by self	39.1
2. Close Relative-Father, Mother, Brother, etc.	30.4
3. Husband/wife	7.1
4. Friend	4.9
5. Employment Agent	0.0
6. No idea at present	16.9
7. No answer	1.6
Total	100.0
N	184

recruiters provided food and accommodation for the migrants during the journey and especially during the first few weeks of their stay at the destinations. It was not everybody who was recruited before the journey to the South. Such people, determined to avail themselves of the better opportunities in the South provided their own means of transportation in diverse forms. When motor transportation was not common in Ghana, the pull of the towns was so strong that many migrants walked from Frafra to the South often covering the distances in stages until the target towns were reached. Cattle and trade routes, which were often short-cuts, were fully utilized to travel to these faraway places. During the research there were a few migrants who went to the South on foot still at the destinations. (See Jean Rouch, 1956 for a full description of these early trips on foot by migrants to the South). Of the respondents already at the destinations, it was only 3.4 percent of the old migrants (those who have been there for more than 20 years) who went to the South on foot. The rest of the respondents indicated that they went by lorry.

Today the cost of movement is met in diverse forms depending on the individual person planning the move. The improved transportation system which has made it possible for a migrant to leave Bolgatanga and reach his destination the same day has generated easy and free movements of people. The rate of mobility is typified by the fact that many people in the North now regard these destinations as distant markets where they travel for the purposes of buying or selling commodities. Such a trip there and back home can be done in two or three days, especially the trips to Kumasi--the central focus of migrants.

A majority of migrants and intending migrants indicated that they financed the trip themselves (Tables 5.19 and 5.20). Financing by oneself could involve the sale of poultry or livestock or some crafts in order to raise the needed money for the trip. Occasionally, a few might sell some of the products harvested from the farm, for example, groundnuts (peanuts), Frafra potatoes, vegetables, in order to provide the needed income. Today it is quite common for intending migrants to seek all types of odd jobs in Bolgatanga and in any of the rural-urban centers and thereby realize whatever money is needed for the journey. As already noted above, a few people in very low paying jobs at home may migrate with the hopes of raising their earning capacity, and such people find no problems in providing money for the journey.

Financing the trip through a close relative, a friend or a spouse are some of the sources used to raise the money for the trip. This help could be free to the intending migrant, or it could be a loan to him to be paid back later. Migration has often been regarded as an investment among many rural people. Thus, a relative will be willing to help, knowing that while the migrant is at the destination, income and other gifts will be flowing back home to hime. When the migrant returns home, such a relative is bound to receive something probably double or three times the value of the initial help to the migrant. Even where the money is loaned out, the party involved will do so with complete anticipation of full payment in the future and probably with other gifts or the like. A desperate intending migrant may even give any piece of property, for example a big smock, an animal, etc., to be held in trust by the one who loans him the money until he returns

the loaned sum. Generally, money borrowed may be repaid by installments or in full when the migrant gets back home from the South. In a few situations the money for the trip might be provided by relatives or friends already at the destinations. There again it could be free help or a loan that the migrant will repay it after securing a job at the destination. In many traditional areas, the extended family system tends to make people regard formal lending and repayment to relatives as rather being in poor taste (Caldwell, 1969, p. 136). Thus many rural people will help relatives free of charge, if they can afford it, rather than give it as a loan. In some parts of Northern Ghana, for instance, it will be in very poor taste in the rural environment, to think of borrowing money from a mother or a father.[7] As a result, quite a few intending migrants will take the money from their parents without their prior knowledge (family stealing which, though regarded as immoral, is not as serious as taking it from a distant relative or a nonrelative). As Caldwell noted, ". . .the ease with which money could be secured from relatives varied directly with the wealth of the region, being greatest in the South and Ashanti, not so great in Volta, and least in the North." Thus many intending migrants from the North may have to raise all their money by personal efforts since most of their relatives may be in an equally bad position (Caldwell, 1969, p. 137).

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[7]By custom, the property of a father and a son or mother and daughter are supposed to be inseparable. Supposedly therefore money for a father belongs to the son and vice versa. Of course, all these are changing gradually as a result of the growing importance of the possession of cash.

There is no doubt that income generation in the Northern Savannas by rural people is very difficult. However, it does seem that when people are determined to migrate they will do everything possible to accrue the necessary income from various sources at home. Financially, a majority of these people are so well prepared for the trip that some new migrants arrive at the destination with some money left (Table 5.21).

It must be pointed out that not all monies borrowed for the trip are usually repaid to the owners. Much will depend on the success of the migrant in securing a job at the destination and especially how he manages his finances. Also the length of stay at the destination ranges from a few months to many years, at times making it difficult for the party at home to reclaim his money. Since there are no accepted or established penalties for transactions of this type, especially if it involves blood relatives, the migrant can end up never paying back the money.

Table 5.21. How Much Money Did you Arrive at the South with During Your First Migration Trip?

Money Arrived With	Migrant Category			
	Recent (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Yrs)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20+ Yrs)
Less than ¢5.00	43.3	45.5	46.9	53.2
¢6.00-¢10.00	20.9	18.8	16.9	7.8
¢11.00-¢15.00	2.9	1.4	0.5	0.0
¢16.00-¢20.00	1.2	0.6	0.0	0.0
¢21.00-¢25.00	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
¢26.00-¢30.00	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Did not bring any money	27.3	25.8	28.5	27.7
Not reported	4.2	7.9	7.2	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Deciding on a Destination

Considering migration in a historical perspective during the period of involuntary migration, destinations were pre-determined by the recruiting authorities for migrants. However, when it became highly voluntary, it was the migrants who made their own decisions, of course, depending on a number of inter-related factors, regarding the destinations to go to.

When migrants were asked during the research to indicate the towns they wished to migrate to before they left home, or the target towns they intend to move to, in the case of intending migrants, they always gave the major towns, particularly Kumasi, Accra, Takoradi, Cape Coast, etc., the mining towns and the other opportunity zones (Chapter II). Kumasi, with its central location and numerous jobs in the modern sector to offer migrants, is still "the symbol for everything South of the Black Volta" to many Frafras today as it was in the 1930s (Fortes, 1959, p. 11). Accra, by virtue of its role as the capital of Ghana, has also attracted many Frafra migrants. The other areas have also attracted migrants, probably in proportion to the opportunities, either real or as perceived by migrants, available in them.

Though inequalities in economic development in the first place sparked off labor migrantions to the South, respondents emphasized the role of relatives, friends and ethnic members in drawing them to the specific destinations (Tables 5.22 and 5.23). Intending migrants also stressed effects of chain-migration on current movements.

Table 5.22. Why Did You Decide to Come to this Town and Not Another One?

Responses	Migrants by Length of Residence			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate* (6-10 Yrs)	Old* (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old* (20+ Yrs)
Relatives/friends are here	41.2	28.1	31.1	28.8
There are jobs available	20.7	33.5	31.4	37.5
My husband is here	13.8	14.2	14.5	10.7
Better social amenities	7.7	4.6	4.0	8.7
Others-Miscellaneous	4.4	4.7	5.9	2.0
On transfer brought by employer	9.7	12.2	8.3	6.8
Not reported	2.5	2.7	4.8	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

*The present location of these groups could have been reached after a number of stops at other places (step-immigration). Nevertheless, the responses give an idea of some of the reasons for the choice of destinations.

People back home (both stayers and intending migrants) are in constant touch with relatives and friends away from home (Table 5.24). Letters are the commonest type of communication, with intending migrants participating more in this than stayers. The visits of migrants at destinations also help to keep the rural-urban links intact. There is a general exchange of messages through others between people at home and relatives or friends at the destinations. An important aspect of

these contacts is the possible number of visits intending migrants may actually make to the South before their final move--in Table 5.24, 13.8 percent as against 1.0 percent for the stayers.

Table 5.23. Intending Migrants: Why Do You Want to Move to the Town You Have Given? (Target Town)

Responses	Percent
Relatives/friends are there	50.5
There are jobs available	24.6
Better social amenities	17.6
My husband is there	3.3
On transfer/not my own decision	0.5
Others--Miscellaneous	2.4
Not Reported	1.1
Total	100.0
N	184

Before a person leaves home he or she is aware of where all the relatives are located at the destinations. Even if he is lucky, he might travel the journey with one of such people (it is common for migrants to return to the South after visits with new comers). The availability of job opportunities at the destinations is important, but more important still is the assurance of oneself that accommodation, help to seek a job, etc. will be provided on arrival at the destionation. When intending migrants were asked whether they specifically informed these relatives at the destinations, of their intentions to join them the responses were 76.4 percent "No" and 23.6 percent "Yes". This

Table 5.24. Give the Types of Contacts Between You and Relatives or Friends Away From Home, For Example, Those in the South (Homeland)

Table 5.24. Give the Types of Contacts Between You and Relatives or Friends Away From Home, For Example, Those in the South (Homeland).

Responses	Most Important Type of Contact		Second Type of Contact		Third Type of Contact		Accumulative Total	
Category	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Letters	45.63	55.98	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	45.63	55.98
Their Visits Home	10.17	16.52	18.68	24.46	0.0	0.0	28.85	40.98
Messages from the Through Others	12.53	4.89	16.31	11.96	8.27	11.96	37.11	28.81
My Visits to them	0.95	13.80*	2.84	6.52	6.86	14.13	10.65	34.45
Messages From Me to Them Through Others	0.0	3.06	0.24	0.0	1.42	0.54	1.66	3.6
Others/Miscellaneous	6.01	1.20	1.42	3.06	2.84	1.20	10.27	5.46
None/No Specific Contacts/ No Answer	24.08	4.55	60.51	54.00	80.61	72.17	165.83	130.75
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	300.0	300.0
N	423	184	423	184	423	184		

A = Will not move or has no immediate plans to migrate. B = Intending Migrants

Chi-Square test for independence was significant at the .01 level.

suggests that some of the migrants, even though they may be in contact with relatives and friends at the destinations, may decide not to inform them of their intentions. This is no unusual because in general practice seldom do people in the traditional society give any advance notices to prospective hosts about their visits. What is usually done is to cover the journey first and then on arrival present yourself to your host, and this is a well accepted social phenomenon. Insofar as potential migrants are concerned, this has an advantage. Whereas preinformation might result in a rejection, especially if the relative is facing problems at the destinations, surprise visits can have definite dividends for the individual. At least, by custom the relative is forced to provide the newcomer with free accommodation and food. Where, in extreme cases, the migrant is not prepared to live with this newcomer, the new migrant can move on to another relative. Since movement away from home tends to unite all Frafra migrants together in the South, any ethnic member who is not even related to the newcomer in any way can come to his rescue.

A further examination of Tables 5.22 and 5.23 indicates that a few moved to their present locations because of better social amenities. Others moved there, not on their own but on transfer, i.e., taken there by their employers. "My husband is here/there" demonstrates quite clearly that most of the few females who move do so because of their husbands.

A Model of the Processes of the Decision to Migrate as Presented in Chapter V.

In this chapter there has been a detailed analysis of the factors

which make the Frafra people move or stay at home. To aid a better understanding of this important aspect of the migration system in Frafra, all the determinants of migration discussed in Chapter V have been presented as a model (Figure 15). The page facing Figure 15 explains the flow chart as presented in the model.

Historical factors, forces of momentum and domestic or local environmental stresses, as already explained, are the underlying push factors of Frafra out-migration. The flow of information between the North and the South and creation of an awareness about job opportunities and better social life at the destinations, have been responsible for the continued influx of the Frafra to the South. The dynamics of the family and clan system in Frafra have helped in the creation of chain migration.

The characteristics of movers indicated that it is mostly the young single males, the middle school leavers, returned migrants, the unemployed in the home area, the people without land to farm, etc. who participate in the long distance movements to the South. The role of chain migration has been to give assurance to the new migrant about a sound survival in the urban environment. The choice of a destination, does not often depend on the opportunities there, but rather on the number of relatives living in the area.

NOTES ON THE MODEL OF THE PROCESSES OF

THE DECISION TO MIGRATE--FIGURE 15

(1) Historical Factors (A_1) and Domestic Environmental Stresses (A_2) together form the remote causes or underlying factors of Frafra migration.

(2) Information Flow (B) is the first stage of intermediate motivation to migrate.

(3) Knowledge about the destinations (C) is the second stage of intermediate motivation.

(4) At stage D, it is assumed that almost everybody is aware of the above factors but now has to decide whether to stay at home (E_1) or migrate (E_2). The characteristics or reasons of the stayers and movers and some reasons for their decisions have been given in these two boxes.

(5) A stayer wishing to migrate in future could gather more information (e_1) or utilize what he knows already (e_2) and move in due course.

(6) The intending migrant (E_2) has to estimate transportation cost and other matters related to the move (F). If he does not possess these (G_1) he could go back to the stimuli stage and start all over again. On the other hand, if he has access to the variables estimated (G_2) he will then decide on the destination, mode of transportation and when to depart from home (H). It is possible for a migrant or a visitor to the South to avoid planning and get to stage (H) directly from $E_2(f_2)$. After Stage "H" it is possible to be stopped from migrating either by parents, relatives, or personal problems (sudden death in family, loss of money or change of mind). When this happens (J_1), the person involved may go back to Stage E_2, that is, if he still wants to migrate or revert to Stage E_1 if he has no immediate plans about moving. Where after Stage "H" the intending migrant is successful in leaving home, etc. (J_2) he then becomes a MIGRANT (K).

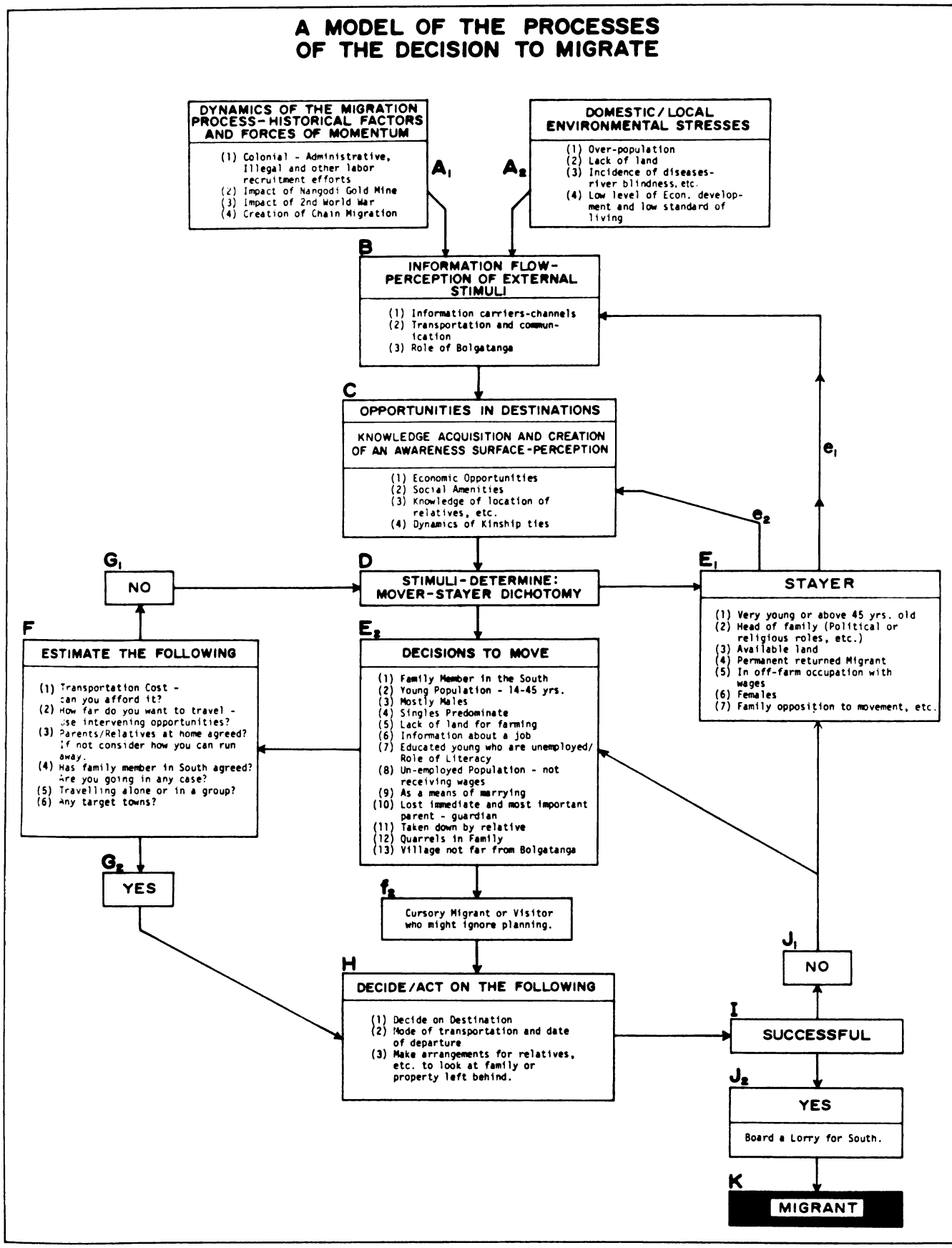
A MODEL OF THE PROCESSES OF THE DECISION TO MIGRATE
DYNAMICS OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS-HISTORICAL FACTORS AND FORCES OF MOMENTUM
(1) Colonial - Administrative, Illegal and other labor recruitment efforts
(2) Impact of Nangodi Gold Mine
(3) Impact of 2nd World War
(4) Creation of Chain Migration
A1
A2
DOMESTIC/LOCAL ENVIRONMENTAL STRESSES
(1) Over-population
(2) Lack of land
(3) Incidence of diseases-river blindness, etc.
(4) Low level of Econ. development and low standard of living
B
INFORMATION FLOW-PERCEPTION OF EXTERNAL STIMULI
(1) Information carriers-channels
(2) Transportation and communication
(3) Role of Bolgatanga
C
OPPORTUNITIES IN DESTINATIONS
KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION AND CREATION OF AN AWARENESS SURFACE-PERCEPTION
(1) Economic Opportunities
(2) Social Amenities
(3) Knowledge of location of relatives, etc.
(4) Dynamics of Kinship ties
e1
e2
G1
NO
D
STIMULI-DETERMINE: MOVER-STAYER DICHOTOMY
E1
STAYER
(1) Very young or above 45 yrs. old
(2) Head of family (Political or religious roles, etc.)
(3) Available land
(4) Permanent returned Migrant
(5) In off-farm occupation with wages
(6) Females
(7) Family opposition to movement, etc.
F
ESTIMATE THE FOLLOWING
(1) Transportation Cost - can you afford it?
(2) How far do you want to travel - use intervening opportunities?
(3) Parents/Relatives at home agreed? If not consider how you can run away.
(4) Has family member in South agreed? Are you going in any case?
(5) Travelling alone or in a group?
(6) Any target towns?
E2
DECISIONS TO MOVE
(1) Family Member in the South
(2) Young Population - 14-45 yrs.
(3) Mostly Males
(4) Singles Predominate
(5) Lack of land for farming
(6) Information about a job
(7) Educated young who are unemployed/Role of Literacy
(8) Un-employed Population - not receiving wages
(9) As a means of marrying
(10) Lost immediate and most important parent - guardian
(11) Taken down by relative
(12) Quarrels in Family
(13) Village not far from Bolgatanga
G2
YES
f2
Cursory Migrant or Visitor who might ignore planning.
H
DECIDE/ACT ON THE FOLLOWING
(1) Decide on Destination
(2) Mode of transportation and date of departure
(3) Make arrangements for relatives, etc. to look at family or property left behind.
J1
NO
I
SUCCESSFUL
J2
YES
Board a Lorry for South.
K
MIGRANT

Figure 15.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIGRANTS AT THE DESTINATIONS AND PATTERNS OF STEP-MIGRATION

Town life and a continuous movement of people to the expanding towns are striking socio-economic characteristics of African populations today. The migration of people from poorly developed regions, where marginal productivity is either zero or very low, to more developed areas, suggests that such people move in order to improve their living conditions.

As a whole, urban centers in Africa are characterized by a highly cosmopolitan population of different ethnic groups from varying rural backgrounds. One could broadly divide the population into "indigenous" or settler population and the "strangers." More often than not, though not the rule of thumb, the strangers are usually the migrant population in these towns.

A majority of migrants in urban centers are from the rural areas where kinship ties and other family linkages are dominant. The system in the rural area provides a high level of social security for the individual. It has often been pointed out that migrants leaving the rural area more or less carry the rural millieu to the urban center. They still retain their ethnic and kinship identities and the form of social organizations developed by them in the towns by and large are a

reflection of what exists at home (Little, 1965, p. 8; Gluckman, 1960, pp. 55-57). To McCall, "the towns and the countryside are inseparably interrelated; in truth, they are different aspects of the same reality--like the two faces of a coin. The character of the town is determined, among other things, by the nature of the hinterland from which it draws its labor force and for which it acts as emporium," (1955, p. 153).

On arrival at the urban center the migrant is faced with many problems such as accommodation, employment, social security in the urban milieu and in some cases language problems. Faced with these, more than likely he will look for kinship members, friends or members of his ethnic group who will provide him with the necessary help in order to survive in the difficult urban environment. Apart from this, many migrants leave the home area in groups and this means they are likely to congregate at the same place when they arrive in the urban center. A basic consideration which has given rise to the strangers' sections of many West African towns, popularly known as "zongos" in Ghana and Nigeria, has been the nature of land allocations for residential purposes. Both traditional alloidal (land) rights and colonial policies encouraged the separation of the residences of migrants (strangers) from those of the indigenous people. For instance, in 1910 all mining companies were instructed by the colonial government to provide structures for laborers from Northern Ghana as indicated in the following:

> "These laborers shall be located at a distance from other natives (indigenous people) sic. in suitable houses. . .

> Zongos[1] shall be erected on sites approved by the Government Medical Officer and Advisory Board. A market shall be provided in every Zongo and no trader shall be allowed to sell food there except at prices to be fixed by the government" (National Archives, ADM 1/24: 1909-1910: Tamale).

In one way or another the urban center could be thought of as a place which provides a milieu for physical, cultural, social, economic and political continuity with rural counterparts while introducing elements of rapid social and economic changes among these migrants. The town is a source of social change because it has its own necessities of organization, arising out of its economic functions and the ethnic diversity of its population. It is also a transmitter of other forces, such as education and commerce, which also make for a social change. The town is both a response to forces of change and a focus for them, a place where they operate more intensively (McCall, 1955, p. 154). Many African migrants moving into towns find that their customs are affected by the fact that town relationships are predominantly universalistic rather than particularistic (Levy, 1952, p. 248). In the urban center all statuses are achieved rather than ascribed, contacts are numerous and the conditions of employment entail the necessity of regularity and punctuality, forcing change from habits based on rural seasonal patterns.

The very organization of the urban center for commerce, administration, transport, mining (a few cases), education, division of labor, and the like calls upon the urban migrant to broaden his horizon beyond

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[1]Zongo was defined as "a term usually applied to the permanent camp established by Hausas on the outskirts of a native indigenous (sic) village."

the ethnic or kinship group. Whereas the rural center may be a typical place for local politics, the urban center by and large is a focal point for both national politics and local politics. The migrant by virtue of this is forced to be part of a new pattern of relationships.

Against this brief background of the urban environment, we can now examine the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the migrants already at destinations. In this way we will try to find out the social, economic and political changes, including any adjustment processes, among Frafra migrants in the Southern towns.

Demographic Characteristics

When we looked at some of the factors which operate in the decision to migrate process, we discussed the characteristics of intending migrants and recent migrants. Other migrants at the destinations were excluded in these specific analyses; it was believed that the urban environment as a source of social change, by and large, will affect the socio-economic characteristics of rural migrants who reside in it. Here, we will look at all the groups (recent, intermediate, old and very old migrants) except the intending migrants, who, of course, are still at the place of origin.

Age

The age distribution of the respondents shows that apart from the migrants who have been at the destinations for more than 20 years, a greater proportion of the migrants were within the 15-44 age group (Table 6.1). The concentration of the recent migrants in the age group of maximum migration (19-25 years) has already been noted in the preceding chapter. As we move to the higher age-groups the other

migrants dominate. For example, the intermediate migrants had 50.3 percent in the 25-34 age bracket, while the old migrants had 43.7 in this age group. Further significant concentrations are the 23 percent of the old migrants and the 33 percent of the very old migrants who were aged 35-44 years. Once we move beyond age 44 years, the obvious pattern is the insignificant representation of the recent and intermediate migrants.

Table 6.1. Percentage Distribution of the Age Structure of Respondents at Destinations.

Age Group	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
1. 15-19 years	22.4	5.1	1.9	1.5
2. 20-24 years	38.9	22.4	7.3	1.0
3. 25-34 years	25.1	50.3	43.7	8.3
4. 35-44 years	3.5	9.9	22.8	32.7
Total Aged 15-44 Years	89.7	87.8	75.6	43.4
5. 45-54 years	0.7	3.7	8.3	23.9
6. 55-64 years	0.5	0.3	2.2	13.7
7. Over 64 years		0.3	5.4	8.8
Total Aged 45 and Over		4.3	10.9	46.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

The above age distributions for the four groups reflect the factor of length of residence at the destinations. The first observation to be made is that if we try to estimate for each group the average ages at which they first moved out, we realize that a majority left when

they were youths--supporting the notion that it is mostly the young who migrate. The second important point to make is that the age structure tends to suggest that even though we may have return migration, there is always the residual migrant-group which tends to stay at the destinations for longer periods. Thus, analyzing the age structure in a cross-sectional form, depicts a picture of a "continuous" population, i.e., all the age groups, from 15 years to over 64 years, are represented. When we discuss return migration in the next chapter, we will examine some of the factors that make some migrants return home after a brief stay, while others remain behind at the destinations as the residual migrant group, only returning home in their senile years. As a matter of fact, there were migrants interviewed who had been in the South continuously for more than 40 years. Those people and the many others who are back home now, set in motion the chain migration as we know it today among Frafra migrants.

Sex and Marital Status

The majority of the migrants were males; 78, 82, 84 and 87 percent of the recent, intermediate, old and very old migrants, respectively (Table 6.2). This disproportionate representation of the males has been highlighted in the earlier chapters, that is, men are more participatory in the migration process than females (refer to Figure 11 for distribution of sex ratios in homeland).

Analysis of marital status data depicts an interesting situation. Obviously the most important observation to be made is that there is a strong relationship between length of stay and conjugal condition. As will be expected, the older the group, the more married people there

were among them. However, there were a few "old" and "very old" migrants who were still single.

Table 6.2. Sex Composition of Migrants.

Sex	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
Male	78.1	81.7	84.2	87.3
Female	21.9	17.3	15.8	12.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Table 6.3. Marital Status of Migrants by Length of Residence and Sex.

Marital Status	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
Male:				
Single	73.5	49.8	28.3	12.8
Married-1 wife	30.0	46.7	57.3	51.4
-2 wives	1.8	2.1	11.5	23.5
-3 or more	0.9	1.0	2.5	11.7
Widowed/Divorced	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	339	291	314	179
Female:				
Single	26.3	9.8	10.2	11.5
Married	71.6	88.6	83.0	73.1
Widowed/Divorced	2.1	1.6	6.8	15.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	95	61	59	26

There are three possible explanations for this. In the first place, movement from the rural areas to the urban centers might prevent an individual from marrying or it might delay marriage for a very long time. Many Frafra males marry women from their home area because there are few Frafra females in the South and they are usually wives of others. Thus, although migrants might be away for long periods of time, the homeland is still the reservoir from which they derive their wives. This being the case, any migrant who did not marry before moving and is out of touch with home will definitely find it difficult to secure a wife. Also, marriages almost invariably involve transactions between families and not individuals. The migrant who does not measure up to the expectations of his peers in the South, or those back home regarding his general behavior and personal character or qualities will also have a very hard time finding a wife.

A second explanation could be that these old and very old migrants had wives who were either at home or staying at other destinations, but whom they did not want to report about.

The third possible factor is that quite a few people find it difficult to report divorced and widowed status when asked to indicate their marital status.

Those men who were married did so after the first migration trip out of Frafra (Table 6.4), especially those who have been at the destinations for ten years or more. The table also clearly shows that more married men tend to move today than did their counterparts in the past--75 percent of the recent migrants who were married acquired this conjugal status before the initial trip as compared with 36 percent for the very

Table 6.4. Married Men Only: Were you married before your first move from home?

Responses	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
Yes	75.3	47.7	38.2	35.7
No	24.7	52.3	61.8	64.3
Not Reported	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	158	187	241	154

Table 6.5. If You Did not Migrate With Your Wife How Long Did you Stay in the South Before Your Wife Joined You?

Responses	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
Less than 1 month	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
1-2 months	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.9
3-5 months	9.6	2.0	3.7	2.8
6 months - 1 year	7.4	3.0	2.1	4.5
13 months - 2 years	41.5	15.3	11.3	5.4
2 years - 3 years	24.5	26.7	12.1	11.0
3 years - 4 years	12.8	31.3	28.6	19.0
5 years or more	0.0	21.7	42.2	56.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	41	106	102	110

old migrants. Many migrants explained that migration surely enables the single male, especially when such a person returns home, to secure a wife easily. Even then, as explained in Chapter V, a few youths move in order to better their social status and consequently make marriage easier to achieve. "Seldom will a rural girl back home turn down an offer from a returned male migrant who wants to take her to the South," one of the old migrants in Kumasi explained. Parents of the girl may not resent much especially if the young boy proves that he is capable of supporting the girl as well as paying for the dowry. The dominance of people who married after the migration trip among the old and very old migrants may also point to an aspect of Frafra migration behavior. Men who have their wives left back home may readily return home, especially if they are incapable of bringing the spouses to the South. The single male who in the first place might establish himself at the destination before marrying will be more reluctant to go home. As mentioned above, the strong force for capturing the attraction of a prospective wife at home might even be the fact that he is already living in the South. There are some instances when the relatives back home will marry a girl for the single migrant in the South. Thus, it does seem that among many other interacting factors, length of residence at the destination will depend on the responsibilities of the migrant (marital status, position in the family and children to care for) prior to the initial migration trip.

Those who were married before moving constituted only 13 percent, 9.9 percent, 11.3 percent and 11.2 percent of the recent, intermediate, old and very old, respectively. As given in Table 6.5, some of the

migrants stayed for long periods without their spouses--at times for more than five years. There are many reasons which will make a man send back home for his wife. Some of these have been mentioned in Chapter V, but here we will present a few from the perspective of the migrant at the destination: (1) If a man obtains a good job and establishes himself in the town he will usually send for his family, (2) After staying at any destination, one may still not have a good job or may even be unemployed but if he has established bonds between himself and friends or other relatives, who are ready to give him a helping hand to support the family at the destination, he will send home for his family, (3) Occasionally, pressure from home, either from the parents of the wife or the husband, or both could force the migrant (i.e., the husband) at the destination to send for the wife. This pressure could start as a result of the failure of the man to be remitting home for the family's upkeep. It could also be a measure to avoid a possible divorce since a "neglected" young wife could end up with another marriage and (4) If the migrant, for sure, decides that he is going to be a permanent-migrant or one who will be away from home for long, he will more than likely bring the nuclear family to wherever he is staying.

Education and Literacy

On the whole, a majority of the migrants have never been to school--61 percent, 75 percent, 85 percent and 91 percent of the recent, intermediate, old and very old migrants, respectively. The increasing importance of education in Northern Ghana as a whole, especially since the 1960s is reflected in these figures. Thus, a greater proportion of educated Frafra migrants are among the recent migrants (Table 6.6).

According to the 1970 census, even though Northern and Upper Regions of Ghana lagged very far behind the other regions, as far as proportion of school attendance is concerned, there was relatively greater improvement in these regions between 1960 and 1970 in proportion to those who had never been to school (Table 6.7). This helps to give a picture of the role of education in future migration streams out of the North, unless job opportunities are generated to tap all the people who drop out of school.

Table 6.6. Percentage Distribution of Educational Achievements of Migrants.

Responses	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
Never been to school	61.3	75.4	84.5	90.7
Primary	12.4	6.8	4.3	2.4
Middle	24.0	13.3	6.4	2.0
Secondary	0.9	0.8	1.0	0.0
Other, Vocational Training Commercial	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.0
University	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Arabic	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.9
Not applicable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not reported	1.2	3.1	3.0	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Chi-square test for independence was significant at the .001 level, indicating striking differences among the four groups in educational achievements.

Table 6.7. Rate of Improvement in School Attendance in Ghana by Regions Between 1960 and 1970.

Region	Rate of Improvement
Upper Region (Frafra Included)	175.0
Brong Ahafo Region	98.5
Northern Region	88.1
Western Region	6.29
Central Region	6.25
Ashanti	58.0
Eastern Region	52.6
Volta Region	40.7
Greater Accra Region	35.8

The percent change in proportions between 1960 and 1970 was obtained as follows:

$$\text{Rate} = \frac{\text{Proportion (1970) - Proportion (1960) x 100}}{\text{Proportion 1960}}$$

Source: Ghana 1970 Population Census Report Volume 2, 1972, Accra, p. xxiv.

Of the educated, a greater proportion of them in each group are the middle school leavers. Table 6.6 also indicates that some of the migrants obtained only primary school education and apparently dropped out of school.[2] In Chapter V it was mentioned that the role of education in pushing people out of rural areas is so strong that even the person who drops out early in primary school may regard himself as a misfit in the

[2]The interviews were restricted to migrants aged 15 years and over at the destinations, so those with primary education were adults and not currently enrolled.

rural environment and therefore migrate. The mere acquisition of the rudiments of literacy, so to speak, is enough to broaden the perceptual action space of an individual beyond the homeland, and consequently become a real action space when the person migrates.

When migrants were asked to indicate their written English proficiency, the percentage with "no education" among the recent migrants (Table 6.6) increased from 61 to 64.8 percent. This suggests that some of those with primary education probably did not stay in school long enough to acquire a knowledge of written English (Table 6.8). When we compare those who have never been to school among the old and very old migrants in Table 6.6 with those with written English in Table 6.8, the proportions fall from 85 to 81 percent and 91 to 86 percent, respectively. This is indicative of the point that migrants, by staying long at the destinations, do acquire some education or literacy skills ranging from spoken or written English to a versatile knowledge of other languages in the South, including Hausa. Of course, a prior knowledge of these can be a motivating factor in letting an individual move out of Frafra homeland.

Table 6.8. Indicate Your Written English Proficiency.

Response	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
None	64.8	75.0	81.2	86.3
Fair	13.4	11.7	9.7	7.8
Good	15.9	8.5	5.6	2.4
Very Good	4.8	2.3	0.8	0.0
Not Reported	1.1	2.5	2.7	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Chi-square test for independence was significant at less than .001 level.

This is brought out more clearly by the responses for spoken English and spoken Hausa (Tables 6.9 and Table 6.10). Spoken English, whether fair or very good, is very helpful in obtaining a job or carrying out everyday transactions at the destinations. Therefore many migrants will endeavor to pick up some basics in it, especially West African pidgin English. As a matter of fact, some of those who indicated that they had no knowledge of spoken English could speak pidgin English.

Table 6.9. Indicate Your Spoken English Proficiency.

Response	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
None	54.8	53.7	59.0	67.3
Fair	20.3	26.7	30.0	26.8
Good	18.2	14.5	7.5	2.4
Very Good	5.3	2.6	0.8	0.0
Not Reported	1.4	2.5	2.7	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Chi-square test for independence was significant at less than .001 level.

Hausa is a commercial (trade) and occupational language in almost all the urban centers in Ghana, especially among residents from Northern Ghana, Upper Volta, Niger, Nigeria and Mali. It was originally introduced in Ghana by Hausa traders and since the turn of this century it has been established as one of the important languages in Ghana. It is one of the six key Ghanaian languages broadcast over radio and television in Ghana. (These languages are Akan, Nzima, Ga, Dagbani, Hausa and Ewe.) Hausa is an urban language, hence, since many Frafra migrants are from

the rural areas, the proportion of Hausa speakers rises with increasing length of stay in the South (Table 6.10).

Table 6.10. Indicate Your Spoken Hausa Proficiency.

Response	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Years)	Very Old (20 + Years)
None	36.6	17.6	12.3	9.8
Fair	26.3	27.3	26.3	23.9
Good	35.0	50.6	56.0	58.1
Very Good	0.7	1.4	2.4	4.9
Not Reported	1.4	3.1	3.0	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Chi-square test for independence equal .01 significance level.

Akan[3] is spoken by many people in the Southern towns, thus a knowledge of it will enable a migrant to have easy social intercourse with the indigenous people and other migrants at these destinations. Moreover, almost all the opportunity zones are located in the Akan speaking areas, except those in and around Accra where Ga is the dominant language. Even then as the highly cosmopolitan capital city of Ghana Accra has many Akan speakers. There is no doubt that a knowledge of Akan is a big asset to a Frafra migrant (Table 6.11). As most of the migrants pointed out, these languages (spoken English, Hausa, Akan, etc.) enable all migrants from areas with different languages, whether in

[3]Akan is a language which covers the following dialects, (1) Twi, (Wasa, Dankyira, Asen, Akyem, Akuapem, Akwamu, Kwawu, Asante, Ahafo, Boron), (2) Fanti, (3) Nzema and (4) Anyi-Bawle.

Ghana or outside the country, to communicate easily among themselves. Those who could speak Ga were mainly in Accra. From Table 6.11 we can safely conclude that the proportion of migrants to speak one or more of the Southern languages directly depends on the number of years lived in the South. Also the type of language learned will depend on the indigenous language at the destination.

Table 6.11. Indicate Other Languages Spoken Apart from the Above and Any of the Frafra Dialects.

Response	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
None or no other language	35.3	14.8	9.7	9.8
Akan	56.7	69.9	73.5	71.2
Akan and Ga	5.1	7.8	8.1	9.8
Akan and Ewe	0.5	1.1	0.8	0.9
Ga	0.2	0.6	4.1	0.5
Other Combinations	2.0	4.8	3.5	6.9
Not Reported	0.2	0.9	0.3	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Chi-square test for independence equals .01 significance level.

Addo observed that "the disproportionate location of education institutions in the urban areas, particularly of intermediate and higher institutions have generally meant that more and more of the rural

population have left for the towns in order to attend these schools" (1971, p. 20). This is very true for the whole of Ghana, especially the South, but when we zoom on rural areas in Northern Ghana this phenomenon is only meaningful in regional and not in inter-regional analyses. Many rural northern youths are concentrated in the few institutions located in northern urban centers, and very few are in institutions in southern towns. This is a function of distance in the first place, and then income. Most of these southern institutions are faraway from the North--calling for expensive transportation costs and also different living conditions for students. Related to this is the low income earning capacity of many parents in the North. In almost all the institutions above elementary school (primary and middle) students have to pay fees. Since local councils and not the parents support the fees of all students of northern extraction in higher institutions (except university education), it is far cheaper for local councils to concentrate on schools located in the North. Only a very low percentage of students of northern extraction in southern higher institutions receive support from their respective homeland local councils. This explains why in Table 6.6 there is a striking absence of migrants with past or current secondary/commercial school education. Another contributory factor is that a majority of those who usually finish secondary or higher education in the North get employed there. This further reduces the possible number of educated migrants at the destinations in the South.

When we analyze educational achievements by the migration ecological zones, we realize that almost all the migrants with past education are in the urban centers. Even mining, often involving manual work

underground or on the surface has not yet attracted substantial numbers of the middle scholars. Those who are in the mining towns were in related urban occupations and not directly in mining (Table 6.12). Thus, mining and farming areas (cocoa and food production) continue to attract mostly the uneducated rural people, the exception being the urban centers located in these areas. Addo found similar results in his study on some aspects of the employment situation on cocoa farms in Brong Ahafo (Table 6.13). He found that 90 percent of Ghanaian farm employees and 99.4 percent of alien farm employees in his study area were illiterate, emphasizing the rural background of these farm workers. As noted in Chapter V, education continues to make many people desire urban occupations and urban way of life.

Table 6.12. Percentage Distribution of the Education of Migrants by Selected Towns, Mining and Farming Areas.

Town/Area	Education Level					
	Never	Primary	Middle	Higher	Total	N
A. Urban Centers						
1. Kumasi	65.1	6.8	24.4	3.7	100.0	429
2. Accra	68.6	8.3	18.6	4.5	100.0	306
3. Sekondi-Takoradi	75.2	10.0	12.5	2.3	100.0	88
B. Mining Areas						
4. Bibiani	82.1	10.6	5.3	1.0	100.0	38
5. Tarkwa	80.5	8.5	10.3	0.7	100.0	30
6. Obuasi	70.4	17.1	10.0	2.5	100.0	54
C. Farming Areas						
7. Cocoa Farms-Ashanti	93.5	4.2	2.3	0.0	100.0	65
8. Farms-Brong Ahafo	91.4	3.5	5.1	0.0	100.0	53

Table 6.13. Education Level of the Farm Employees by Length of Service.

Group	Length of Service	Education Level						
		Never	Primary Grade 1-3	Primary Grade 4-6	Middle	Higher	Total	N
Ghanaians	Since Dec. 1960	87.6	0.2	2.6	8.9	0.7	100.0	580
	8 months-3 yr	91.2	0.3	1.8	6.7	---	100.0	715
	4 yrs-9 yrs	88.3	1.0	4.2	6.5	---	100.0	307
	10 years +	92.9	1.2	2.9	2.4	0.6	100.0	169
	All Periods	89.9	0.4	2.6	7.0	0.1	100.0	1,771
Aliens	Since Dec. 1969	98.0	---	1.0	1.0	---	100.0	99
	8 months-3 yr	99.6	0.4	---	---	---	100.0	224
	4 yrs - 9 yrs	100.0	---	---	---	---	100.0	179
	10 years +	99.2	---	0.8	---	---	100.0	122
	All Periods	99.4	0.2	0.3	0.1	---	100.0	624

After, Addo, Nelson O. Some Aspects of the Employment Situation on Cocoa Farms in Brong Ahafo in the Pre- and Post-Aliens Compliance Era: A Study of the Effect of the Mass Migration of Foreign Labor on Employment and Labor Supply, 1971, Legon, p. 15.

Residential Analysis of Migrants

Arrival in Town

In our examination of the factors which enter into the decision to move to a particular destination, we stressed that the location or distribution of relatives, friends, acquaintances, etc. of intending migrants was of paramount importance. One, therefore, will expect to find these relatives and friends playing an important role in helping the new migrant not only to find accommodations but also to adjust to the urban environment. As Caldwell has pointed out:

> "More often than not the migrant already knows, when he dismounts from the mammy lorry in the lorry park, with whom he will be staying. Often he does not know how to get there. He will seek advice from bystanders, often from people from his own area" (1969, p. 129).

In most cases, as pointed out in Chapter V, the new migrant might travel to the destination with old migrants or even the relative with whom he will be staying. This minimizes or eliminates the problems of finding his way out on arrival. The fact that people move to places where they already know someone means that reasons for the spatial allocation of migrants in any town will be closely related to factors of ethnic and family dynamics among Frafra migrants.

Migrants were more likely to stay with someone they knew than on their own (Table 6.14). On arrival a greater proportion of the migrants stayed with close relatives--brothers, sisters, father, mother and spouse. Grouping the figures for the very close relatives gives 70.4, 60.8, 63.0 and 55.1 for the recent, intermediate, old and very old migrants, respectively. This trend emphasizes the well established nature of chain

migration in Frafra. As noted in Chapter V the proportion of extended family members who will migrate from Frafra will depend very much on the number of family members already in the South. Thus, there is something like a multiplier effect, that is the prospects or the gains of migration derived by a family will in turn stimulate others at home to take part in migration. The existence of relatives at destinations also weeds away many uncertainties in intending migrants before they embark on the initial trip to the South.

Table 6.14. Whom Did You Stay With When You First Arrived in This Town?

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
*Brother/Sister	48.2	41.5	48.0	39.5
*Spouse	14.1	14.5	9.1	10.7
*Father/Mother	8.1	4.8	5.9	4.9
Other Relatives/ Ethnic Members	12.7	23.3	16.4	20.0
Friend	6.0	6.5	6.2	5.9
Miscellaneous/ Others	5.0	5.2	6.1	6.0
By Myself	1.8	1.1	4.3	7.8
Not Reported	4.1	3.1	4.0	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

*Subtotals for close or blood relatives are 70.4, 60.8, 63.0 and 55.1, respectively for the four migrant categories.

"Spouse" and "Father/Mother" in Table 6.14 represent the proportion of migrants who joined their husbands and parents. The intensity of chain-migration is undoubtedly a function of time. It is, therefore, not

surprising that more recent and intermediate migrants went to join parents than did those who had been long at the destinations. We should also note the increase in the proportion of spouses joining their husbands in recent years, as already explained in Chapter V. In an attempt to find out why some migrants moved to join parents, the following reasons were given: (1) After the Second World War some of the ex-soldiers remained in the South, either in the military or in other occupations and in due course spouses and children joined them, (2) As explained in Chapter II, some migrants leave home with plans to be away for a short while but circumstances at the destinations might dictate otherwise. If such a person left a family with children at home, he will send for them. (3) It was noted earlier that as a result of the low earning capacity of rural farmers in the North, parents do not pay anything directly for the education of their children. Hence, it is not uncommon for a migrant to send his children back home or leave them behind to be educated in the North. When they finish their elementary education, especially if they do not find jobs nor qualify to enter institutions of higher learning, they will often join the parents in the South where they would have made many trips during the vacation periods.

The role of friends in providing accommodations for newly arrived migrants is not as prominent as when we were discussing the flow of information, contact persons and the like, before the initial migration from home. It was explained in Chapter V that when the decision to migrate does not involve the extended or the nuclear family, especially if they happen to be opposed to it, the potential migrant will tend to rely on friends. On arrival at the destination, the new migrant more

than likely will go to a relative and not a friend. Generally, by the norms of the family system prevailing among the Mole-Daghani speaking people, a person's perception of who should help him when in need is in the form of a hierarchy. From the highest to the lowest, though not the rule of thumb, will be parents (father/mother), immediate blood relatives (brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins, etc.), other relatives in the maximal lineage, friends, ethnic members, etc. Of course, this assumes maximum harmony in the family, which in a few instances might not be the case so the hierarchical structure can take any other form. Also, we can have different grades of friends and a very intimate one, especially in the midst of family disunity, can even supercede the parents. "Spouse relationships" have not been included because marriage calls for a special bond between the couple, with each owing a top priority responsiblity to the other, unless again there is family discord. In the field, the respondents always expressed that it was incumbent upon relatives to provide these services to their peers when they arrived in town. Caldwell found this to be true when he recorded that a 35-year-old man from Bolgatanga explained that "As relatives, they (migrants at destinations) (sic.) always treat them (new arrivals) (sic.) fairly, for they are bound by custom to give them the same quantity of food that they themselves eat" (1969, p. 134). Although this might be the general expectation, some relatives at the destinations fail to perform this function. As one migrant put it "shirking ones social responsibilities in town is largely due to the difficult and different urban way of life which calls for the actual possession of money, unlike the village life." Another said, "Town

life makes some people so hard-hearted that they even forget about their own people."

These general observations about the treatment given to a new migrant are different in the typical farming areas, especially the cocoa producing areas. These rural destinations may have very few or no residual Frafra migrants residing for long periods as in the towns or mining areas, an exception being the towns in these farming areas. As a result, southern farmers tend to be directly responsible for providing accommodations including food for their farm laborers. These services are part of the contract--be it for six months, a year or more, and adjustments in the wages are made accordingly. Insofar as food is concerned, some farmers will permit their laborers to cook their own meals utilizing whatever is available on the farm--maize, plantain, bananas, cassava, coco-yam, etc. There tends to be a strong and healthy bond of relationship between farmers and the farm laborers, more so than what prevails between migrants and their employers in the towns. It is quite common for the few migrants who go to these rural areas with their wives to return home at the end of the contract--probably renewed many times--with one or all of their children bearing Akan names. This is one of the indices of the level of assimilation insofar as the culture of receiving areas is concerned.

As demonstrated by Table 6.15, the accommodation was usually given to these new arrivals free of charge, that is, no rent was paid. Only a few indicated that they paid rent and these were the migrants who got their own accommodation or were put in some areas by their employers. Apart from free accommodation, a majority of the new migrants were also

given free meals--an extension of the security given to migrants on arrival by relatives and friends (Table 6.16). Only a few paid for some or all their meals. The length of this type of service for new migrants from relatives, friends, ethnic members or spouses can range from a few months to ten or more years. It was found out in the field that migrants who were very close relatives continued to live together with the wages each made going to the most senior man who then decided on how the income was to be spent.

Table 6.15. Did You Pay Rent For Staying There?

Response	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
Yes	3.9	5.1	4.3	7.3
No	93.8	91.2	90.1	84.9
Not Reported	0.9	1.4	1.3	2.4
Not Applicable	1.4	2.3	4.3	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Table 6.16. Which of These Did You Enjoy When You Lived with This Person?

Response	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
Free meals	88.0	83.5	82.6	76.6
A few free meals	1.8	2.8	1.9	2.9
Paid for some of my meals	5.1	5.7	5.4	5.4
Paid for all meals	3.2	3.1	4.6	6.3
Not Reported	0.7	2.8	1.3	3.4
Did not stay with anyone	1.2	2.1	4.2	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Residential Location and Housing Conditions of Migrants

We have just discussed some of the methods used by new arrivals to provide themselves with accommodations. Here we will focus on the spatial distribution of migrants in the towns. Are there any neighborhoods or sections of the towns preferred by migrants? What are the living conditions of these migrants in the towns?

At the beginning of this chapter it was noted that since the colonial period there have always been sections in many West African towns occupied by mainly migrants (The Zongo). Ghana, of course, is no exception and today many Frafra migrants live in clusters in the neighborhoods predominantly occupied by migrants from other parts of Ghana and other West African countries. The numbers of aliens have reduced considerably as a result of the aliens compliance order previously mentioned.

There are many factors which have contributed to the current spatial distribution of migrants. The most obvious and important explanation is the administrative policy already referred to, that is, the establishment of separate sections for migrants in receiving areas. In the mining towns, almost all the mine workers are housed in residential areas which were developed to keep the migrant population separate from the local people. In Tarkwa, for instance, the mines (shafts) are a few miles from the main town, hence the residential areas for miners are located near the mine, about three to four miles away from town. It was however, not all the mining establishments which had quarters built especially for their workers. In Obuasi, where in 1960 about

four percent of all Frafra migrants in the South lived, the mining company encouraged the development of residential areas with cheap accommodations around the mine. The mining company pays for about one-third of the rent for each mine worker. The migrants explained that the system is far better than what their friends living in the towns obtain from their employers. In Obuasi, the main areas occupied by all migrants are the Zongo, Wawasi, Kwabrafuso, Tutuka, Boete and Brahabebome, but Frafra migrants live mostly in the Zongo, Tutuka and Boete sections with either fair or poor conditions (Figure 16).

In the towns and cities most of the Frafra migrants live in the sections which have grown to be permanent residential areas for all migrant population. Some of these towns have expanded at such a fast rate that a few of the initial migrant sections are no longer on the periphery of the towns but almost part of central business districts. In places like Accra, Kumasi and Takoradi, new sections were established for the increased migrant population while the old ones were retained.

In Accra, for instance, Tudu seems to have been the first portion allocated to migrants in about 1920. As the city grew in size many other sections were added such that today there are many residential areas in Accra which contain migrants. Some of the main migrant sections in Accra are Tudu, Sabon[4] Zongo, New Town, Nima, Maamobi, Kotobabi, and New Fadama. Of course, not all of these sections were established solely for migrants. These residential areas were often established in response to the need to house the increased population

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[4]"Sabon" in Hausa means New, hence Sabon Zongo is New Zongo.

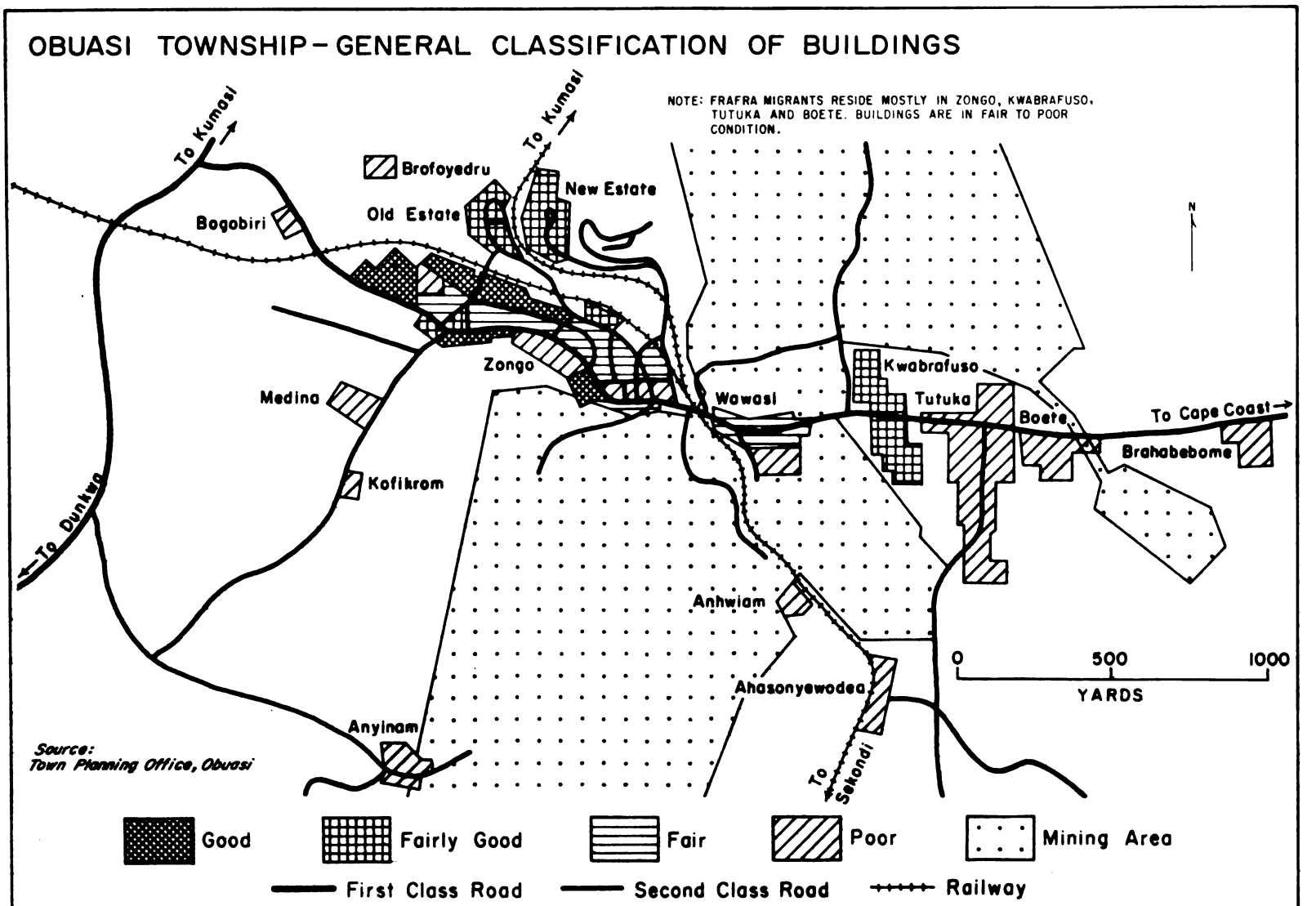
OBUASI TOWNSHIP - GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF BUILDINGS
NOTE: FRAFRA MIGRANTS RESIDE MOSTLY IN ZONGO, KWABRAFUSO, TUTUKA AND BOETE. BUILDINGS ARE IN FAIR TO POOR CONDITION.
To Kumasi
To Kumasi
Brofoyedru
New Estate
Old Estate
Bogobiri
Zongo
Medina
Kofikrom
Wawasi
Kwabrafuso
Tutuka
Boete
To Cape Coast
Brahabebome
To Dunkwa
Anhwiam
Ahasonyewodea
Anyinam
To Sekondi
N
0
500
1000
YARDS
Source:
Town Planning Office, Obuasi
Good
Fairly Good
Fair
Poor
Mining Area
First Class Road
Second Class Road
Railway

Figure 16.

both indigenous and migrants who flocked into Accra. The other reason for the rapid expansion of the nation's capital was the growth in economic activities--establishment of industries, the provision of professional, personal, financial, etc. services. Since 1957, when Ghana became an independent country from Britain, Accra has been the main target for migrants from other regions of Ghana and from neighboring African countries. The pull of Accra increased with the establishment of an industrial complex and a modern harbor at Tema--about 17 miles from the capital city. Today, migrants live in sections in Accra which have highly mixed people--both indigenous Ga and migrants from other parts of Ghana and other African countries.

In Kumasi the initial establishment for migrants was the Zongo, immediately southeast of the central market. Since the colonial period this centrally located city has served as a commercial center for many other parts of Ghana, especially areas in Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo and Northern Ghana. Most of the first migrants to settle in Kumasi were traders (mostly Yoruba, Hausa and a few Ghanaian ethnic groups). The colonial administration and the traditional land-owners in Kumasi (Asantehene and his elders) thereby chose this area near the market as the most appropriate section for these migrant traders. When the population in Kumasi increased, coupled with a rapid growth in economic activities, many other residential areas were established. Some of these are occupied by migrants but just as in Accra there is a mixture of people from many ethnic backgrounds. The sections in Kumasi where greater proportions of Frafra migrants live are the Zongo, New Zongo (northeast of the central market), Asawasi, Odumasi, Aboabo, North

Suntreso, Suame, South Suntresa, Asukwa, Kasi and Ahinsan. The last three are relatively new residential areas for migrants and other people with low annual income.

The respondents were asked to indicate the reasons for residing in those sections of the towns they were found at the time of the research (Table 6.17). The most important consideration for selecting particular sections was that parents or relatives lived there. The importance of this factor decreases with increasing length of residence, once again a reflection on chain migration. In the past migrants moved into sections for other reasons. There were rather few Frafra migrants in the South; today many choose residential sections in towns because of their relatives who are already living there. Most of the female migrants leave home in order to join their husbands in the South and this is quite evident in the figures for the response "to join spouse-husband." Friends and ethnic members, just as with relatives or spouses, were also responsible for attracting migrants to the residential areas. The pull of friends and ethnic members is noticeably weak with the "old" and "very old" migrants. This again is due to the fact that about fifteen or twenty years ago there were not many Frafra migrants as there are today. Hence, other factors in pulling migrants to specific residential areas were more important than factors pertaining to ethnic or kinship ties.

These other factors included considerations such as cheap accommodations, locations near work or employers and administrative decisions, for example, people transferred by their employers to the towns and perhaps to particular sections of the towns. A majority of migrants are unskilled workers and receive very low wages. As a result they cannot

Table 6.17. What Are the Main Reasons Which Led You to Come to This Section of Town?

Response	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
My parents/relatives are here	49.3	38.1	25.5	16.1
My friends live here	4.8	3.7	3.2	5.4
My employer is here	0.9	2.8	6.7	6.4
Most ethnic members are here	3.5	3.7	8.0	6.8
I am near my work	8.8	13.3	15.8	18.5
The accommodation here is cheap	9.7	17.6	21.5	23.4
To join spouse-husband	15.4	14.8	11.5	11.2
Transferred here	0.9	0.6	1.9	1.0
Not Reported	6.7	5.4	5.9	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Chi-square test for independence was significant at .01 level.

live in the better residential areas of the towns. Migrants will always look for areas with cheap accommodation, especially sections of towns with very poor housing facilities either on the periphery or in old areas traditionally occupied by migrants. In Accra, for example, rent in the central part of the city can be as high as $6.00 per month. In some of the residential areas on the periphery, however, the rent is usually between $1.50 and $3.00 per month as found in some areas of

Nima, New Town, Maamobi.[5] Some migrants live with their employers, expecially the few who are stewards or house-helpers to civil servants or well-to-do families. Many residential structures for high ranking government employees have boys quarters attached to them and these are usually occupied by migrants, giving rise to the response "because my employer is here" in Table 6.17. As a result of the cost of living, civil servants are finding it increasingly difficult to hire stewards or houseboys than in the past. Also, since more educated people are in the migration stream, few new migrants are attracted to this type of occupation. This explains why the proportion of respondents living with employers dropped with the recent and intermediate migrants.

A majority of the respondents who were married were living with their wives in the South (Table 6.18(a)). Only a few of the married men reported that their wives were still living at home, 6.5, 9.1, 14.7 and 18 percent of the recent, intermediate, old and very old migrants, respectively (Table 6.18(b)). We have already noted in earlier discussions the reasons why wives are usually left at home. We have to note in Table 6.18(b) that the proportion of migrants who had wives at home increases with length of residence. The first explanation is the relationship between age and marriage and also the fact that in recent times more people move with their wives. Some of the old and very old migrants who left their wives home apparently did not invite them to move to the South. It was also pointed out that in polygamous

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[5]These figures may seem rather low, but to a working population with monthly wages anywhere between $15.00 and $40.50, and with many dependents to support, the rents are still quite high for them.

Table 6.18(a). Where are Your Wives Living? Number with Me in this House.

Number of Wives Living in this House	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
One	12.7	30.1	37.8	45.4
Two	0.2	0.9	6.2	11.2
Three	0.0	0.3	0.5	3.9
Four or more	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Not Reported	0.7	1.7	2.1	3.4
Single or no wife here	86.4	67.0	53.4	35.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Table 6.18(b). Number of Wives with Relatives at Home.

Number of Wives at Home with Relatives	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
One	5.8	8.8	13.4	14.6
Two	0.7	0.3	1.3	3.4
Three or more	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not Reported	0.7	1.7	2.2	3.4
Single or no wife at home	92.9	89.2	83.1	78.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

families, if the husband migrated with the wives still at home, it was usually only the young wife who got invited. Marriage is still regarded as solely for procreation. Thus a woman who is already a mother of grown-up children will more likely stay at home than move with the husband, especially if there is family property to look after. Also, at the destinations it is a common practice for women nearing or passed their menopause to return home and take care of family proerty instead of remaining with the husband. She might even encourage the husband to take on another wife, in case she is the only wife, so that she can return home. Another reason why some of the wives of migrants were living at home could be the possession of substantial property at home, such as a house, a commercial store or a large farm, especially the first two. Many migrants do acquire enough income to build houses for renting or a store for the sale of consumer goods back home. When this happens, the first wife, especially if she is old, is made the financier to work with other relatives of the man, while the husband continues to work in the South until he is pensioned. After that he will join the rest of the family at home. It is also a common practice among migrants to buy sewing machines for their wives to train as seamstresses. When such women become old, they do return home since they are likely to have a better market there than in towns where they have to compete with many other experienced seamstresses. In a few cases, wives who are nursing mothers, especially if they have a trade, e.g., seamstresses, are encouraged to visit back home and live for some time.

Just as with the wives, a majority of the respondents who had children were living with them, but others had a few of their children

living at home with relatives (Tables 6.19(a) and Table 6.19(b)). Some of the reasons usually given for leaving the children at home were (a) it was cheaper to educate children at home than at the destinations, (b) the children were initially left behind because they were already in school or were living with the other close relatives, (c) cost of living in the South, they explained, made it very difficult to have all their children around and (d) even though migrants might be at the destinations for long periods, a few tend to be very conscious of the links with the homeland such that they send their children to relatives to be trained at home "lest the children should become town people and forget about their ancestral way of life," one migrant explained in Obuasi.

Table 6.19(a). Where are Your Children Living: Number with Me Here.

Number With Me Here	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
One	8.3	13.1	12.0	4.4
Two	6.5	9.7	14.5	10.7
Three	2.8	9.1	9.1	13.2
Four	0.9	2.5	4.8	12.7
Five	0.0	0.0	4.0	9.8
Six	0.2	0.0	1.9	3.9
Seven	0.0	0.0	0.8	4.4
Eight or more	0.2	0.0	0.3	5.8
Not Reported	1.6	3.7	5.4	8.3
Has no children or none here with me	69.5	61.9	47.2	26.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Table 6.19(b). Where are your children living: Number with relatives at home.

Number	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
One	1.2	2.8	2.4	7.3
Two	0.2	2.3	2.7	1.5
Three	0.5	0.0	1.9	1.9
Four or more	0.0	0.3	1.1	3.4
Not reported	1.6	3.7	5.4	8.3
Has no children or none at home	96.5	90.9	86.6	77.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

When we analyze family units by ecological zones, it will be realized that complete families (all members of the nuclear family living together) were more at the mines than at any of the other types of destinations--towns and farming areas. At the mines, facilities such as housing with subsidized rents; medical care, including maternity care; schools for children of both junior and senior staff at the mines, etc. all help in reducing the burden of cost of living and making it possible for migrants to live with all members of their families. In the towns similar facilities are not available to migrants and since most of them are faced with many problems it is difficult to have many complete families staying together. Since most of the trips to the farming areas are seasonal, few migrants really move with their wives except those who go to live in big towns in these farming regions. Some of the mining authorities have buses for their workers to travel to nearby

major cities on visits, e.g., Obuasi Gold Mines for their workers for the purpose of visits to Kumasi City at the weeks end.

As would be expected, most of the migrants were living in rented dwelling units (Table 6.20(a)). Only a few were living in their own houses, and length of residence is an important factor in owning your own dwelling unit. Thus, no recent migrant had his own house. Those who owned houses indicated they had no idea when they would return home. The role of property in anchoring migrants at the destinations will be discussed in Chapter VII.

Table 6.20(a). How Do You Hold Your Present Accommodation (Room/House)?

Response	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Renting	88.4	90.1	90.1	89.7
Owner Occupied--Mine	0.0	0.3	0.8	2.9
Staying with husband	7.4	7.9	7.5	5.4
With father/mother rent-free	0.7	0.0	0.3	0.5
With other relatives rent-free	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not reported	2.1	1.7	1.3	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Most of the dwelling units occupied by migrants are owned either by private businessmen, the government, or companies, in the case of the mining areas (Table 6.20(b)). The fact that some Frafra migrants have been able to build houses or rooms of their own for rent in the South is brought out by the responses "owned by a relative" and "owned by a

friend." Furthermore, a few, as in Table 6.20(a), were living in their own houses.

Table 6.20(b). If You Rent it or If it is Rent-Free, Who Owns the Room or House?

Response	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Private Ownership	61.3	63.9	59.8	62.4
Public/Government Ownership	12.9	17.3	23.9	21.0
Owned by a Relative	16.1	9.1	6.2	7.3
Owned by a Friend	2.8	2.3	3.0	1.0
Mine-Owner Occupied	0.0	0.3	0.8	2.9
Not Reported	6.9	7.1	6.3	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

An examination of Table 6.20(c) reveals that a majority of the migrants have occupied their current dwelling units for long periods--42 percent and 67 percent of the old and very old migrants have occupied theirs for ten years or more. On the whole, the table depicts that even though we do have some level of intra-urban mobility, people tend to stay for long periods at one location at the destinations. The table also suggests that even though step-migration is widely practiced, a substantial proportion of the migrants tend to stay at the first stations for considerable lengths of time, for example, about 77 percent and 60 percent of the recent and intermediate migrants, respectively, have not moved from their first stations.

Table 6.20(c). How Long Have You Been Living in Your Present Room/House?

Response	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Less than 6 months	10.8	1.4	1.6	3.4
6 months but less than 1 year	9.9	2.3	2.4	2.0
1 year-5 years	76.5	33.2	23.3	9.2
5 years-10 years	0.0	60.0	27.6	11.7
10 years or more	0.0	0.0	41.6	67.3
Not reported	2.8	3.1	3.5	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Room Density and Living Conditions of Dwelling Units

From Table 6.21(a) it is quite evident that most of the migrants are able to rent one room each to live in. Only a few had two or more rooms for family members. Having more than one rented room is a function of one's income and also the size of the family. Thus, a greater proportion of families occupying more than one room in a house belonged to the old or very old migrants. There were a few recent and intermediate migrants occupying more than one room in a house, and these were well to do migrants or people who had rich parents or relatives supporting them at the destinations.

When we examine the figures for room density, it is quite obvious that there is over-crowding among these migrants (Table 6.21(b)). Most of these figures stand for families--i.e., father, mother and children, but even then the room densities are quite high. One common practice

Table 6.21(a). How Many Rooms in This House are Occupied by You (Single Migrants) or Your Family or Household?

Number of Rooms	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
One	88.3	86.5	79.6	66.8
Two	7.1	7.7	10.2	18.5
Three	1.4	1.1	1.9	2.9
Four	0.9	1.6	2.1	2.4
Five	0.0	0.0	1.1	2.9
Six or more	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Not Reported	2.6	3.1	5.1	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Table 6.21(b). How Many People in Your Household Live in a Room?

Number of People in a Room	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
One	26.7	25.9	21.5	13.1
Two	35.3	29.5	21.7	19.0
Three	19.1	21.0	13.9	18.2
Four	12.4	12.8	19.3	17.6
Five	3.0	6.5	10.9	16.2
Six	0.0	1.7	4.1	6.8
Seven or more	0.0	0.0	1.9	2.3
Not Reported	3.5	2.6	6.7	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

among single male migrants is to rent one room in which two to four people will live together. In this way, the migrants can share the cost of the rent, as well as other expenses around their dwelling area. In a study carried out in Medina, a suburb of the University of Ghana where many migrants live, room densities of 2.4 were regarded as overcrowded. The United Nations Mission to Kenya described overcrowding in a room as any room density which is more than three persons (Bloomberg and Abrams, 1964, p. 15).[6] Hence we can say with certainty that Frafra migrants live under poor conditions at the destinations and are generally overcrowded rooms.

Table 6.22(a) gives the perception of the condition of dwelling units by the migrants. As can be seen, only a few felt that they were living in very good residences. Quite a substantial proportion in each category appraised their dwelling units as being good, but the majority felt that they were only fair. The proportion who thought the units were of sub-standard quality--poor and very poor conditions--are rather low. Generally, it can be said that even though the dwelling units are not usually of the best type in the sections of towns where migrants live, they are nonetheless satisfied--at least a great proportion felt that way (Table 6.22(b)). It is a major aspect of the survival mechanism developed by migrants in the towns, that is, you have to accept and like what you have, especially if there is no way of changing your living conditions either now or in the near future. Comparatively,

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[6]Margaret Peil considered a room overcrowded if there were more than 2.5 persons, counting children under five as half (Peil, 1972, p. 165).

migrants working at the mines, particularly those living in houses provided by the mining companies such as in Tarkwa, had far better facilities than their counterparts in the towns or cities. Migrant miners in Obuasi, Konogo-Odumasi or Akwatia were not all that better off than their counterparts in the towns (refer to Figure 16).

Table 6.22(a). Percentage Distribution of the Perception of the Condition of Dwelling Units (House Room/Apartment).

Response	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Years)
Very Good	3.0	3.7	3.8	5.4
Good	24.0	26.7	33.2	29.3
Fair	65.4	61.4	53.3	52.2
Poor	4.6	4.6	3.7	6.3
Very Poor	0.6	0.0	2.4	1.5
Not Reported	2.4	3.6	3.5	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Economic Characteristics

Seeking a Job at the Destination

Some very important questions to be answered are: (1) How does a new migrant phase off into the town labor force? (2) What are some of the factors which enter into the processes of deciding on a particular job? (3) What are the relationships, if any, between perceived jobs before the migration trip and the actual occupation acquired by a migrant? Answers to these questions should help us to be in a better position to understand some of the most important characteristics of the labor market

in the towns, especially with reference to the continued influx of rural people to these towns.

Table 6.22(b). Are You Satisfied with Your Present Residence (House, Room, Apartment).

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Yes	84.1	86.6	82.3	80.0
No	12.9	9.7	13.4	14.1
Not Reported	3.0	3.7	4.3	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

From what we have already said about the aspirations or perceptions of the migrants before they leave home, it can be assumed that not everybody on arrival at the destination faces a problem about acquiring a job. There are those who probably were transferred from the North and will therefore continue with their old jobs. There are also a few who might have been recruited in the North, for instance, the recruiting activities of the mining companies, before the trip. On arrival, these people should have no problems in obtaining a job. Then there is the third type of migrant who was probably promised a job before he left home. A promise about a job can mean one of two things. Either the relative or friend who promised the migrant a job has already acquired one or believes he is in a position to help the new arrival to obtain one. Whatever it is, a promise about a job has no certainty attached to it. The last type of new arrival is the one who was neither recruited nor

promised a job by any relative. Many migrants arrive jobless, thereby increasing the number of people who are already unemployed at these urban centers.

For the analysis on the economic characteristics of migrants, it was thought appropriate to do this by sex and still by length of residence. Most of the women are housewives and therefore reported that they were unemployed. This would distort the actual number of unemployed respondents, if they are all considered together. Besides, at this stage of this analysis, a knowledge of the types of occupations done by Frafra female migrants will help in explaining future female migratory patterns. Only a few women were interviewed and to have a good picture of the occupational distribution of these, absolute figures, and not percentages, have been given in the tables.

Migrants on arrival at the destinations rely on the support of friends, relatives and ethnic members who are already there. This support has no limited coverage and as a result some migrants find their first occupations through the help of relatives and others (Table 6.23(a)). Brothers and sisters were mostly the relatives who helped new arrivals to find jobs. Friends, other relatives (father/mother, uncles, aunts, etc.) and ethnic members also helped migrants to find jobs. Only a few migrants are fortunate to have their parents living in the South and therefore the most appropriate blood relative whose duty it is to help a relative find a job would be the brother or sister (Table 6.23(b)). Of all the migrants interviewed, there was not anyone who had not a relative in the South. Thus, although there is a strong ethnic dynamism among Frafra migrants they nonetheless rely mostly on relatives and

Table 6.23(a). When you First Arrived Did a Friend or Relative or Family Member Help You Find Work?

Responses	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 years)	Old (11-20 yrs)	Very Old (20 + yrs)	Recent Migrant (0-5 yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 years)	Old (11-20 yrs)	Very Old (20 + yrs)
Yes	49.6	61.5	54.8	43.6	11	9	8	5
No	37.5	34.7	39.5	51.4	15	7	16	7
Not Reported	12.7	3.8	5.7	5.03	69	45	35	14
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

*Absolute figures and not percentages.

Table 6.23(b). If Yes, What was the Relationship of the Person Who Helped You?

Responses	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 years)	Old (11-20 yrs)	Very Old (20 + yrs)	Recent Migrant (0-5 yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 years)	Old (11-20 yrs)	Very Old (20 + yrs)
Brother or Sister	28.9	30.2	28.0	23.5	2	5	4	2
Other Relatives	5.0	13.4	9.9	9.0	6	1	3	0
Friend	12.9	14.4	13.7	7.3	1	2	2	2
Father or Mother	2.4	1.7	1.9	1.7	2	0	1	1
Other (Clans or Ethnic Member)	0.3	1.0	1.3	2.0	0	0	0	0
Husband	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	2	2	0
Son or Daughter	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0	0
Not Helped/Unemployed	45.1	36.4	43.6	53.1	78	49	48	20
Not Reported	5.0	2.4	1.6	3.9	6	3	3	1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

*The figures for females are absolute numbers and percentages.

close friends for survival at the urban environment. An ethnic member, or a nonethnic member, who is not a friend, would be contacted for help as a last resort.

Apparently, few men help their spouses to find jobs or even allow them to seek regular employment. All the females who were helped received it from relatives, friends and parents. In Chapter V we noted that seldom will a girl be allowed to migrate from Frafra by herself unless there is a relative at the destination. The few girls who move, for example the middle school leavers, stay with relatives and these usually undertake the responsibility of helping them find jobs.

Of the males who did not receive help, the labor office, their own arrangements, and employment agents were the methods adopted to secure jobs (Table 6.23(c)). There are labor offices in all the important towns in Ghana which keep records on all possible job openings. Quite a few unemployed people therefore, utilize these facilities in order to get employed. There were also those who actually located the jobs through their own efforts. The employment agents referred to in the table could be the recruiters who were sent to the North by mining companies, or the few private agents who operate in the towns as a means of a livelihood. These private agents in the towns would help the unemployed to obtain jobs on the understanding that a fee would be paid, either an outright payment or on monthly basis. The three recent female migrants who obtained jobs on their own were all educated and were, therefore, in a better position to compete in the labor market.

In our discussion on the decision to migrate, it was demonstrated that migrants do leave home with an idea about the type of jobs they

Table 6. 23(c). If No One Helped You, How Did you Obtain Your First Job?

Responses	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 years)	Old (11-20 yrs)	Very Old (20 + yrs)	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 years)	Old (11-20 yrs)	Very Old (20 + yrs)
Labor Office	13.6	18.9	24.8	22.4	0	0	0	0
My Own Arrangements	13.0	9.6	7.0	16.2	3	0	0	0
An Employment Agent	1.5	1.4	1.9	2.8	0	0	0	0
Other	0.6	1.4	1.0	1.7	0	0	0	0
Was Helped/Unemployed	59.3	62.9	59.5	46.4	84	58	50	22
Not Reported	11.2	5.5	5.1	10.1	8	3	9	4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

*Absolute figures and not percentages.

Table 6.24. When You First Arrived, What Type of Work Were You Looking For?

Responses	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 years)	Old (11-20 yrs)	Very Old (20 + yrs)	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 years)	Old (11-20 yrs)	Very Old (20 + yrs)
Laborer	29.8	41.2	36.6	39.1	0	3	2	0
Policeman, Guard	3.8	3.1	2.9	4.5	1	0	1	0
Housekeeper, Cook	13.9	13.8	13.1	17.3	9	1	4	2
Miner, Quarryman	2.4	2.8	2.9	5.0	0	0	0	0
Caretaker, Cleaner	2.4	3.8	0.0	0.6	1	1	0	0
Farm Laborer	0.3	0.0	1.3	1.1	0	0	2	1
Petty Trader, Street Vender	2.7	1.7	2.2	0.0	4	3	5	0
Mechanic	0.3	1.0	1.9	1.7	0	0	0	0
Tailor, Dressmaker	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	6	4	0	3
Salesmen/Shop Assistant	3.8	3.4	3.2	0.6	0	0	0	0
Postman, Messenger	7.7	4.5	0.6	0.0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous—Other	6.4	5.8	7.6	2.7	0	1	0	0
Had a Job/No Idea	4.7	1.7	4.5	1.7	62	38	41	16
Not Reported	21.2	17.2	26.4	26.3	12	10	6	4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

*Absolute figures and not percentages.

would like to do on arrival at the destinations. These aspired jobs are mostly the unskilled, and semi-skilled types (Table 6.24). When we compare the responses in Tables 6.24 and 6.25 it will be realized that a majority of those who wanted to be laborers of all types, house-keeper/cooks, salesmen/shop assistants, and miners actually had their aspirations fulfilled (Tables 6.24 and 6.25). These occupations are the dominant positions easily available to unskilled migrants and it is therefore not surprising that it was no problem among Frafra migrants to secure these. Other aspired jobs, policemen/guards, mechanics and postmen/messengers are rather special and limited in the labor market, often calling for special skills. Only a few actually got employed in these fields.

One important aspect about Tables 6.24 and 6.25, is the fact that even though migrants may not succeed in obtaining the target jobs they are, however, very flexible in terms of the final or first job they would do. A very insignificant number of migrants left home with the hope of becoming farm laborers but in due course quite a few were employed on farms. There are two possible explanations for this. Migrants do utilize the intervening opportunities, mostly the food and cocoa producing areas or areas around Tamale, before they finally move to their target destinations. Secondly, it is quite easy to get employed as a farm laborer, especially during periods of maximum farm activities (sowing, weeding and harvesting). Thus, a migrant who finds it difficult to obtain an urban occupation could decide to move to a farming area or become a farm laborer if he is already in a town located in the farming regions. The job could be a temporary one, that is, only a means of survival and a stepping stone to obtaining a better job in the future.

Table 6.25. When You Arrived What Work Did you Do First?

Responses	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Laborers—General	23.6	30.2	38.5	36.9	0	2	1	2
Policemen, Guards, etc.	1.5	1.1	1.6	2.8	0	0	0	1
Housekeepers, Cooks, Maids	13.9	25.1	21.3	19.0	3	1	4	2
Miners, Quarrymen	3.2	3.4	4.8	8.9	0	0	1	0
Caretakers, Clearners	1.8	2.4	0.6	1.7	2	2	1	0
Farmers	5.3	5.2	4.8	7.3	0	0	1	0
Petty Traders, Street Venders	10.1	8.1	6.7	9.5	13	5	5	7
Bakers, Millers; Food, etc.	1.5	0.7	1.9	0.6	2	0	3	0
Road-Transport Drivers	0.6	1.7	0.3	0.0	0	0	0	0
Salesmen and Shop Assistants	3.2	2.8	4.1	0.6	0	0	1	0
Miscellaneous—Other	12.0	7.6	5.2	6.5	5	3	4	2
Has No Idea/Unemployed	14.2	2.8	5.1	1.7	64	44	36	11
Not Reported	9.1	8.9	5.1	4.5	6	4	2	1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

*Absolute figures and not percentages.

Only a few men wished to be petty traders/street vendors (Table 6.24) but to enable them to survive in their new environments, the proportions increased with those who actually accepted this position. Petty trading or being a street vendor usually involves selling consumer goods, of all types owned by another person (a relative or a friend or a non-relative employer). There are migrants who own stores and other commercial establishments, but since these responses refer to their first occupations, we can assume that they were employed by other people. This is a very low paid job and unless forced to do so, seldom will migrants wish to become street vendors. Bakers, millers and laborers in eating places are very low paid jobs but Frafra migrants take these, in any case, as a survival strategy. Mining is generally not an attractive occupation to Frafra migrants and therefore only a few wished to be this on arrival. The figures for first occupations, however, indicate that more became miners, probably after failing to secure target occupations or through the influence of relatives.

Female migrants have four basic job aspirations--(a) general laborers, (b) housekeeper/cook, (c) petty traders or street vendors, (d) seamstress/dressmaker. The first two occupations are also competed for by men and only a few women actually got employed as housekeepers or cooks. We should note that these figures do not necessarily refer to wives who are all included in the figures for "Had No Job/No Idea." Until quite recently it was mostly men who were employed as housekeepers or cooks. Men still predominate in that particular type of occupation but more women get employed today as maids than the case was during the colonial period or immediately after independence.

It is the ambition of many women to become seamstresses or to own a few items and sell as petty traders or streetside vendors. These two occupations are easily combined with household activities. But it involves a bit of substantial income either to receive training as a seamstress or to be a petty trader. This explains why only a few female migrants actually got these occupations although more had these two as their target occupations.

Previous research in Ghana has shown that there is a strong relationship between the type of occupation that a new arrival will do and the actual occupation of the relative or first person the migrant would live with (Peil, 1972, p. 169; Hart, 1969, p. 183). According to Peil,

> "When relatives are called on to find jobs for new arrivals, as many of them are, their first approach is probably to someone at their own workplace. This sometimes results in concentrations of workers from a given village among the workers at a given firm or government department. . . .Many ethnic concentrations are a result of chance factors of original hiring and hometown networks rather than deliberate policy" (1972, p. 169).

This was supported by data collected in the field (Table 6.26). The first occupations undertaken by migrants were not very different from what their hosts (relatives, friends, etc.) were doing.

Current Occupational Characteristics

Current occupations of migrants were closely related to their first occupations and of course those of the relatives they stayed with (Table 6.27). The dominant occupations for men were still the skilled and semi-skilled ones. A substantial proportion of the migrants were general laborers, with the old and very old migrants dominating in this

Table 6.26. When Your First Arrived Here, What Was the Occupation of the First Person You Stayed With?

Responses	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Laborers	44.0	39.5	49.4	45.3	38	36	33	15
Policemen, Guards, etc.	12.7	16.5	11.8	7.7	9	14	6	5
Housekeepers, Cooks, Maids	10.9	14.8	11.8	7.3	11	3	5	1
Miners, Quarrymen	6.5	6.5	4.5	5.6	1	0	0	0
Caretakers, Cleaners	1.5	2.8	0.6	2.2	7	0	0	1
Farmers	1.2	1.0	1.6	2.8	0	0	1	1
Petty Traders, Street Vendors	2.7	2.8	1.0	2.2	1	2	3	0
Architects, Engineers	0.9	2.7	1.3	1.7	0	0	1	0
Bakers, Millers, Food Processors	4.7	1.7	1.9	1.0	1	0	0	0
Road-Transport Drivers	1.8	2.8	0.3	1.1	0	0	1	0
Miscellaneous—Others	6.0	2.3	5.3	9.5	15	1	2	1
Has No Idea	3.0	2.1	4.1	6.2	1	5	3	0
Not Reported	4.1	4.5	6.4	7.3	11	0	4	2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

*Absolute figures and not percentages.

Table 6.27. What is Your Current Occupation?

Occupations	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Laborers—General	22.4	27.0	31.1	32.7	3	1	0	1
Housekeepers,Cooks	12.4	22.4	19.8	22.0	3	1	4	1
All Other Sales Workers	8.8	8.2	9.7	10.2	1	0	0	0
Miners, Quarrymen	2.8	5.1	6.2	8.0	0	0	0	0
Farmers/Farm Laborer	6.4	1.4	2.7	2.0	0	0	0	0
Worker in Eating Place	7.7	4.6	2.7	0.9	0	0	0	0
Farmers—Own Account	0.0	0.6	1.9	2.9	0	0	0	0
Petty Trader, Vendor	4.2	2.3	2.1	2.9	11	8	12	9
Salesman,Shop Asst.	2.8	2.6	3.8	1.0	1	0	0	0
Postmen, Messengers	2.3	1.1	0.0	0.0	1	0	0	0
Caretakers,Cleaners	1.8	2.6	0.8	1.5	0	0	0	0
Bakers, Millers, etc.	1.8	1.4	2.4	0.5	2	1	0	1
Road Transport/Drivers	0.5	2.3	0.8	0.5	0	0	0	0
Policemen,Guards	1.5	3.2	6.2	12.8	1	0	0	0
Dressmaker	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2	4	5	3
Miscellaneous—Others	2.0	3.0	3.2	0.1	4	2	4	1
Unemployed	23.5	10.8	5.1	1.7	65	42	30	8
Not Reported	0.6	1.4	1.5	0.0	1	2	4	2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

Chi-square test for independence was significant at .001 level.

*Absolute figures and not percentages.

occupation. Housekeeping or being cooks continue to attract some Frafra migrants. The number of people in a few other jobs such as, all other sales workers, miners and policemen/guards depend on the length of residence at the destinations. After the Second World War, quite a few ex-service men joined the army or the police force. It is also usually these ex-servicemen or former soldiers who are nightwatchmen. For the past five or so years recruiting in the army or police force has not been at the same level as it was years ago. All these help in explaining why for instance, 13 percent of the very old migrants were employed as policemen/guardmen or soldiers while only 2 percent of the recent migrants were in such occupations.

There are some jobs, however, which are dominated by the recent and intermediate migrants, especially the semi-skilled or skilled types. For instance, there were a few recent and intermediate migrants as postmen or messengers while the other two groups had nobody in these positions. This is solely a function of education because being a postman or a messenger calls for an ability to read. The recent and intermediate migrants dominate as workers in eating places (fufu pounders, dishwashers, etc.) because these are rather very strenuous occupations. Besides, the wages are very low such that migrants do not stay in such positions for long--they are highly temporary occupations. The few old and very old migrants in these occupations had "chop bars" of their own often offering services for other migrants. There were also one or two old migrants who were employed in eating places as supervisors of young Frafra migrant workers. It must be noted that restaurants or hotels are generally regarded as occupying a higher order than the common

establishments which sell food to the public. Thus, the many Frafra migrants working in hotels or restaurants regard themselves as cooks or stewards.

The seasonality of farm labor is reflected in the proportion of recent migrants who were farm laborers as compared with the figures for the other groups. But when we consider migrants who own farms of their own, we will realize that it is mostly those who have been out for long periods who own farms.

The current occupations of the females have not also changed much from what they first did. The dominant occupations for Frafra women are petty trading, dressmaking, housekeeping and selling bread. As already noted, being a petty trader or a seamstress on your own usually requires some capital, especially the latter where a sewing machine has to be purchased. In the field, it was found out that it is the ambition of quite a few migrants to save enough money and then buy sewing machines for their wives. In a majority of cases, those who were seamstresses were the wives of old and very old migrants who stayed in the South long enough to enable them to buy sewing machines.

Migrants do change their occupations from time to time depending on two main factors. In the first place, step-migration often results in change of occupation though there is no fast rule about it. The other factor is when a migrant fails to secure a real good job but is forced to take a low paid or a temporary one. When such a person obtains a better job in the future, the temporary or low paid one would be abandoned. The number of different occupations held is definitely a function of length of residence but on the whole many migrants have

either been consistent with one job or changed to another once--that is two different jobs (Table 6.28). The dynamics of kinship ties which promote the concentration of clan or ethnic members in one type of occupation continues to be a strong force in people engaging in the same type of work when even they move to another place. Of course, there is a possible third factor, which is the nature of the labor market. The Frafra migrant is unskilled and no matter where he goes to in Ghana the types of jobs available to the unskilled or semi-skilled are almost the same, especially the urban occupations.

Income-Property Analysis

Migrants on the whole have higher aspirations than what is really available to them. It was shown in Chapter V that intending migrants have higher expected incomes than what prevails at home or even at the destinations. In like manner, the migrants interviewed at the destinations indicated that most of them arrived at their various locations hoping to receive high wages or salaries (Table 6.29). These expected incomes are related to some of the high level jobs most of them were seeking on arrival (Table 6.24). A substantial proportion of the migrants in each group had target incomes ranging between ¢21.00 and ¢35.00. There were even some migrants who were hoping to receive above ¢40.00 a month. The wages or salaries which migrants received from their first jobs showed that there was a wide gap between their aspirations and what was really available to them (Table 6.30). The number of migrants who got jobs which paid above ¢35.00 were rather few, in contrast with the proportions in Table 6.29. The actual income figures also show that the salaries or wages of migrants have improved considerably in recent times. For instance,

Table 6.28. Number of Different Occupations Held Since the Migrant Left Home

Number of Occupations	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Only One	54.0	45.7	41.7	33.0	27	15	21	14
Two	25.4	40.9	39.8	47.5	1	4	4	2
Three	5.3	9.3	12.7	15.1	0	0	2	0
Four	0.9	1.0	2.6	1.7	0	0	0	0
Not Applicable/None	13.0	2.8	3.2	1.7	66	42	31	10
Not Reported	1.5	0.3	0.0	1.7				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

*Absolute numbers for females.

Table 6.29 When you First Arrived, How Much Money in a Month Were you Expecting to Earn?

Responses	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Recent Migrant (0-5 yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Less than ¢10.00	4.1	3.4	2.9	13.4	2	0	0	0
¢11.00-¢15.00	3.8	2.8	4.8	6.2	4	0	2	1
¢16.00-¢20.00	1.2	4.8	4.8	5.6	1	0	0	0
¢21.00-¢25.00	17.7	21.3	15.0	12.9	1	3	4	0
¢26.00-¢30.00	10.9	9.3	9.0	1.7	2	0	0	0
¢31.00-¢35.00	11.5	13.8	9.6	4.0	1	2	2	0
¢36.00-¢40.00	3.0	2.1	2.9	2.2	3	0	0	0
More than ¢40.00	17.4	19.9	15.6	15.1	4	3	1	1
None	5.3	1.7	3.9	1.7	62	38	41	16
Not Reported	25.1	21.0	28.7	37.4	15	15	9	8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

*Absolute numbers for females.

Table 6.30. How Much Money Did you Receive From Your First Occupation?

Responses	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Less than ¢10.00	12.4	15.1	18.5	30.7	1	0	0	1
¢11.00-¢15.00	6.2	11.4	11.8	12.7	4	1	1	0
¢16.00-¢20.00	6.2	9.4	12.6	11.2	1	2	2	1
¢21.00-¢25.00	15.9	19.6	17.2	8.3	0	0	0	0
¢26.00-¢30.00	17.0	16.8	11.8	7.3	2	1	0	0
¢31.00-¢35.00	5.8	7.7	8.3	5.9	0	0	0	0
¢36.00-¢40.00	0.5	0.8	0.8	4.4	0	0	0	0
More than ¢40.00	0.5	1.1	0.5	0.0	0	0	0	0
Not Applicable/ No Job	25.1	13.3	10.7	6.3	85	54	55	23
Not Reported	10.4	4.8	7.8	12.7	2	3	1	1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

*Absolute figures and not percentages.

12 percent of the recent migrants received less than ₵10.00 as compared with the 19 percent and 31 percent for the old and very old migrants, respectively.

In recent years the cost of living has forced many employers, including the government, to increase the wages of workers. The wages received today by an average worker is probably three or four times what his counterpart was paid about twenty years ago.

Few women arrived at the destinations with any job aspirations or income targets. However, as we have noted elsewhere, more single females move today than was the case in the past. This factor is reflected in the number of recent females who reported that they had target incomes on arrival as compared with the figures for the old and very old female migrants (Table 6.29).

The wages currently received by migrants still reflect the nature of the low paid jobs which most of them are employed in (Table 6.31). Those who received less than ₵20.00 a month were the street vendors, the boys who helped in establishments which made food for sale to the public and many other odd jobs. Almost all the other occupations are of the unskilled type, but apparently those who have stayed at the destinations for longer periods receive more wages. The migrants who received above ₵60.00 were the old and very old migrants, especially the latter.

A majority of the females who were employed received low wages. Apart from those who are employed in the public sector, female occupations such as street vendoring/petty trading, sales girl, sewing, helping in a home, etc. are all low paid jobs. Besides, there were no female migrants who had stayed continuously for long periods at one job which

Table 6.31. How Much Money in a Month Do You Make From Your Present Job?

Responses	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Less than ¢20.00	13.3	8.2	4.5	1.7	16	8	7	4
¢21.00-¢25.00	20.1	4.8	7.3	2.8	3	3	3	2
¢26.00-¢30.00	29.5	25.1	10.1	8.8	0	2	3	1
¢31.00-¢40.00	10.0	35.2	40.2	41.8	4	3	5	2
¢41.00-¢50.00	2.7	9.0	19.6	31.0	2	1	3	3
¢51.00-¢60.00	0.3	5.5	10.0	9.2	0	0	2	3
¢61.00-¢70.00	0.0	0.0	1.7	2.3	0	0	0	0
¢71.00 and Over	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	0	0	0	0
Unemployed	23.5	10.8	5.1	1.7	65	42	30	8
Not Reported	0.6	1.4	1.5	0.0	5	2	6	3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

*Absolute figures and not percentages.

would have earned them high wages. For example, a few of the miners, policemen and soldiers, general laborers and housekeepers/cooks were receiving salaries twice or three times what an average migrant was making. In Obuasi one of the respondents was a senior employee at the mines--a bossman or a supervisor over many other miners. Although he had little education he rose through the ranks and was living in one of the houses (bungalow) owned by the mining authorities for their senior officers. He was the most successful Frafra migrant in Obuasi and although he was not the Headman of the Frafra community there, he was regarded as an important person--one of the key Frafra elders in Obuasi.

Quite a few migrants have other sources of income apart from their regular jobs (Table 6.32). Some migrants have other jobs from which they earn extra income. Many unskilled workers in the towns do at times have the advantage of possessing two regular jobs or one regular occupation and then do all kinds of odd jobs in order to supplement the income. Night watchmen do occasionally have another job which they do in the daytime and then carry out their duties of watching property in the night. A good proportion of Frafra migrants are conservancy laborers--keeping the towns and cities clean as janitors. Such people do their work either in the first few hours of every evening or in the early hours of each morning. This leaves them many hours in the day to take on another job often, as another laborer in road building or construction. In Kumasi, a few of such workers had second jobs in timber saving mills, in the market selling their own wares or working for another person. As can be noted from Table 6.32 the possibility of having another job depends very much on how long the migrant has been at the destinations. Having a

Table 6.32. Apart From Your Job, Name Other Sources of Income

Responses	Males				Females			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Own Property Houses	0.0	2.4	5.2	8.9	1	1	0	1
Own Property Livestock	1.8	0.7	0.6	1.7	0	0	0	0
Own Houses and Livestock	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.1	0	0	0	0
Gambling	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.6	0	0	0	0
Private Business	0.3	1.4	4.8	3.9	1	2	0	0
Other	1.2	2.1	1.9	0.6	0	0	1	1
Another Job	4.7	7.2	8.0	13.4	0	0	2	1
Not Applicable/ None	90.9	85.9	78.9	68.7	92	59	56	23
Not Reported	1.2	0.3	0.0	1.1	1	0	0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

second job requires knowing the urban environment as well as having some established good relationships with employers. Some migrants do own private businesses such as stores, watch repairing, etc. in addition to their regular jobs. Owning a commercial store while still a regular worker might involve having the wife or any other relative as the storekeeper. Property owned, for example, houses and livestock, are all other sources of income for quite a few migrants. To be able to build a house will depend on how long one has worked. The respondents who owned houses were, therefore, the old and very old migrants.

So far, we have noted that many female migrants were not working--they are either housewives or unemployed. Obtaining the initial occupation could be a problem consequently, there are very few of them who have other sources of income apart from their regular jobs.

As a result of the other sources of income which migrants have, it was realized in the field that most of them made more than what their main jobs paid them (Table 6.33). It was pointed out by many migrants that it would have been very difficult for them to survive if they had no other sources of income. The proportions of unemployed people among the old and very old migrants in Table 6.32 drop in Table 6.33. This can be explained by the fact that some of the old and very old migrants have been pensioned but a few own establishments such as commercial stores, houses, etc. and these are good sources of income, either on monthly or yearly basis.

The cost of living at these destinations is so high that at times migrants find it very difficult to support themselves without relying on relatives and friends. The group of people who suffer most are the

Table 6.33. What is Your Total Income Per Month?

Responses	Males				Females*			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Less than ¢20.00	13.3	8.9	4.5	1.7	16	8	7	4
¢21.00-¢25.00	8.3	4.8	7.3	2.7	3	3	3	2
¢26.00-¢30.00	15.3	19.9	10.5	8.4	0	2	3	1
¢31.00-¢40.00	24.5	34.2	34.4	30.7	4	3	5	2
¢41.00-¢50.00	10.9	16.2	23.9	29.6	2	1	3	3
¢51.00-¢60.00	2.7	4.8	9.3	11.7	0	0	2	3
¢61.00-¢70.00	0.3	0.7	7.5	12.2	0	0	0	0
¢71.00 and Over	0.0	0.7	0.0	3.0	0	0	0	0
Not Working	23.5	9.8	1.1	0.0	65	42	30	8
Not Reported	1.2	0.0	1.5	0.0	5	2	6	3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

*Absolute figures for females.

unemployed, a group to be discussed later in this chapter. Generally, migrants have to meet the cost of food, housing, clothing, remittances to relatives and family back home, and miscellaneous expenses (Table 6.34). Migrants in the farming areas are better off in terms of supporting themselves. The food is cheaper than what is found in the towns. Since they live in rural areas expenses on housing, clothes and a few other basic items for their survival are relatively cheaper than what their urban counterparts have to pay. A study in Kenya recently revealed that migrants spend their income in the following manner: (a) school fees, 12.1 percent; (b) paying of debts, 1.7 percent; (c) maintenance of farm, 3.6 percent; (d) support of family and friends, 96 percent (Johnson, and Whitslaw, 1972, p. 3). The situation is quite different among Frafra migrants. In the first place, parents spend very little on school fees, especially during the elementary school stage. What parents may spend on will be school uniform, a few books and related items which they will have to purchase for their children and dependents attending school. Maintenance of the farm may not be an important consideration among Frafra migrants because the compound farming system at home often needs very little maintenance. During the research period it was also found out that when migrants move, they seldom continue to maintain their farm land, if they had any, back home. Perhaps, it is only those who have their own farms in the food and cocoa producing areas who might invest some money in farm maintenance. Among Frafra migrants, therefore, supporting themselves and their families, and paying off their debts are the most important expenditure items. When we examine the proportion of people who make remittances home it will be realized that it is not

Table 6.34. Percentage Distribution of Estimated Monthly Expenditure of Migrants on Food, Clothing, Gifts, etc.

Amount	Type of Expenditure															
	Food				Clothing				Remittances Home				Miscellaneous Expenditure			
	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Less than ₵5.00	16.1	16.2	11.0	7.8	6.4	8.5	12.1	8.8	18.0	31.0	27.1	31.2	18.9	18.2	28.1	24.9
₵5.00+ to ₵6.00	20.3	33.2	30.8	19.5	7.4	9.1	7.5	9.3	4.2	7.1	7.2	7.8	3.9	6.2	6.2	9.3
₵6.00+ to ₵7.00	10.4	13.9	15.8	18.5	5.3	5.4	5.4	3.9	0.5	4.0	3.0	0.5	1.2	0.3	0.5	0.5
₵7.00+ to ₵8.00	5.8	7.4	10.2	14.6	1.8	2.3	0.6	1.9	0.0	0.3	0.5	2.0	0.2	0.6	0.8	0.5
₵8.00+ to ₵9.00	0.9	1.1	3.8	5.9	4.2	6.5	5.6	4.4	1.1	1.7	2.7	2.4	0.7	1.1	0.3	1.0
₵10.00+ to ₵15.00	0.7	2.6	5.1	7.3	2.5	2.8	1.6	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.0
₵15.00+ to ₵20.00	0.0	0.3	0.8	3.4	21.2	29.3	28.4	25.4	2.1	6.5	5.9	7.3	2.3	2.8	2.4	2.4
More than ₵20.00	0.0	0.0	1.3	1.5	0.9	2.8	5.9	6.3	0.9	1.7	3.0	1.5	0.2	0.3	0.5	1.9
No Job or does not spend on this item	40.5	22.2	17.7	15.6	41.5	25.0	20.6	22.4	65.4	38.0	35.6	32.7	53.2	42.3	38.1	33.2
Not Reported	5.3	3.1	3.5	5.9	8.8	8.3	12.3	16.1	7.8	9.4	14.5	14.6	19.4	27.6	22.8	26.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205

Chi-square test for independence was significant at the .05 level.

*Key for migrant categories by length of residence: A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years);
B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years);
C = Old Migrants (11-20 years);
D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

everybody who sends gifts back home. The major reason often given for failing to do so was either insufficient income or lack of a job (unemployed people).

The benefits of migration in terms of property owned are clearly depicted in Tables 6.35 and 6.36. Before the principal move some of the migrants had houses, livestock and farm land at home. We must note that some of these items are usually family owned property and not necessarily for one individual, especially the farmland and the livestock. In contrast the migrants go for modern items when they move to the South (Table 6.36). Only a few considered a job important to be included in the list. Clothes, shoes, etc. were regarded by many as being the most important property acquired at the destinations. All the other items--bicycles, sewing machines, watches, radios, furniture, etc. are also important because these are usually the target property of many migrants. Some rural people move in order to purchase these, especially a bicycle and a transistor radio. In a few instances, some migrants become satisfied with these and consequently make the return trip home. When migrants were asked to indicate the items they would take back home at the end of their stay, money, clothes of all types, bicycles, transistor radios, some furniture, etc. in that order were often given. These items are so important that before the migrant returns home, these might be purchased and sent to the relatives at home as gifts or as a step towards building some property at home in a gradual process.

Unemployment

One of the major problems facing many African nations today is the rising rate of unemployment in the major cities or towns. This has been

Table 6.35. What Type of Property Did you Own Before You Migrated From Home?

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Total Sample
Family House in Frafra	10.1	10.5	7.8	15.1	10.9
Farm/Land	1.6	2.3	6.2	8.3	4.6
Animals	6.7	5.7	8.6	5.4	6.6
Others	1.3	0.3	1.9	1.0	1.1
A House and Farm Land	11.5	12.5	6.7	8.3	9.7
A House and Animals	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.0	3.7
Animals, Farmalnd, Others	4.8	7.7	7.0	6.3	6.5
All of the Above	0.2	0.3	0.5	1.0	0.5
None	62.2	58.2	59.8	54.1	58.6
Not Reported	0.9	1.9	1.3	0.5	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205	1,364

Table 6.36. List What You Have Now Which You Did Not Own at Home?

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20+ Yrs)	Total Sample
A Job—Money	4.6	7.7	8.8	12.7	8.5
Clothes, Shoes, Etc.	47.2	38.0	28.4	20.5	33.5
Machines—Bicycles, Sewing	5.3	6.0	8.0	7.8	6.8
Watch, Transistor Radio, etc.	1.8	2.3	3.8	0.0	2.0
Spouse/Children	0.9	4.0	6.2	7.3	4.6
Furniture and Clothes	1.2	5.4	4.3	5.4	4.1
Radio, Cicycle, Clothes, etc.	2.8	6.8	6.7	7.8	6.0
Others	5.3	9.6	14.8	17.6	11.8
None of any Significance	28.6	18.5	16.9	18.5	20.6
Not Reported	2.3	1.7	2.1	2.4	2.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205	1,364

caused largely by the continued influx of people to these urban centers. Rural-urban migration is one of the major contributory factors in the creation of an excess of job seekers over jobs.

The 1960 census of Ghana reported that the urban population and rural areas had unemployment rates of 6.3 percent and 3.2 percent, respectively. In large towns with populations exceeding 10,000 people, unemployment rates (expressed as a percentage of the labor force) were as follows:

Age Group	15-19	20-24	25-44	45-	All Ages
Unemployment Rate	34	15	7	7	12

Source: Ghana 1960 Census Reports.

The preliminary reports of the 1970 census indicated that unemployment rates in Ghana as a whole did not change between 1960 and 1970 (6 percent each). There was, however, a rise in the male unemployment rate from 6.5 percent to 7.5 percent, which was accompanied by a drop in the female unemployment rate, from 5.2 percent in 1960, to 3.9 percent in 1970.[7]

The unemployment rates by age groups reveal the high incidence of unemployment rates among the young population. There are a few public employment centers in Ghana which keep records on the employment situation in Ghana. As remarked by Knight, a study of the data these centers compile reveals that in the second half of the 1960s, the proportion of newcomers (registrants with no previous employment experience) increased, and that

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[7]Ghana 1970 Census Report, Volume 11, June 1972, p. xxiv.

the largest increase in newcomers occurred among primary and middle school leavers without a middle school leaving certificate. Data for Accra alone revealed that less than one-sixth of registrants were born in Accra, and well over one-third of the registrants had no education at all (1972, p. 221).

There is definitely a relationship between length of residence and the number of people who will be in regular jobs (Table 6.37). Although a good proportion of the recent migrants were employed (76 percent) 24 percent were unemployed as compared with only 2 percent for the very old migrants. The labor market in the urban centers is now very tight for a variety of reasons. It has been difficult for the government to provide jobs for the numerous job seekers in the towns. Jobs which used to be the monopoly of migrants are now undertaken by the indigenous population--that is the original dwellers of the towns. The increased level of education in rural areas has raised the aspirations of many young people who flock into the towns for urban jobs. Also related to the above is the tendency of employers to enagage some of the floating unemployed middle scholars. In this way the employer may benefit twice--pay low wages and at the same time probably increase the level of efficiency, if the previous workers were uneducated. Thus, the uneduated new migrant in the town is highly disadvantaged in terms of securing a job apart from the very unskilled positions. Even there, he is likely to receive competition from middle school leavers desperately in need of jobs in order to continue to live in the town. These low paid jobs may be stepping stones to better positions in the future.

The causes of unemployment as given by the unemployed migrants throw

Table 6.37. Percentage Distribution of Unemployed Respondents (Extracted From Table 6.33)

Category	Males				Females			
	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Proportion in Paid Jobs	75.9	87.8	93.4	98.3	29	17	25	16
Unemployed Housewives	23.5	10.8	5.1	1.7	65	42	30	8
Not Reported	0.6	1.4	1.5	0.0	1	2	4	2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	339	291	314	179	95	61	59	26

more light on some of these points suggested above (Table 6.38). One interesting point about the table is the fact that there were a few who were unemployed because they did not want to work at the destinations they were. It is possible that some of these were about to move on to other destinations (step-wise migration) or were probably in those towns for short visits. When some migrants become frustrated about failing to find jobs they may decide that the best thing to do is to seek for any job in a different town, especially if there is another relative there. A few migrants, particularly the very old, quit working because wages were rather too low for them.

Almost all the female respondents who were unemployed were housewives (Table 6.37). As reported by the 1970 census, the rate of employment among females has increased in recent years. This can partly be explained by the increased number of educated females and also by the fact that many women do seek wage employment--both educated and uneducated.--than the case was years ago. A further reason for this is the increase in commercial activities of women in the retail and wholesale trade or petty trading in almost all the major towns in the country.

Processes of Step-Wise Migration

Basically, in terms of the characteristics of the movement itself, the migration process in the African environment either involves relocation by stages or one step migrations (Riddel and Harvey, M., 1972, p. 272). Step-migration is the process by which a migrant moves from his rural birth place to a city by a series of steps or stages, first to a local village, then on to a larger town and eventually to a major city (Thomas, 1970, p. 7). Riddel and Harvey held the same view about step-migration

Table 6.38. If You Are Presently Unemployed, What Do You Think Are the Main Reasons? Men Only.

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Too Little Education	23.0	12.2	5.5	0.0
No Jobs Available	32.0	41.9	38.9	39.0
Discrimination by Employers	2.5	0.0	5.6	0.0
Labor Office Not Doing Its Best	19.5	14.9	8.9	6.8
Wages are too Low	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.8
I Have No Idea	5.5	12.2	14.4	20.3
Do Not Want to Work Here	14.0	18.8	21.1	20.3
Miscellaneous, Other	3.5	0.0	5.6	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	87	26	34	16

in Africa when they described it as a process in which an individual or group of individuals migrate into higher order modes from rural areas, moving by way of intermediate centers (1972, p. 272).

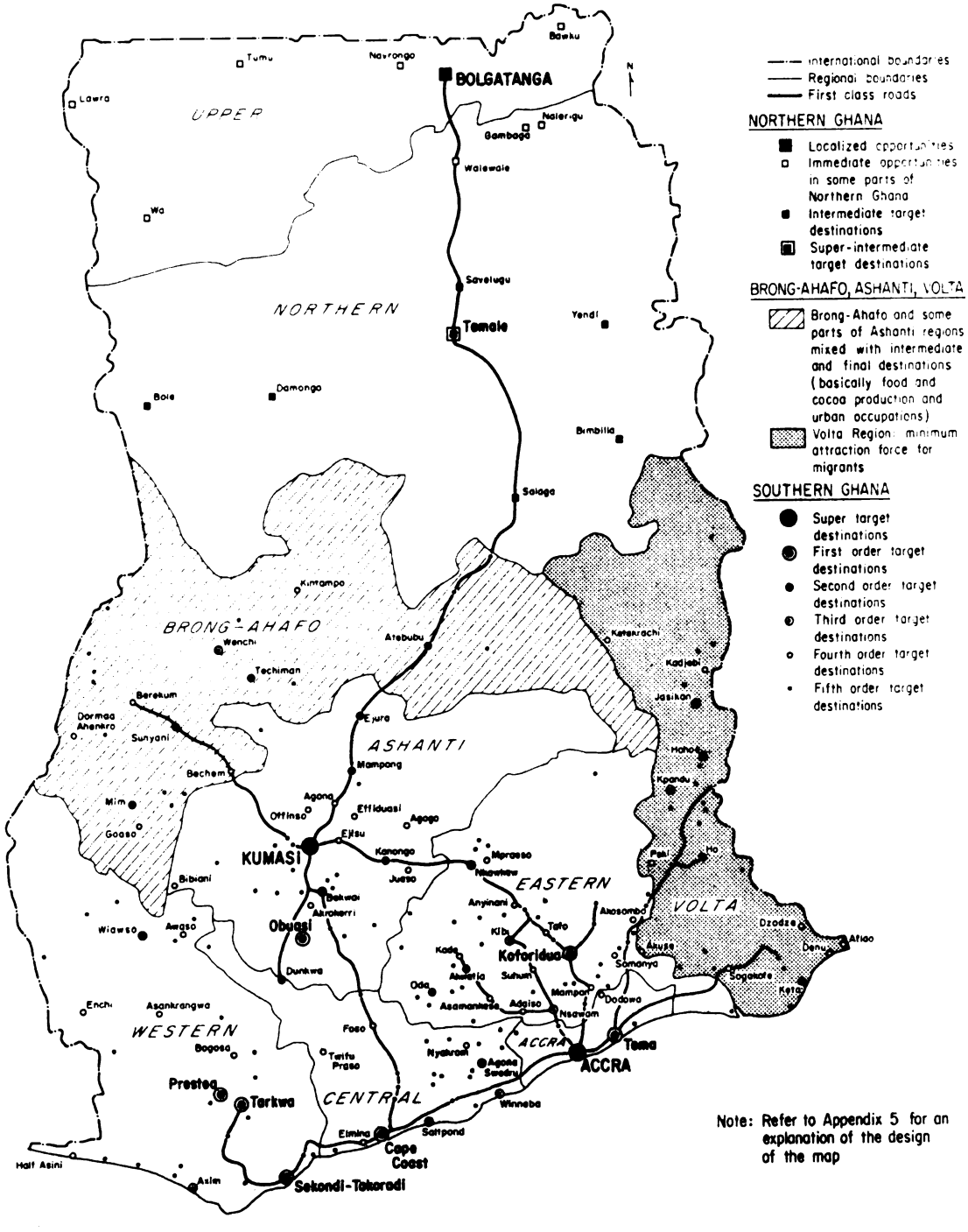
Step-wise migration has been a common phenomenon in Ghana, especially during the colonial period when the transportation network was not well developed as it is today. As would be expected, it was commonly indulged in by migrants who originated from the Northern Savannas, Upper Volta, Niger, etc., that is, areas which are far away from the major destinations in the South. Distance and transportation cost were, therefore, the first considerations in the generation of step-wise migration among migrants from the Northern Savannas.

When there was very little motor transportation in Ghana, many migrants travelled to the South on foot and in stages. It was a common practice to make stops and stay in intermediate towns for considerable lengths of time in order to pick up a few coins for the rest of the journey. When a majority of migrants started going to the South in lorries, it was not everybody who could provide the needed money to cover the transportation cost to their target destinations. To overcome this bottleneck in achieving some aspired goals, perceived to be located many miles away from home, determined migrants usually did the journey in stages. In this way, the few coins available at home were used to board a lorry to the nearest town. Here the migrant did all types of odd jobs, earned some money and paid for transporation costs to the next town. This continued for any number of stops until the migrant reached his target destination. Further, recruitment of labor by mining companies and the colonial administration encouraged step-wise migration in two possible ways. In

the first case, a recruited migrant could honor the "contract," work at the mine or on the farm for the agreed length of period, and then move to another destination of his own choosing. The second method was where the migrant took advantage of the free transportation, food, and accommodation offered by these companies enroute to the South, but on arrival ran away to a town of his own choosing. This was a serious problem, especially at the mines where many of the "volunteers took to flight on their arrival or only stayed a few days or months" (Rouch, 1954, p. 29). As one of the very old migrants put it, "This was a very effective and safe method of migrating to the South." It was effective in the sense that official recruiting, especially when carried out during the dry season, often received support from traditional leaders and consequently drew very little opposition from parents. With all the above mentioned facilities available, including a thorough medical examination, it was surely a "cushioned" system of migrating to the South insofar as some Frafra intending migrants were concerned.

Although these factors have been responsible for laying the foundations of step-migration in Ghana, it has been, to a large extent, the existence of intervening opportunities that account for the present patterns of this type of migration. Most of the target towns are in the central part of Ghana (forest region) or on the coast. There is a range of intervening opportunities between these target areas and the Northern Savannas, therefore, many migrants utilize these, ranging from agriculture activities to urban occupations (Figure 17). Variations in the levels of attraction these target towns hold for migrants, are related to the number of opportunities available and the number of relatives already living there.

FRAFRA MIGRATION IN GHANA:
A HIERARCHY OF TARGET DESTINATIONS
AND THE SPATIAL FRAMEWORK OF STEP-MIGRATION



Note: Refer to Appendix 5 for an explanation of the design of the map

0 25 50 Mi.

Sources: Ghana Survey Dept.; Grove and Huszar, 1964; and current research

Figure 17.

For example, if a migrant stays in any target town for a period of time and is dissatisfied with the opportunities there, he could decide to move on to another target town with better jobs and social facilities. This is more likely to happen after the migrant has been in the South and has a better awareness space about all the major destinations. It can be inferred from some of the step-migratory patterns that the forces that motivated the migrant to leave home in the first place are most likely to continue to be operative. Consequently, subsequent moves are generated until some level of satisfaction is achieved.

Kumasi and Accra are the super-target destinations to many Frafra migrants (Table 6.39 and Figure 17). It is quite obvious that most of the migrants utilize Tamale--a super-intermediate destination in Northern Ghana--before they move on to the South. Of course, there are a few who stay in Tamale permanently. In 1960, for example, 1,470 Frafra people were enumerated in the Tamale Urban Council. The next two important towns--Obuasi and Tarkwa--are mining towns and are therefore target destinations of the first order (Figure 17). The above patterns of step-wise or direct movements of Frafra migrants to the various destinations have been presented as a paradigm in Figure 18 (Figure 18).

Step-migration is so prevalent among Frafra migrants such that only 57 percent, 38 percent, 30 percent and 35 percent of the recent, intermediate, old and very old migrants, respectively, were still at the destinations they first stopped (Table 6.40).

There were migrants who made more than four stops at different towns before getting to their current locations. Apparently, there is a strong relationship between length of residence at the destinations

Table 6.39. Percentage Distribution of the Number of Stops Made by Migrants at Various Destinations: The Spatial Characteristics of Step-wise Migration

Towns Stopped In	First Stop/ Destination				Second Stop/ Destination				Third Stop/ Destination				Fourth Stop/ Destination				Accumulative Total For Four Stops			
Categories	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Kumasi	43.8	42.6	42.4	41.0	10.1	12.8	13.4	18.1	2.8	6.0	7.2	3.9	0.5	1.4	2.4	2.4	57.2	62.8	65.4	65.4
Accra	10.1	9.4	14.2	5.9	12.2	14.5	13.1	9.3	1.6	6.8	6.2	8.8	0.7	1.4	8.0	6.3	24.6	32.1	41.5	30.3
Tamale	19.6	20.5	5.6	16.6	4.1	3.4	1.9	4.9	0.9	2.8	1.1	2.0	0.9	2.6	2.4	3.4	25.5	29.3	11.0	26.9
Obuasi	4.2	5.4	4.0	4.9	2.8	4.3	4.0	2.9	0.5	0.6	1.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5	7.5	10.3	9.6	8.8
Tarkwa	3.5	2.6	2.7	2.4	0.5	3.4	2.4	2.4	0.5	1.1	1.6	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	4.5	7.1	7.0	7.2
Farming Towns—Ashanti	3.0	1.1	1.9	3.4	0.7	2.6	4.3	3.4	0.9	1.4	2.7	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	3.4	4.6	5.4	9.4	11.7
Sekondi/Takoradi	2.3	4.3	4.6	5.4	3.2	4.9	8.9	5.4	0.7	1.1	2.7	4.4	0.2	0.0	0.5	1.5	6.4	10.3	16.7	16.7
Konongo-Odumasi	1.6	2.0	1.6	2.4	0.5	1.1	1.6	2.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5	2.3	3.4	3.8	5.8
Sunyani	1.4	1.1	1.6	0.0	0.7	1.1	1.9	0.0	0.5	0.3	3.2	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	2.6	2.8	7.0	0.5
Akwatia	1.4	1.1	3.0	1.0	0.7	1.1	1.9	1.0	0.2	0.0	1.6	2.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	1.0	2.3	2.5	6.8	5.0
Tema	1.2	0.0	1.1	0.5	2.5	2.3	2.4	0.5	0.9	1.4	1.9	0.5	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.0	4.6	4.3	5.7	1.5
Bibiani	1.2	3.1	5.4	3.4	0.2	1.7	0.5	3.4	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	5.4	6.2	6.8
Nkawkaw	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.0
Techiman	0.7	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.6	1.9	0.5
Mampong Ashanti	0.0	0.6	1.3	2.0	0.0	0.6	1.1	2.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	2.4	4.0
Savelegu	0.5	0.0	0.3	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3	4.0
Oda	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.8	3.5
Cape Coast	0.5	0.3	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.8	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.2	1.8	4.0
Other Towns/Destinations	4.1	5.3	8.4	5.6	4.2	6.3	9.6	4.2	1.6	2.2	6.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.9	13.9	24.4	9.8
Made no Other Stop/Still at This Station	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	56.9	38.4	30.3	34.6	88.7	74.2	62.5	61.0	97.2	92.1	83.4	79.5	—	—	—	—
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205				

Key: *A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years); *B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years); *C = Old Migrants (11-20 years); *D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

Chi-Square Test for Independence was significant at the .001 level.

Table 6.39. Percentage Distribution of the Number of Stops Made by Migrants at Various Destinations: The Spatial Characteristics of Step-wise Migration

Towns Stopped In	First Stop/ Destination				Second Stop/ Destination				Third Stop/ Destination				Fourth Stop/ Destination				Accumulative Total For Four Stops			
Categories	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Kumasi	43.8	42.6	42.4	41.0	10.1	12.8	13.4	18.1	2.8	6.0	7.2	3.9	0.5	1.4	2.4	2.4	57.2	62.8	65.4	65.4
Accra	10.1	9.4	14.2	5.9	12.2	14.5	13.1	9.3	1.6	6.8	6.2	8.8	0.7	1.4	8.0	6.3	24.6	32.1	41.5	30.3
Tamale	19.6	20.5	5.6	16.6	4.1	3.4	1.9	4.9	0.9	2.8	1.1	2.0	0.9	2.6	2.4	3.4	25.5	29.3	11.0	26.9
Obuasi	4.2	5.4	4.0	4.9	2.8	4.3	4.0	2.9	0.5	0.6	1.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5	7.5	10.3	9.6	8.8
Tarkwa	3.5	2.6	2.7	2.4	0.5	3.4	2.4	2.4	0.5	1.1	1.6	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	4.5	7.1	7.0	7.2
Farming Towns--Ashanti	3.0	1.1	1.9	3.4	0.7	2.6	4.3	3.4	0.9	1.4	2.7	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	3.4	4.6	5.4	9.4	11.7
Sekondi/Takoradi	2.3	4.3	4.6	5.4	3.2	4.9	8.9	5.4	0.7	1.1	2.7	4.4	0.2	0.0	0.5	1.5	6.4	10.3	16.7	16.7
Konongo-Odumasi	1.6	2.0	1.6	2.4	0.5	1.1	1.6	2.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5	2.3	3.4	3.8	5.8
Sunyani	1.4	1.1	1.6	0.0	0.7	1.1	1.9	0.0	0.5	0.3	3.2	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	2.6	2.8	7.0	0.5
Akwatia	1.4	1.1	3.0	1.0	0.7	1.1	1.9	1.0	0.2	0.0	1.6	2.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	1.0	2.3	2.5	6.8	5.0
Tema	1.2	0.0	1.1	0.5	2.5	2.3	2.4	0.5	0.9	1.4	1.9	0.5	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.0	4.6	4.3	5.7	1.5
Bibiani	1.2	3.1	5.4	3.4	0.2	1.7	0.5	3.4	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	5.4	6.2	6.8
Nkawkaw	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.0
Techiman	0.7	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.6	1.9	0.5
Mampong Ashanti	0.0	0.6	1.3	2.0	0.0	0.6	1.1	2.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	2.4	4.0
Savelegu	0.5	0.0	0.3	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3	4.0
Oda	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.8	3.5
Cape Coast	0.5	0.3	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.8	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.2	1.8	4.0
Other Towns/Destinations	4.1	5.3	8.4	5.6	4.2	6.3	9.6	4.2	1.6	2.2	6.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.9	13.9	24.4	9.8
Made no Other Stop/Still at This Station	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	56.9	38.4	30.3	34.6	88.7	74.2	62.5	61.0	97.2	92.1	83.4	79.5	—	—	—	—
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205				

Key: *A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years); *B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years); *C = Old Migrants (11-20 years); *D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

Chi-Square Test for Independence was significant at the .001 level.

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Towns Stopped In	First Stop/ Destination				Second Stop/ Destination				Third Stop/ Destination				Fourth Stop/ Destination				Accumulative Total For Four Stops			
Categories	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Kumasi	43.8	42.6	42.4	41.0	10.1	12.8	13.4	18.1	2.8	6.0	7.2	3.9	0.5	1.4	2.4	2.4	57.2	62.8	65.4	65.4
Accra	10.1	9.4	14.2	5.9	12.2	14.5	13.1	9.3	1.6	6.8	6.2	8.8	0.7	1.4	8.0	6.3	24.6	32.1	41.5	30.3
Tamale	19.6	20.5	5.6	16.6	4.1	3.4	1.9	4.9	0.9	2.8	1.1	2.0	0.9	2.6	2.4	3.4	25.5	29.3	11.0	26.9
Obuasi	4.2	5.4	4.0	4.9	2.8	4.3	4.0	2.9	0.5	0.6	1.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5	7.5	10.3	9.6	8.8
Tarkwa	3.5	2.6	2.7	2.4	0.5	3.4	2.4	2.4	0.5	1.1	1.6	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	4.5	7.1	7.0	7.2
Farming Towns—Ashanti	3.0	1.1	1.9	3.4	0.7	2.6	4.3	3.4	0.9	1.4	2.7	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	3.4	4.6	5.4	9.4	11.7
Sekondi/Takoradi	2.3	4.3	4.6	5.4	3.2	4.9	8.9	5.4	0.7	1.1	2.7	4.4	0.2	0.0	0.5	1.5	6.4	10.3	16.7	16.7
Konongo-Odumasi	1.6	2.0	1.6	2.4	0.5	1.1	1.6	2.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5	2.3	3.4	3.8	5.8
Sunyani	1.4	1.1	1.6	0.0	0.7	1.1	1.9	0.0	0.5	0.3	3.2	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	2.6	2.8	7.0	0.5
Akwatia	1.4	1.1	3.0	1.0	0.7	1.1	1.9	1.0	0.2	0.0	1.6	2.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	1.0	2.3	2.5	6.8	5.0
Tema	1.2	0.0	1.1	0.5	2.5	2.3	2.4	0.5	0.9	1.4	1.9	0.5	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.0	4.6	4.3	5.7	1.5
Bibiani	1.2	3.1	5.4	3.4	0.2	1.7	0.5	3.4	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	5.4	6.2	6.8
Nkawkaw	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.0
Techiman	0.7	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.6	1.9	0.5
Mampong Ashanti	0.0	0.6	1.3	2.0	0.0	0.6	1.1	2.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	2.4	4.0
Savelegu	0.5	0.0	0.3	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3	4.0
Oda	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.8	3.5
Cape Coast	0.5	0.3	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.8	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.2	1.8	4.0
Other Towns/Destinations	4.1	5.3	8.4	5.6	4.2	6.3	9.6	4.2	1.6	2.2	6.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.9	13.9	24.4	9.8
Made no Other Stop/Still at This Station	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	56.9	38.4	30.3	34.6	88.7	74.2	62.5	61.0	97.2	92.1	83.4	79.5	—	—	—	—
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205				

Key: *A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years); *B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years); *C = Old Migrants (11-20 years); *D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

Chi-Square Test for Independence was significant at the .001 level.

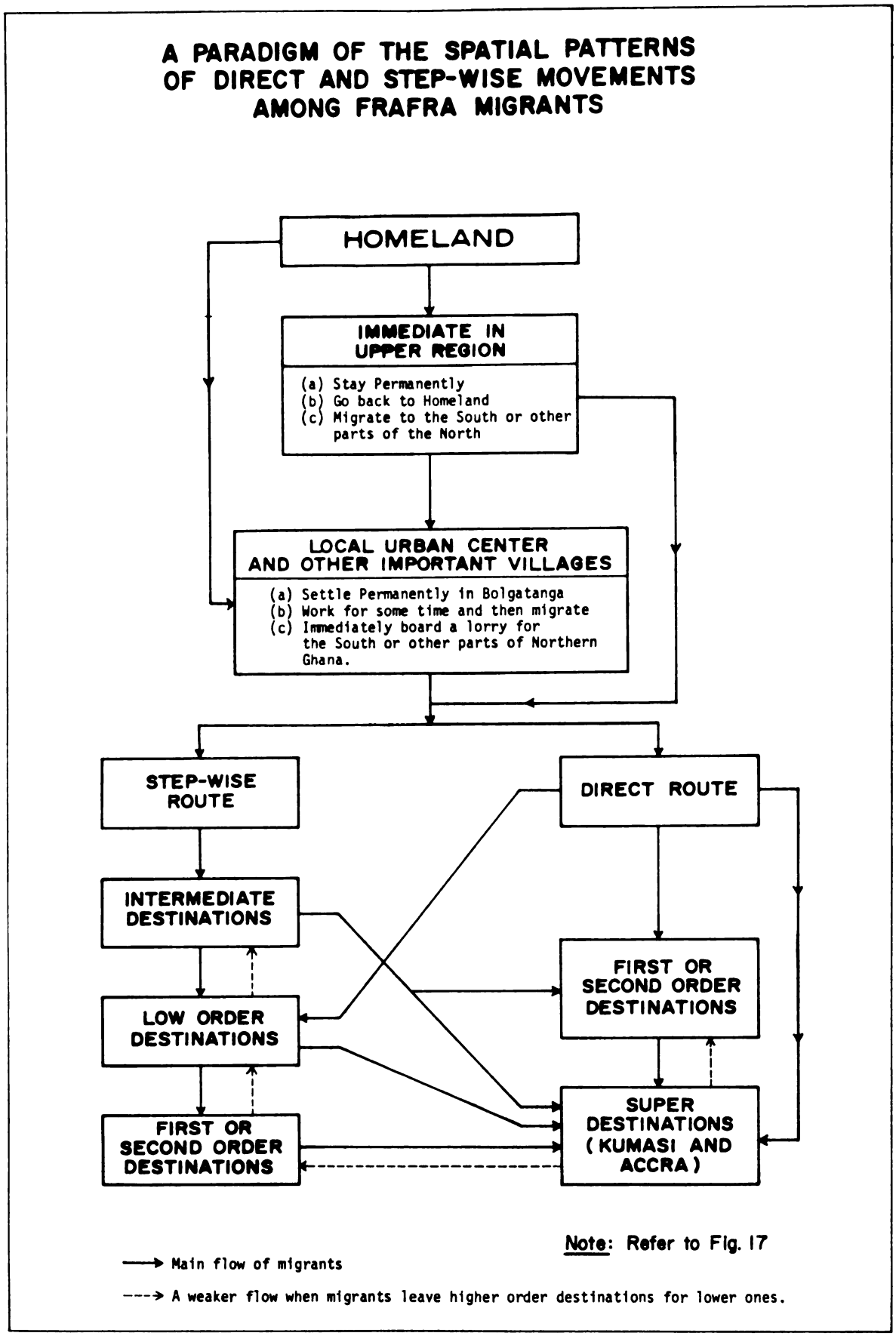
A PARADIGM OF THE SPATIAL PATTERNS OF DIRECT AND STEP-WISE MOVEMENTS AMONG FRAFRA MIGRANTS
HOMELAND
IMMEDIATE IN UPPER REGION
(a) Stay Permanently
(b) Go back to Homeland
(c) Migrate to the South or other parts of the North
LOCAL URBAN CENTER AND OTHER IMPORTANT VILLAGES
(a) Settle Permanently in Bolgatanga
(b) Work for some time and then migrate
(c) Immediately board a lorry for the South or other parts of Northern Ghana.
STEP-WISE ROUTE
DIRECT ROUTE
INTERMEDIATE DESTINATIONS
LOW ORDER DESTINATIONS
FIRST OR SECOND ORDER DESTINATIONS
FIRST OR SECOND ORDER DESTINATIONS
SUPER DESTINATIONS (KUMASI AND ACCRA)
Note: Refer to Fig. 17
Main flow of migrants
A weaker flow when migrants leave higher order destinations for lower ones.

Figure 18.

and the number of possible step-wise stops made by a migrant in his search for better opportunities. Only 3 percent of the recent migrants made about four stops as compared with 21 percent for the very old migrants (Table 6.40). There was evidence in the field to suggest that nowadays many intending migrants leaving home indulge very little in step-migration unlike their compatriots in the past. For one thing, there is a better awareness now in the homeland about the destinations so that intending migrants can easily determine at home the particular towns to migrate to. Further, the sound foundation of chain migration in Frafra facilitates direct movements to relatives already at destinations. Besides, the easy flow of motor traffic between the North and the South help to enhance more direct trips than the step-wise ones to the destinations.

Table 6.40. Percentage Distribution of the Number of Stops Made by Migrants.

Number of Stops	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
One Stop--still at first destination	56.9	38.4	30.3	34.6
Two Stops	31.8	35.8	32.2	26.4
Three stops	8.5	17.9	20.9	18.5
Four or More	2.8	7.9	16.6	20.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Note: This table is derived from Table 6.39 utilizing the figures for reponse "Made No Other Stop/Still at this Station."

Migrants do utilize opportunities in the various destinations at which they stop for periods ranging from a few months to even more than 10 years (Table 6.41). The length of residence at the first destinations by the four migrant categories seems to be evenly distributed except that a majority of the recent migrants stayed at the first stops for periods ranging from a few months to two years. It is also quite evident that wherever possible the migrants stayed at destinations for periods between five and ten years. Of course, a few resided at some stops for more than ten years. The reasons given for their departure from one destination to another helps in explaining the lengths of these periods (Table 6.42).

The search for better jobs was often the dominant motive for migrating from one destination to another and was equally an important consideration among all the four migrant categories. The second important reason was "in order to return home." This is indicative of the extent of cyclical labor migration among Frafra migrants. Some of the migrants left some destinations and went back home--either for long periods or on short visits--but never returned to the same towns as before. A majority of such people changed their destinations in order to seek better jobs in other locations.

It might be a little difficult for a migrant to transfer direct from one town to another, in terms of leaving friends or relatives or previous jobs behind, but such a difficulty can be circumvented when the transfer is made directly <u>after</u> a visit home.

Employees in the private or government sector do get transferred from one town to another and therefore some of the migrants left previous destinations because of this factor. Related to this is the number of

Table 6.41. Percentage Distribution of Length of Residence at Four Different Destinations

Responses	First Stop Destination				Second Stop Destination				Third Stop Destination				Fourth Stop Destination			
Categories	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
0 - 6 months	21.4	9.7	6.2	6.8	7.8	5.1	4.6	3.4	2.1	1.4	2.4	2.4	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.5
7 -12 months	10.4	7.7	4.8	3.4	5.5	5.1	4.8	2.0	2.3	2.3	3.2	2.4	0.2	0.9	0.5	2.0
13 months- 2 yrs	23.5	13.4	11.8	6.8	11.1	8.8	5.1	7.3	3.5	3.7	4.0	3.9	1.2	2.0	1.1	2.0
2 yrs 1 month -3 yrs	18.0	14.2	11.8	9.3	9.9	7.1	8.6	5.4	1.2	4.6	4.8	3.4	0.0	1.4	1.6	0.5
3 yrs 1 month -4 yrs	13.1	8.0	10.5	4.4	4.8	5.7	7.5	5.4	0.9	3.1	3.2	1.0	0.2	0.9	1.9	1.0
4 yrs 1 month- 5 yrs	11.3	4.3	7.2	5.9	2.1	8.5	5.9	3.4	0.0	3.1	3.8	4.4	0.2	0.6	2.7	0.5
5 years - 10 years	0.0	40.3	11.5	19.5	0.0	17.9	16.9	10.7	0.0	5.7	10.5	8.3	0.0	1.1	5.1	2.9
More than 10 years	0.0	0.0	33.0	41.5	0.0	0.0	13.7	24.9	0.0	0.0	4.0	12.2	0.0	0.0	1.6	9.3
No Answer/Still at this Station	2.3	2.6	3.2	2.4	58.8	41.8	33.0	37.6	90.1	76.1	64.1	62.0	97.7	93.2	85.0	81.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205

Key: *A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years)

*B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years)

*C = Old Migrants (11-20 years)

*D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

Chi-Square Test for Independence was significant at the .05 level.

Table 6.42. Percentage Distribution of the Reasons for Step-wise Movements Between Destinations by Migrants

Reasons	First Stop Destination				Second Stop Destination				Third Stop Destination				Fourth Stop Destination				Accumulative Total for Four Choices			
Categories	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
To Find a Better Job	23.3	35.8	33.0	28.3	7.4	13.1	16.3	9.7	2.1	2.6	7.8	4.4	0.0	0.3	1.1	0.5	32.8	84.6	58.2	42.9
I was Transferred	1.2	3.7	4.8	6.3	0.7	1.7	4.8	7.3	0.0	1.4	2.7	3.9	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.5	1.9	8.7	12.6	19.0
My Employer was Transferred	0.7	2.3	4.3	2.4	0.5	0.3	3.0	3.9	0.0	0.6	1.1	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	3.2	8.4	7.3
To Further Education/Trade	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.3	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.3	0.6	1.5
In Order to Return Home	11.5	10.8	15.0	14.6	1.4	4.3	5.6	7.3	0.2	0.8	2.9	6.8	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	13.1	15.9	24.0	29.2
Misunderstanding with Relatives/Friends	2.3	1.7	6.4	5.4	0.2	1.1	3.0	3.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	2.8	9.4	9.8
For Health Reasons	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.6	0.3	1.5
Others—Miscellaneous	0.2	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.2	0.5	1.0
Still at this Station	55.5	38.1	29.5	34.6	87.8	74.1	62.7	60.5	97.2	91.2	83.1	79.5	99.5	98.9	97.3	96.1	340.0	302.3	272.6	270.7
No Idea/Not Reported	4.4	6.3	5.9	7.3	1.4	5.1	4.3	5.4	0.5	3.1	2.4	2.9	0.5	0.8	0.8	1.4	6.8	22.1	13.4	17.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	400.0	400.0	400.0	400.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205				

Key *A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years)

*B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years)

*C = Old Migrants (11-20 years)

*D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

Note: 0-5 years, about 11.5 percent made visits back home and returned to the South, indicative of the extent of cyclical movements by some migrants.

houseboys, cooks, etc. who usually move with their transferred employers. For example, if a senior civil servant in Kumasi is transferred to Accra and he has a trustworthy houseboy it will be cheaper and more convenient to move with this houseboy than to hire a new person on arrival in Accra.

Misunderstanding with family members, relatives or friends at these destinations can also generate step-wise migration. Just as the existence of a relative in any town can attract other relatives or siblings to the same place, by the same token family discord can disperse such relatives over many towns. As most of them pointed out, the urban centers have one advantage which the rural environment back home has not. In the town, if there is a family misunderstanding any of the members who do not want to move to another town can simply change the residential location--that is try to have some social distance between himself and the other dissenting party. This cannot be easily achieved in the same manner in the rural environment. On the whole, there are all sorts of social mechanisms and sanctions which help to keep blood relationships intact, hence the low figures for the response "Misunderstanding with relatives" in Table 6.42.

One interesting point which is rather difficult to explain, is the fact that more of the old and very old migrants changed their destinations as a result of misunderstanding with relatives/friends than did the recent and intermediate migrants. It is difficult because during those periods, Frafra migrants were few, hence one would have expected more harmony than the case would be today when Frafra migrants are numerous in the South. Also, those were the days the spirit of youthful independence was low, as compared with the level of "freedom" which educated and urban youths have today. One plausible explanation could be the continuous insistence in

the past by parents and some relatives in requesting migrants to return home. If a migrant was located in the South and asked to return home and he was not prepared to do, perhaps the best line of action was to change his destination.

Other factors which made migrants change their destinations were for health reasons, to further education/trade, and a few others. Usually, a few seriously ill migrants do change destinations to other locations where there are better health facilities or return home if there is the belief that it will only be local treatment (herbs, etc.) that will cure the disease. A change of destination, in order to further education, usually involves those in schools--say from middle school to secondary school or to a teachers training college or commercial school. There are also a few migrants who may be lucky enough to be selected by their employers for further training in another part of Ghana--but this is a rather rare occurrence.

The nature or extent of step-wise migration can further be analyzed by using the responses on where migrants were enumerated in both the 1960 and 1970 censuses. These were the best censuses to be carried out in Ghana. Apart from deriving almost accurate data from these two censuses, we can use the intercensal period of ten years to examine the characteristics of movements by Frafra migrants. The counting of people was both an extensive and effective exercise thus almost all grown up Ghanaians remember the two censuses (Table 6.43(a) and 6.43(b)).

The first obvious observation is the proportion of the recent and intermediate migrants who were enumerated at home in 1960--93 percent and 90 percent for the recent and intermediate migrants, respectively.

Table 6.43(a). Where Were you Enumerated for the Ghana 1960 Population Census?

Response	Recent Migrant (0-5 yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Hometown in Frafra	93.3	90.3	40.2	5.8
Another Town/Village in				
Upper Region	1.4	0.7	0.5	0.0
Northern Region	2.5	0.6	4.3	9.3
Brong-Ahafo	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.5
Ashanti	0.0	0.0	27.1	45.8
Volta Region	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Eastern Region	0.0	0.0	3.7	3.4
Western Region	0.0	0.0	12.1	14.6
Central Region	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.0
Greater Accra	0.0	0.0	5.4	17.6
Cannot Tell--Forgotten	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Was Not Enumerated	1.4	0.6	1.3	0.5
Not Reported	1.4	2.6	1.6	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Table 6.43(b). Where Were You Enumerated for the Ghana 1970 Population Census?

Response	Recent Migrant (0-5 yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Hometown in Frafra	34.8	4.6	4.8	4.8
Another Town/Village in				
Upper Region	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.0
Northern Region	10.4	12.5	5.4	6.8
Brong-Ahafo	3.0	1.7	4.6	0.5
Ashanti	28.3	37.8	34.6	45.8
Volta Region	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0
Eastern Region	1.6	2.8	4.6	3.4
Western Region	6.2	12.2	15.8	13.7
Central Region	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.5
Greater Accra	12.9	26.1	27.1	22.0
Cannot Tell--Forgotten	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0
Was Not Enumerated	1.2	0.6	0.8	1.0
Not Reported	0.5	1.1	1.6	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

This at least suggests that a majority of Frafra migrants make the initial move from home. About 39 percent and 5 percent of the recent and intermediate migrants, respectively were enumerated at home in 1970. The 1970 census took place in March-April, 1970 and this research was conducted between April and December, 1972. Thus, we can assume that it was between March-April 1970 and April-December, 1972 that 35 percent of the recent migrants and 5 percent of the intermediate migrants moved from home. It was pointed out earlier that a few of the migrants utilize the immediate and intermediate locations in the Upper and Northern Regions and then later on move to some destinations in the South. In 1970, for example, 10.4 percent of the recent migrants were enumerated in the Northern Region, but only 6.0 percent of these were interviewed in Northern Ghana during this research. Hence between 1970 and 1972, 4.4 percent of recent migrants moved from intermediate areas in the Northern Region to the South. Another striking pattern about these two migrant categories (recent and intermediate) is their dispersed distributions in all the regions during the intercensal period, except the Volta Region, but with concentrations in regions with the super-destinations (Ashanti and Greater Accra).

An analysis of the responses of the remaining two groups--old and very old migrants--among other factors, portrays the extent of cyclical movements among Frafra migrants. In 1960, 40 percent of the old migrants (away from home for 11-20 years and interviewed for this research in the South) and 6 percent of the very old migrants (away for more than 20 years) were enumerated in their hometowns in Frafra. In 1970, 5 percent of each of these two groups were still enumerated at home and not at the destinations. If the migrants were right, and there is no reason to doubt

responses, then there are two possible explanations. Cyclical labor migration, whereby migrants return to their home towns and rejoin the migration stream is one possible explanation. It is possible for a migrant to do this many times, especially the seasonal migrants. It is also known that migrants make frequent visits back home for short periods, a topic to be discussed in the next chapter. Thus, returned migrants who were enumerated at home but who migrated again is the first explanation. Although there is no reference to this in the census reports, it is most likely that some migrants return to their hometowns during the census periods to make sure that they are counted in their ancestral lands. Probably more research is needed in this area to determine to what extent population counts in Ghana generate movements of people, especially back to their hometowns.

In 1960, 27 percent and 46 percent of the old and very old migrants, respectively, were enumerated in Ashanti Region. In 1970, 35 percent and 46 percent of the old and very old migrants, respectively, were enumerated in the same region. Although 7 percent more old migrants moved into Ashanti region, mostly Kumasi, we can infer that the Ashanti region with its numerous opportunities--urban jobs, mines, food and cocoa production--tends to encourage many migrants to stay there for longer periods. If we compare figures for the two groups for Greater Accra in 1960 and 1970 it will be realized that migrants continue to move from other destinations to Accra, hence it has a rather an unstable migrant population. It was noted that since independence (1957) Accra has continued to be the most centrepetal destination for many Ghanaian migrants.

The proportion of old and very old migrants who were enumerated in

the Western region in 1960 and 1970 did not change much, except in the twin city of Sekondi-Takoradi, Tarkwa and Prestea, the two main gold mining towns, in the Western Region. Even though mining has not attracted many migrants, it is an occupation which, if wholeheartedly undertaken, can keep an individual from home for long periods. This is so because of the pension benefits, the long service awards and the social facilities available to workers at the mines (to be discussed in Chapter VII).

From the above, it is evident that step-wise migration is a widely practiced phenomenon. There was every evidence to show that as long as there are differences in the attractions of the various destinations, step-migration will continue for a long time among Frafra migrants (Table 6.44). The increased unemployment rate in Ghana, coupled with the fact that more young educated people are moving to the urban centers--a competition which uneducated Frafra migrants will have to face--it is most likely that the level of step-wise movements will increase in the future. This will probably be more prevalent among migrant ethnic groups who have no specialized skills or occupations but are rather dispersed in all occupations and destinations in the whole country as the Frafra migrants are.

Table 6.44. What Would Make You Decide to Leave This Town for Another Place in the South?

Response	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Cannot find a Job	21.2	11.6	18.5	13.2
Lost My Job	34.6	44.6	44.5	44.4
Wages Too Low	2.8	5.7	4.3	4.9
Tired of Present Job	0.7	1.1	0.8	1.0
Tired of Living Here	21.9	17.9	16.3	19.0
On Transfer, Pensioned	0.9	1.7	3.0	2.4
Decision of Husband	10.8	11.6	8.3	8.3
Ill Health	4.4	3.1	3.5	3.4
Not Reported	4.4	3.1	3.5	3.4
No Idea	1.2	0.8	0.3	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

CHAPTER SEVEN

A SYSTEMS ANALYSIS OF FRAFRA MIGRATION: STREAM AND COUNTER STREAM FLOWS

The Migration Process and Rural-Urban Links

Numerous researchers in Africa have proven that the majority of urban dwellers are an integral part of both of the towns they live in and of the villages they migrated from. Wallerstein, for instance, in discussing the rural-urban link refers to migrants in West African cities as a "quasi-proletariat" (1967, p. 501). According to Caldwell,

> "When the migrant has reached the city, found a job and established himself in reasonably satisfactory housing, he has usually not completed a once-and-for-all operation. Very few migrants begin a new life and forget the old. On the contrary, for most, there are continuing links of all kinds with the village; very often the town, is regarded as a kind of stopping place, and the stay there as a kind of sojourn" (1969, p. 140).

These links between the rural environment and the urban dwellers are very much a function of the dynamics of kinship and family ties which operate in many African societies. Both patrilineal and matrilineal patterns of family inheritance place emphasis on the lineage system.

> "A person's membership of his lineage binds him forever to the village where the lineage is localized. Wherever he may go, however long he may be away, he belongs to his lineage town or village. The economic and social obligations of kinship such as those connected with

> funerals, marriages and divorce, as well as political allegiance and jural rights and status, which are also tied up with kinship, keep alive his attachment to his native town or village" (Busia, 1950, p. 73).

This observation which was made in a report on the social system of Sekondi-Takoradi is quite an appropriate description of the forces of the family system which help to bind people of the same lineage together. Fortes' research revealed that dynamics of the kinship system in Tallensi and the other ethnic groups in the Mole-Dagbani cultural area are very strong, fostering on the whole centripetal relationships (Fortes, 1945, 1949).

The links between the rural environment in Frafra and the migrants at the destinations have been kept intact throughout the whole period of out-migration in Frafra. These links find expression in the regular visits migrants make back home; the gifts they send back home or receive in return; the hospitality to home visitors to the destinations, for example, family members, friends or ethnic members; the numerous types of help given to new arrivals; the social and political organization of the migrants along the lines of what exists at home and above all, the desire in most migrants to return home finally.

The social and political organization of the Frafra migrants has a very strong bearing on the lineage system at home. The attachment to the homeland was clearly depicted in their responses on the level of allegiance (respect) they owed to traditional leaders (Table 7.1). In order of importance, a majority of migrants owed more allegiance to their clan/family heads back home, followed by the traditional chief (village of the divisional chief back in Frafra homeland). The fact that they considered the family or clan head as being the most important

Table 7.1 Indicate in Order of Importance the Allegiance You Owe to the Following Traditional Heads

Responses	Most Importance				Second Most Importance				Third Most Importance				Fourth Most Importance				Accumulative Total for Four Choices			
Categories	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Clan/Family Head at Home	43.8	43.8	50.9	52.2	16.8	18.5	21.7	26.3	5.5	7.1	5.6	6.3	2.3	3.1	0.8	1.9	68.4	72.5	79.0	86.7
Traditional Chief at Home	29.7	30.7	23.3	28.8	39.9	37.8	43.7	44.9	12.5	14.5	13.7	14.1	0.5	0.9	1.6	0.5	82.6	83.9	80.7	88.3
Chief of Frafra Community Here	7.6	11.1	10.5	7.3	17.3	22.4	14.5	16.1	36.2	38.1	44.5	53.7	0.5	1.4	0.8	0.0	61.6	7.30	70.3	77.1
The Chief of this Town	2.3	1.7	1.1	1.5	1.1	1.7	2.1	1.4	6.9	11.1	4.6	1.9	14.0	17.1	19.6	22.4	24.3	31.6	27.4	27.2
None of the Above	15.0	11.3	10.2	8.3	6.9	6.0	4.8	4.9	6.9	5.9	4.8	4.9	7.1	6.0	5.3	4.9	35.9	29.2	25.1	23.0
Miscellaneous—Other	1.4	1.4	2.1	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.0	2.1	1.7	2.6	4.0
Not Reported	0.2	0.0	1.9	0.5	18.0	13.6	13.2	5.4	31.9	23.0	26.3	18.6	75.1	71.5	71.9	69.3				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	400.0	400.0	400.0	400.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205

Key: *A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years)

*B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years)

*C = Old Migrants (11-20 years)

*D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

is indicative of the significance of the lineage system among migrants who are away from home.

When we go down the ladder, the third important traditional leader is the chief of the Frafra communities at each of the destinations. The establishment of strangers' quarters in towns has been one of the strong forces for drawing members of an ethnic group to the same residential location. One of the outcomes of this was the creation of ethnic group leaders (chiefs) in all the towns. This phenomenon was encouraged by the British Colonial Administration in line with their policy of Indirect Rule. For instance, in Sierra Leone as early as the 1880s Governor James Hay recognized these Headmen of migrant communities as

> ". . .the proper medium of communication between the Government and their people. . . .Among other things, it was his duty to advise the Government of any bad characters among his people and aid the detection of robbery and any other criminal offences by any such characters. . ." (Banton, 1954, p. 109).

Headmen for the various ethnic groups in the towns were recognized by the Colonial Administration in Ghana probably for the same reasons. For example, the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti, Kumasi reported in September, 1932 that:

> "There are nine recognized Headmen in the Zongo over the following tribes: (1) Dagomba, (2) Frafra, (3) Fulani, (4) Grunshi, (5) Kotokoli, (6) Mamprusi, (7) Wangara, (8) Moshi and (9) Yoruba. The head of the Hausas is regarded as the Sarikin (Chief of Zongo)" (Annual Report for Ashanti Region, 1932).

The social organization of Frafra migrants is in the same hierarchy as what exists at home. Since chain migration has brought together

members of the same family or clan, problems among migrants are tackled first before the immediate family head. When this does not bring a solution, the next level will be the clan or sectional head[1] and then finally the Frafra chief at the destination. Of course, problems of the higher order or very complex could go straight to the Frafra chief. Generally, the Frafra chief in each town is the go-between in major political or administrative transactions between migrants and the indigenous traditional chiefs. This explains why the response "the chief of this town," is the fourth because Frafra migrants seldom deal directly with these local chiefs. One interesting point about the perception of traditional authority among migrants was that almost all the Frafra chiefs interviewed in the South indicated that they owed their first allegiance to "the Chief of this town." This probably can be explained by the fact that some of the indigenous chiefs are highly or solely instrumental in the appointment of many migrants as the Headmen over the rest of their ethnic groups.

The spirit of independence is stronger among the recent migrants, for example, 15 percent of them owed no allegiance to any of the traditional leaders as compared to the 8 percent of the very old migrants (Table 7.1).

Networks of interaction among migrants are also based on the traditional lineage system. The sources of information for migrants

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[1]There is a hierarchy of chiefs among the Frafra migrants. In each town there are sectional leaders--boundaries coinciding with the residential boundaries of the towns--and then the chief over the whole Frafra community in that town. Chiefs in District Capitals (destinations) are higher than the other chiefs in the District. The chiefs at the Regional Capitals are higher than the chiefs in District Capitals.

reflect this factor, although in the towns the radio and the daily newspapers are better sources of information than they were before the migrants moved out of Frafra homeland (Tables 5.1 and 7.2). This means that in terms of obtaining information while in the towns, migrants depend more on the mass media than on friends or family members. This is quite understandable considering the fact that the mass media is far better developed in the towns than in rural areas. The mass media occupies such prominence because it is often the only means of channelling information to urban dwellers and, of course, the rest of the nation.

Ethnic dynamism or solidarity among Frafra migrants is quite strong in the South. They have all sorts of functions together either on the weekend or during some of the traditional festivals held back home. Even though they may not go home for the particular festivals, the migrants will have their own version at these destinations. Deaths or funerals also pull migrants together. Contributions are usually made when a death occurs and this money is used for various purposes--burial expenses, help to the bereaved family and then, finally, the sending of a delegation to take the funeral (the property and family of the deceased if he/she had any) back home to Frafra. The most significant solidarity among them, however, is the initial help given to new arrivals--free food, housing, money, clothes, help to obtain a job, etc. (Table 7.3). Generally, when migrants are in need of help, especially financial, only a few will utilize their employers. It is usually the parents or relatives, friends and other ethnic members whom they contact (Table 7.4).

Table 7.2. Indiate in Order of Importance How You Obtain Information About Events in the City

Responses	Most Importance				Second Most Importance				Third Most Importance				Fourth Most Importance				Accumulative Total for Four Choices			
Categories	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Radio	50.9	48.9	56.6	52.2	3.7	3.1	4.6	5.8	1.6	2.0	2.7	5.8	0.5	0.9	1.6	1.5	56.7	54.9	65.5	65.3
Newspaper/Daily	3.5	1.7	1.9	0.5	30.9	23.0	26.8	16.1	0.2	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	34.8	26.1	28.7	16.6
Friends	38.0	43.2	33.5	36.6	17.7	23.0	24.9	29.8	28.3	21.3	25.2	19.0	0.9	0.3	0.8	0.0	84.9	87.8	84.4	85.4
Relatives/Ethnic Members Here	1.6	1.1	0.0	0.5	0.5	1.2	0.8	0.5	1.4	0.3	1.1	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	4.0	2.9	1.9	1.5
Family Head Here	0.7	2.0	1.3	2.4	15.7	14.8	11.3	16.6	12.4	9.4	14.2	16.6	6.0	4.8	9.7	10.7	34.8	31.0	36.5	46.3
Frafra Chief Here	0.2	0.0	1.1	2.0	2.5	1.4	2.4	4.9	4.2	10.2	9.1	11.2	3.7	4.0	4.8	5.4	10.6	15.6	29.0	23.5
At Work	1.6	0.8	2.4	2.4	15.0	23.9	17.4	14.6	14.3	19.6	17.4	17.6	25.1	26.1	31.1	29.7	56.0	70.4	68.3	64.3
Miscellaneous--Others	1.4	1.4	0.2	0.5	2.5	1.4	0.5	0.5	1.2	0.3	1.1	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.0	5.1	3.1	2.9	2.5
Not Reported	1.4	0.3	1.6	1.9	5.5	3.1	6.2	6.3	18.0	15.3	15.5	13.7	33.0	29.8	25.2	25.4	57.9	48.5	48.5	47.3
No Idea	0.7	0.6	1.4	1.0	6.0	5.1	5.1	4.9	18.4	20.2	13.7	15.1	30.2	33.8	25.7	26.3	55.3	29.7	45.9	47.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	400.0	400.0	400.0	400.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205				

Key: *A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years)

*B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years)

*C = Old Migrants (11-20 years)

*D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

Table 7.3. List Types of Help Available to New Migrant

Responses	Most Importance				Second Most Importance				Third Most Importance				Accumulative Total for Three Choices			
Categories	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Free Food	65.9	68.5	65.4	65.8	16.4	16.7	16.4	19.5	3.2	3.4	6.4	5.3	85.5	88.6	88.2	90.6
Free Housing	4.6	6.8	6.7	9.3	25.1	29.0	25.2	26.8	18.9	21.0	26.8	16.6	48.6	56.8	58.7	52.7
Money	6.9	4.6	7.0	6.3	4.8	5.1	4.3	5.8	5.8	5.7	4.3	4.9	17.5	15.4	15.6	17.0
Clothes	4.2	7.4	4.8	2.0	1.38	16.2	15.0	13.2	13.8	16.5	16.9	20.5	31.8	40.1	36.7	35.7
Help to Obtain a Job	12.4	9.9	12.1	14.6	18.4	20.7	28.2	24.4	16.4	19.9	15.3	17.1	47.2	50.5	55.6	56.1
Not Reported	6.0	2.8	3.5	2.0	6.0	2.9	3.7	2.0	6.2	2.8	4.3	2.4	18.2	8.5	11.5	6.4
Not Applicable	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	15.4	9.4	7.2	8.3	35.7	29.8	26.0	33.2	51.1	39.2	33.7	41.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	300.0	300.0	300.0	300.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205				

Key: *A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years)

*B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years)

*C = Old Migrants (11-20 years)

*D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

Table 7.4. Who Do You Contact When in Need of Money or Help

Responses	First Relationship				Second Relationship				Third Relationship				Accumulative Total for Three Choices			
Categories	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Father/Mother	14.3	11.4	9.1	11.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	11.4	9.1	11.2
Brother/Sister	6.0	3.1	3.5	1.5	0.2	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.5	6.4	4.2	4.0	2.5
Other Relatives	35.2	25.6	28.9	23.4	5.1	4.8	2.4	4.4	0.9	1.1	0.5	1.0	41.6	31.5	31.8	28.8
Friend	8.1	8.5	7.5	3.9	3.7	2.6	3.5	1.5	1.2	0.3	0.3	1.0	13.0	11.4	11.3	6.4
Other Nonrelatives	7.6	14.2	9.6	11.7	7.4	9.4	11.0	5.9	2.3	1.7	3.5	2.4	17.3	25.3	24.1	20.0
Employer	0.5	2.3	0.5	0.0	1.2	0.3	0.8	0.0	0.9	0.6	2.7	1.5	2.6	3.2	4.0	1.5
Spouse	16.4	21.3	22.2	30.7	46.5	46.9	46.4	52.5	51.4	52.8	53.4	54.2	114.3	121.0	122.0	137.4
Not Reported	7.6	9.1	8.3	7.8	35.9	34.1	32.7	34.2	42.4	42.3	38.9	39.0	85.9	85.5	79.9	81.0
No Idea	4.4	7.4	9.4	8.8	0.0	1.1	2.7	1.0	1.6	0.9	0.7	0.4	6.0	9.4	12.8	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	300.0	300.0	300.0	300.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205				

Key: *A = Recent Migrants (0-5 years)

*B = Intermediate Migrants (6-10 years)

*C = Old Migrants (11-20 years)

*D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

Counter-Stream and Return Migration

According to Ravenstein, each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current (Ravenstein, 1885,1889). Larry Sjaastad found this to be true in his study in Mississippi when he said "gross migration in one direction is the best single indicator of the amount of black-flow" (Sjaastad, 1962). Lansing and Mueller also showed that in-migration and out-migration have a positive correlation of .58, suggesting that as in-migration rate increases, so also does the out-migration or vise versa (Lansing and Mueller, 1967).

No detailed research has been carried out in Ghana to test this notion of counter-stream flows between regions or towns. However, the evidence available indicates that some towns and specific regions which are better developed or endowed with a variety of valuable resources continue to attract migrants from areas with few or no economic opportunities. Thus, very few people migrate into the Frafra area, because there are no significant economic activities in the area (Table 7.5). All the migrants in the Frafra homeland are to be found in Bolgatanga, the main urban center, and the few rural urban centers such as Tongo, Zuarungu, Bongo, Nangodi and Sekoti.

The population of Bolgatanga increased from 5,515 in 1960 to 18,896 in 1970 and there is no doubt that this increase was due to the outcome of the creation of Bolgatanga in the 1960s as the capital of Upper Region. There will not be any data on different ethnic groups in the 1970 census reports, hence it will not be possible to determine the extent of the counter-stream flows into Frafra between 1960 and 1970. However, we know that some of the towns, especially Bolgatanga

Table 7.5 . Counter-Stream Migration: Total Migrant Population in Frafra Local Council by Ethnic Groups, 1960.

Ethnic Group	Number	Percent of Total Migrant Population
Akan	660	10.4
Ga	200	3.1
Ewe	420	6.6
Guan (Minus Gonja)	120	1.9
Centran Togo	10	0.2
Sub-total From Southern Ghana	1,410	22.2
Dagomba	640	10.1
Mamprusi	270	4.2
Gonja	140	2.2
Gurma	70	1.1
Sub-total From Northern Region	1,120	17.6
Wala	30	0.5
Dagarti	10	0.2
*Gurensi-Nankansi	350	5.5
Kusasi	100	1.6
Lobi	260	4.1
Grusi	380	6.0
Sub-total from Upper Region	1,130	17.9
Yoruba	600	9.4
Moshi	1,380	21.7
Hausa	240	3.8
Fulari	60	0.9
Mande	80	1.2
Songhai	150	2.3
Others	190	3.0
Sub-total from Africa	2,700	42.3
Grand Total For Migrants	6,360	100.0
Frafra (Talensi, Nabdam, Gurensi)	143,830	
Percent of Total Population in Frafra		95.8

After Ghana 1960 Census, Special Report E.

lost most of the foreign African migrants because of the Aliens Compliance Order of 1969.

Return Migration

Generally, it is the aspiration of almost all Frafra migrants to return home finally with no subsequent moves from the homeland. We have no exact data on the rate of return migration in Frafra, but we know that every year some migrants return home while others, in numbers, migrate to the South. It is probably at this level that one could talk of counter-stream migration, but involving the same ethnic group.

Basically, there are three types of returned migrants. The first is the migrant who returns home for a short visit while the second is the person who goes home, stays for quite a considerable length of time (6 months to two years) after which he rejoins the migration stream again--cyclical labor movements. The last type of returned migrant is the one who goes home permanently with no intention whatsoever of leaving the ancestral land again. The first and the second are more frequent than the third, but on the whole, the first type of returned trips are the most frequent.

Short Visits Back Home

Apart from the strengthening of kinship ties among migrants at the destinations, the commonest method of keeping intact the links between the urbanites and the rural people is the frequency of short visits back home by migrants (Table 7.6(a)). Many Frafra migrants do make visits back home during their leave periods or when there are public holidays--particularly Christmas and Easter holidays (Table 7.6(b)). Others make the visits when there are funerals or any of the Frafra traditional festivals to be performed. As most of the

Table 7.6(a) Over the Past Three Years How Many Times Have You Gone Home?

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Once	23.9	37.8	30.8	23.9
Twice	4.7	14.2	27.6	20.1
Three Times	1.6	8.0	15.6	21.9
Four Times	0.7	0.9	1.3	2.9
Five Times	0.9	0.6	0.3	1.0
Six to Ten Times	0.2	0.0	1.6	0.5
None	65.2	33.5	21.2	26.3
Not Reported	2.8	5.0	1.6	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Table 7.6(b). Give the Time You Usually Return Home.

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
During Leave/Holiday Period	9.9	27.3	2.1	31.7
Anytime I can Afford it	13.6	22.0	18.3	13.2
During Festivals/Funerals	1.6	4.6	5.9	4.9
Farming Season in North	1.8	4.0	8.6	7.3
During Christmas/Easter	1.4	0.9	2.1	3.4
When My Contract is Over	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I have no Idea	0.7	0.0	0.3	0.0
No Visits	64.5	33.5	20.6	25.9
Not Reported	6.5	7.7	42.1	13.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N				

migrants explained, it is usually difficult for workers to make frequent visits unless during the leave (vacation) period, usually granted workers annually. Seasonal migrants and a few others who still alternate their activities at home and in the South with the rythmn of the seasons, often return in the farming season to help with the farm labor (Table 7.6(b)).

Although it is the desire of many migrants to maintain the bonds with the relatives and friends left at home, it was not everybody who made a visit home within a three year period (Table 7.6(a)). The evidence showed that migrants who had been in the South for long periods were more likely to go back home than, for example, the recent migrants. An examination of some of the reasons why migrants make these trips back home will help explain the irregular nature of the visits as well as why some migrants do not make them (Table 7.7). Almost all the visits had direct links with family ties (to visit parents, help with farming, offer sacrifices, attend funerals, festivals, etc.). This means that the migrant who left home as a result of a misunderstanding in the family is unlikely to return home for short visits. Chain migration has surely brought many family members to these destinations, thus unless there is a key family member or members back home there will be no need to make any short visits. The biggest hinderance, however, is the cost involved in going back home. First, the migrant has to provide the transportation cost home and back and considering the distances between Frafra homeland the destinations, this could be a substantial amount of money. Secondly, a migrants success is usually measured by the rural people by what he remits home, either when he makes visits or through others. Of course,

Table 7.7. What Are Usually Your Reasons for Returning Home?

Responses	Most Important Reason				Second Important Reason			
	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
To Visit Parents/ Relatives	22.6	41.8	58.2	50.7	1.4	5.4	4.6	4.4
To Help with Farming	4.8	5.7	3.6	2.4	0.7	1.0	0.8	2.0
To Offer Sacrifices	2.3	6.3	5.9	7.3	2.5	4.8	9.7	12.1
Attend/Greet Funeral	1.4	2.0	5.6	5.4	1.6	1.7	4.0	4.4
Attend Festival	1.2	2.0	1.3	2.0	0.7	1.1	1.3	1.0
Give Birth	0.9	0.6	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.6	0.0
Bring Back Wife	0.7	1.7	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.5
In Order to Marry	0.7	3.2	1.3	1.5	0.6	3.1	1.9	0.5
No Visits	64.0	33.0	20.9	26.3	90.6	78.4	74.8	72.7
Not Reported	1.4	3.7	1.4	2.6	1.4	3.9	1.3	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205

the most successful migrant will be the one who will be able to build a good house or a commercial store either at the destinations or back home but mostly the latter. Thus, unless a migrant has sufficient income the visit back home will not be made. "It is a shame to go back home empty handed. My pay is not even alright for me, how then do I visit home?," one of the migrants asked. Perhaps, this explains why the migrant who has not been in the South for long is very unlikely to make such short visits. Apart from the problems of income there are other risks involved. There is a tight labor market now hence if a migrant makes frequent visits home in order to celebrate festivals or greet funerals, this would most likely lead to his loss of a job. Another risk involves the possibility of being prevented from returning to the destinations after the visit, especially if the migrant in the first place was not allowed to leave home. In addition to all these, there is a psychological factor which is related to the high level of competition among returned migrants back home. Returned migrants, whether on short visits or back permanently tend to compete among themselves in "showing off"--in terms of mannerisms, clothes worn, property brought back, language tools, etc. This consideration has often compelled many migrants who must visit home (say the death of a key family member) to make very elaborate preparations, including the borrowing of good clothes, especially if the migrant has none himself, money, etc., to ensure that "they can keep their heads above the crowd at home" explained one old migrant from Bongo in Obuasi.

Insofar as the lineage system or kinship ties are concerned there are usually only a few migrants who will decide never to visit home. As a result, even though for the past three years 65 percent,

34 percent, 21 percent and 26 percent for the recent, intermediate, old and very old migrants, respectively, did not visit home, the proportion dropped sharply when respondents were asked to indicate when they hoped or planned to visit home (Table 7.8). The emphasis on the response "anytime I can afford it," is indicative of the fact that generally many migrants would have made frequent visits home if there were no monetary constraints. To many migrants, unless there is an urgent need for the visit, it is better to send the money, which would have been used for transportation cost and other gifts, (either by mail or through another person) to relatives than to visit home with nothing to offer relatives.

Short Periods and Permanent Returned Migrants

Of the 607 people interviewed in the homeland, 323 or 53.2 percent were returned migrants while 284 or 46.8 percent had never lived outside Frafra area continuously for more than six months. In the following analysis, and later when there is a discussion on the effects of out-migration on the Frafra area, the characteristics of these two groups (returned migrants and never-migrated respondents) will be examined.

Migrants already at the destinations were asked to indicate whether they were contemplating a permanent return to their villages, and the results are presented in Table 7.9(a). Only a few, about a third of each group responded that they had such plans, while the rest were not planning to return home permanently. The reasons for the decision of the third of each group to return home permanently are given in Table 7.9(b). To some extent, we can regard these as some of the pulls of the rural environment. The need to obtain sufficient income

Table 7.8. When Do You Hope/Plan to Make Your Next Visit Home?

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Anytime I can afford it	49.3	40.1	35.1	37.0
During Leave Period	19.4	33.2	33.5	32.9
At Christmas/Easter	6.7	7.8	3.5	7.3
Farming Season	3.7	4.1	2.4	3.0
During Festival/Funerals	3.7	5.4	6.2	8.9
When My Contract is Over	0.0	0.3	0.8	0.0
I Have No Idea	9.0	2.4	5.6	0.0
I Don't Intend to Make One	1.6	0.2	0.0	0.7
Not Reported	6.6	6.5	12.9	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N				

Table 7.9(a) Are You Contemplating a Permanent Return to Your Village?

Response	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Yes	30.2	28.3	33.2	38.1
No	69.1	70.5	66.2	61.1
Not Reported	0.7	1.2	0.6	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Table 7.9(b). If Yes, What Would Make You Decide to Return Home Permanently?

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
When I Obtain Sufficient Money	14.5	11.9	13.7	18.4
I Must Return to Farm	4.8	7.4	5.1	6.8
Tired of Living Here	0.7	2.3	2.1	1.0
When I become Family Head	2.0	2.3	7.5	5.4
To Marry or Join Family	5.3	2.3	2.7	4.0
When Most of My Children are Adults	0.7	0.9	0.8	1.5
When All Children are Educated	1.0	0.2	0.8	0.5
Not Planning to Return Permanently Now	69.1	70.5	66.2	61.1
Not Reported	0.7	1.2	0.6	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Table 7.9(c). If No, Do you Wish to Stay Here for the Rest of Your Life?

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Yes	0.7	0.6	2.0	2.4
No	70.7	70.2	65.5	58.5
I am contemplating a permanent return	28.6	28.4	32.0	38.5
Not Reported	0.0	0.8	0.5	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

to return home permanently was the most important, followed by the need to return home and farm. Other responses were solely related to the pull of the lineage system such as (1) when I become a family head, (2) to marry or join family and (3) when children are adults or are all educated.

Though a greater proportion of the respondents were not planning to return home permanently, they did not intend to stay at the destinations forever without going home finally, (Table 7.9(c)). While only a few could give the length of periods they wished to stay on at the destination quite a substantial proportion though they would still be away from home for more than ten years (Table 7.10(a)). A comparison of this table with the reasons for those perods in Table 7.10(b) illustrates clearly some of the factors or attractions which continue to keep migrants from returning home permanently. The acquisition of income and property is one of the basic considerations for a migrant's continuous stay in the South. But cost of living and the related demands of the towns are never in the favor of the migrant. Thus, a migrant's life is probably full of daydreams about returning home with wealth, sending many gifts home or building a house or the like, back home. It is this drive in migrants coupled with conditions in the homeland which have forced quite a few Frafra migrants to be away from home for very long periods, at times for the rest of their lives.

The acquisition of sufficient income and property by migrants can have a dual role in terms of the decision of migrants to return home. It is quite true that the migrant who is satisfied with his achievements--financially or otherwise--in the South will be more

Table 7.10(a). If You Do Not Want to Stay Here for the Rest of Your Life, How Much Longer Are You Then Going to be Away From Home?

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Less than 3 months	0.9	0.3	0.0	0.0
3 months-One Year	0.9	3.6	1.9	0.0
1 year to 2 years	4.1	2.9	3.0	6.3
2¼ years to 4 years	2.9	2.0	3.6	6.8
4¼ years to 6 years	5.2	5.4	6.2	5.4
6¼ years to 8 years	3.2	7.1	6.2	6.8
8¼ years to 10 years	9.5	9.9	14.5	11.2
More than ten years	33.6	29.6	21.5	16.2
Will go home soon or wants to be here for rest of life	30.2	29.3	34.2	40.9
Not Reported	9.5	9.9	8.9	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

Table 7.10(b). Why Do You Want to Stay in This Town for the Period You Have Just Stated?

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
I hope to Obtain Sufficient Income	38.9	35.5	36.5	27.3
My Husbands Decision	11.8	12.5	8.5	6.3
In order to obtain Pension	3.0	5.4	7.5	15.9
I want my children educated	1.8	2.3	0.5	0.5
My Parents are here	0.7	1.9	1.9	1.5
I have still got a good job	1.9	1.1	0.5	4.0
Hope to Obtain Property	1.8	1.2	0.3	2.0
I am attending school, etc.	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.0
Will go home soon or wants to be here the rest of my life	29.5	29.0	7.4	1.5
Not Reported	9.9	10.5	34.6	41.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

willing to return home than the dissatisfied migrant. On the other hand, the numerous advantages of being a wealthy person in the society will most likely encourage the rich migrant to continue to live in the South, make more money and acquire more property either at the destination or at home or both. The very successful Frafra migrants who have houses and a few businesses of their own do make frequent visits home, especially if part of the property is at home. However, on the whole, there is a tendency among successful migrants to continue to organize whatever they already have in the South in order to expand their enterprises. The only exceptions are the few who may decide to invest all of their income in the North--houses, commercial stores, etc.

The location of the parents or key relatives of any migrant at any of the destinations will also tend to keep such a person from returning home permanently. The length of time wives of migrants will spend in the South depends very much on the decisions of the husband and also the age of the wife(ives) as explained in Chapter VI. Education, that is those still in school or receiving some training, will tend to keep migrants in the South for some time. Even after completion, unless the person has been offered a good job at home, he will probably stay at the destinations where there is a wide range of job opportunities. Besides a few migrants who have stayed at these destinations for long periods may decide not to return home whether they have been offered jobs or not.

Apart from the above one other major factor which will tend to anchor migrants to the destinations is the nature of the jobs they have. The terms of service offered by some jobs indirectly encourage

workers to stay at the same place continuously for long periods. For instance, almost all the mining companies have the following awards for their workers.

(1) Pension: A person will be pensioned if he works for 25 consecutive years underground or 35 consecutive years on the surface at the rate of 55 pesewas (about $0.50) a day. Pensioned senior officers receive 10 pesewas more, that is 65 pesewas a day for the rest of their lives. Apart from the pension rights a worker is entitled to gratuity and the total amount to be received as gratuity will depend on the number of years of service. Occasionally, some very old migrant workers are lucky enough to collect gratuities above one-thousand dollars. This is quite a reasonable amount to start a business or build a house with, often the dream of many migrants. Nowadays most of the gratuities are administered by the Central Government as required by the Social Security Act of 1961.

(2) Long Service Awards: (a) If an employee works underground continuously for 18 years he is presented with a jewel watch, with his name inscribed on it. If this person continues and works for 25 consecutive years he is then awarded a medalion with his name inscribed on it, plus ₵50.00 cash. It is at this stage that the worker is awarded pension rights. (b) the surface miner will be given a jewel wrist watch if he works for 25 consecutive years. He will be awarded a medalion, ₵50.00 cash and pension rights if he works continuously for 35 years.

Many other occupations in the public and private sectors have similar rewarding systems. Since it is the wish of many migrants to

benefit from these facilities people tend to stay longer than their counterpart migrants do in the farming regions or in occupations without such incentives.

A further factor which keeps migrants at the destinations for long periods, especially those at the mines, is related to the above mentioned rewarding system. Retirement of a mine worker does not depend on the worker himself but it is at the discretion of the mining management. Many migrants complained against this system because a few have in the past been forced to retire perhapsonly a year or few months left to qualify for pension rights. Some migrants thought it was a method used by mining authorities to lessen the number of people who will continue to be on the payroll of the mines as pensioned workers. The mining management however had different explanations for that trend. Most of their workers arrive at the mines already in their mid-twenties or passed 30 years. If such employees are allowed to work continuously for 30 to 35 years in order to qualify for pension rights,"this humanitarian action will be done at the expense of quality and maximum production at the mines," one adminstrator explained. Whatever be the case, such workers find themselves in a serious dilemma, that is, either to go home with nothing to boast of or to stay behind and look for another job, at which stage the factor of age is a strong disadvantage. In some cities, like Accra and Kumasi, the number of people who apply for pension and gratuity rights are high that it takes years for ones application to be processed. In the meantime, the retired migrant will probably be hanging around without a job. This being the case, he may get into many debts with great hopes that the

gratuity or social security award will help to pay these off. This is more likely to happen especially if he saved very little during the years he was working. Unfortunately, as it has happened to quite a few retired migrants, either the gratuity award would not measure up to expectation or it would take a long time to be granted the worker. In either case the migrant will be a very unfortunate position; first of all about paying off the debts he might have built up and secondly about returning home with some appreciable personal effects. The second consideration is at times so important that the migrant would decide against returning home. One retired migrant interviewed in Kumasi was so frustrated about the problems of claiming his pension and gratuity benefits such that he did not want to discuss any other topic with the author but the problems of his money. At one stage he remarked, "I surely want to go back home, but I will rather prefer my funeral to be taken home than return personally with my ten fingers." This means that unless he can satisfy himself of substantial property to take home, he would not make the permanent return trip.

Perhaps, the following table gives an idea of the importance migrants attach to the prestige or self satisfaction derived when they return home with something (Table 7.11). Once again, the very high aspirations of migrants are depicted in the responses. It is very unlikely that the number of people who indicated they would like to return with lorries or cars would actually have their dreams fulfilled. The old and very old migrants laid emphasis on obtaining money and probably had hopes of building houses or starting businesses in the future. On the ohter hand, the recent and intermediate were more interested in items which could help them to "show off" in the

Table 7.11. What Would You Like to Take Back When You are Ready To Return Home Permanently?

Target Item	First Choice				Second Choice				Accumulative Total For Two Choices			
	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Money	45.3	51.1	55.8	61.5	19.8	13.6	17.7	11.2	69.1	66.7	70.5	72.7
Bicycle	6.4	5.4	4.3	4.9	4.2	4.0	4.8	5.4	10.6	9.4	9.1	10.3
Sewing Machine	5.8	4.3	4.6	4.4	3.0	4.0	3.0	4.9	8.8	8.3	7.6	9.3
Lorry, Car	9.8	7.1	5.8	4.9	3.9	3.7	4.0	5.4	9.7	10.8	12.8	10.3
Clothes, All Types	16.3	12.2	9.1	5.8	41.0	44.9	39.9	38.0	57.3	55.1	49.0	43.8
Furniture, All types	2.1	3.1	5.1	1.9	2.8	2.8	5.4	3.4	4.9	5.9	10.5	5.3
Household/Farm Equipment	2.1	2.3	1.1	1.0	3.9	2.8	2.4	4.4	6.0	5.1	3.4	5.4
Miscellaneous--Other	3.9	4.6	3.5	3.9	7.4	6.3	4.8	5.8	11.3	10.9	8.3	9.7
No Idea	1.6	2.8	3.5	1.5	3.9	7.7	11.3	7.3	5.5	10.5	14.8	8.8
Not Reported	6.7	7.1	7.2	10.2	10.1	10.2	6.7	14.2	16.8	17.3	13.9	24.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	200.0	200.0	200.0	200.0
N	431	352	373	205	434	352	373	205				

Chi-square test for independence was significant at the .001 level.

Key: *A = Recent Migrant (0-5 years)

*B = Intermediate (6-10 years)

*C = Old Migrants (11-20 years)

*D = Very Old Migrants (More than 20 years)

public--clothes of all types and lorries or cars. No matter what the percentage distribution of the responses in Table 7.11, one basic factor about Frafra migration behavior stands out quite clearly. For these to be achieved, migrants will have to stay at the destinations for very long periods considering the cost of living today. If that is the case, then we can assume that cyclical labor movements, except those to the food and cocoa producing areas, are giving way to permanent migratory patterns. An examination of the results of the survey carried out among returned migrants at Yeji Ferry shows quite clearly that it has been mostly workers in agriculture who constantly go back home (Table 7.12). People in urban jobs on the whole tend to stay on for very long periods. Generally, respondents in the homeland had no idea of when their relatives, friends, etc. away from home were expected back--about 95 percent of the people interviewed at home reported that they had no idea when their relatives in the South would return home.

Effects of Migration on the Home Area

Definitely, out-migration has been of some advantage to the Frafra area and Ghana as a whole. Perhaps, what comes to mind as the first advantage is the reduction of population densities, because a considerable proportion of Frafras are away from home at any given time. Both Hilton and Hunter have demonstrated that the population densities found in the Frafra are far beyond the carrying capacities of the different localities (Hilton, 1959, p. 237 and Hunter, 1967). This being the case, out-migration has gone a long way in providing some relief for a few localities.

The second advantage is the flow of income from the urban centers,

Table 7.12. Percentage Distribution of Occupations of Returning Migrants Counted at the Yeji Ferry in March 1954; by Ethnic Groups.

Occupation	Ethnic Group							
	Moshie	Zabarima	Frafra	Fulani	Grunshie	Hausa	Busanga	Gruma
Agriculture								
Food	66.7	29.9	50.3	43.9	61.3	17.4	46.9	57.5
Cocoa	15.1	7.7	8.8	7.7	10.7	4.5	12.9	24.0
Timber	4.2	1.4	6.9	2.4	3.0	2.1	3.2	3.5
Subtotal for Agriculture	86.0	39.0	66.0	54.0	75.0	24.0	63.0	85.0
Mining	5.0	2.0	11.0	3.0	6.0	2.0	7.0	3.0
Building	3.0	2.0	10.0	1.0	8.0	2.0	11.0	4.0
Commerce	2.0	6.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	2.0
Government	1.0	1.0	6.0	1.0	4.0	2.0	9.0	1.0
Miscellaneous-Other	1.0	30.0	2.0	25.0	2.0	47.0	2.0	2.0
Not Reported	2.0	20.0	2.0	13.0	2.0	19.0	3.0	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	9,519	3,261	2,501	1,820	1,574	1,217	784	778

Source: Davidson, R. B. Migrant Labour Survey in the Gold Coast: A Pilot Survey. Published by the Department of Economics, University College of Gold Coast, Achimota (December 1954).

mining areas and farms back into Frafra area. In Ghana as a whole Caldwell found that a third of both rural and urban respondents felt that village people would be very poor if none of their members worked in town (Caldwell, 1969, p. 165). Similar results have been found in other parts of Africa, for example, as found by Gulliver among the Ngori of Southern Tanzania or as reported by Middleton on migrants returning to northwestern Uganda (Gulliver, 1955, p. 20 and Middleton, 1958, p. 94).

In addition to money sent back home, items like building materials, bicycles, radios, clothes of all types, etc. are remitted by migrants to relatives left at home (Tables 7.13(a) and 7.13(b)). Occasionally, money sent back home helps to pay off the pride-price, (purchase of cattle or otherwise) or help with the general expenditure of the family. There were a few migrants who were not able to send anything back home, especially the recent migrants (Table 7.31(a)). This is definitely a function of length of residence at the destination and also the proportion of the migrants in paid jobs. The responses of people at home confirmed that, they regard whatever comes back from the migrants as being helpful (Table 7.13(b)). There were some who received nothing from relatives because they had none staying away from home or their relatives did not send any gifts.

The time these gifts are sent indicate that a few of them are for specific purposes while a majority are part of the general help to the rural people (Tables 7.14(a) and 7.14(b)). It is evident from these tables that during the farming season a few send gifts back home, probably cash to help with the farm activities. This is at a far lower level than what was found in Kenya (Johnson, and Whitelaw, 1972).

Table 7.13(a). Indicate the Type of Gifts or Remittances You Send Back Home (Migrants at Destinations).

Responses	First Type				Second Type				Accumulative Total			
	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Money—Cash	27.9	57.1	58.2	57.6	2.1	5.1	8.6	7.3	30.0	62.2	66.8	64.9
Clothes of All types	7.4	11.1	11.2	10.7	11.8	27.6	27.1	24.9	19.2	38.7	38.3	35.6
Household Articles	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.5
Machines (Bicycles, Radio)	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.0
Food (All Types)	0.0	2.5	0.5	1.9	0.0	1.1	1.9	2.9	0.0	3.6	2.4	4.8
Not Reported	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.9	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.5
Does Not Remit	63.6	28.4	29.5	28.8	85.2	65.6	61.6	63.9	148.8	94.0	91.1	92.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	200.0	200.0	200.0	200.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205				

Key: *A = Recent Migrant (0-5 Years)

*B = Intermediate Migrant (6-10 Years)

*C = Old/Migrant (11-20 Years)

*D = Very Old Migrant (More than 20 years)

Table 7.13(b). Give Details About the Help You Receive From Your Relatives Away From Home (Respondents in the Homeland).

Responses	First Type		Second Type		Third Type	
	Returned Migrants Percent	Never Migrated Percent	Returned Migrants Percent	Never Migrated Percent	Returned Migrant Percent	Never Migrated Percent
Money—Cash	91.8	34.5	2.5	2.5	0.3	0.7
Clothes—All Types	5.0	4.6	20.4	15.1	0.3	0.0
Building Materials	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.7
Machines (Bicycles, Radio)	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Household Articles	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Food of All Types	0.6	1.8	1.6	1.1	0.3	0.0
Does not Receive Anything	51.1	58.4	74.0	80.6	97.5	97.9
Not Reported	1.2	0.7	1.2	0.7	1.3	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	323	284	323	284	323	284

Table 7.14(a). When Do You Send These Remittances or Gifts Back Home?

Responses	First Order				Second Order				Accumulative Total			
	A*	B*	C*	D*	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Once a Year	12.4	25.9	23.6	25.4	4.8	14.2	14.7	10.2	17.0	40.1	38.3	35.6
Twice a Year	4.4	9.1	8.6	10.7	1.4	0.0	1.6	3.9	5.8	9.1	10.2	14.6
Every Two Years	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.5	0.2	0.6	1.1	0.0	1.3	1.7	2.2	0.5
Farming Season	0.2	1.4	2.1	1.9	0.2	0.3	0.0	1.0	0.4	1.7	2.1	2.9
Festivals, Traditional Christmas	0.0	0.9	1.3	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.5	0.0	0.9	2.9	1.5
When They Are in Need	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
When I can Afford It	12.9	22.4	26.6	22.9	5.3	11.9	17.2	16.6	18.2	34.3	43.8	39.5
Other	3.5	9.7	5.9	7.3	1.4	2.3	1.1	2.4	4.9	12.0	7.0	9.7
Not Reported	1.4	1.1	1.3	1.0	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.5	2.8	2.2	2.4	2.5
Does Not Remit	63.6	28.4	29.5	29.3	85.3	65.6	61.6	63.9	148.9	94.0	91.1	93.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	200.0	200.0	200.0	200.0
N	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205	434	352	373	205

Key: *A = Recent Migrant (0-5 Years)

*B = Intermediate Migrant (6-10 Years)

*C = Old Migrant (11-20 Years)

*D = Very Old Migrant (More than 20 Years)

Table 7.14(b). Indicate the Time Your Relatives Make These Remittances/Gifts.

Responses	First Choice		Second Choice		Third Choice	
	Returned Migrants Percent	Never Migrated Percent	Returned Migrants Percent	Never Migrated Percent	Returned Migrants Percent	Never Migrated Percent
Once in a Year	4.9	4.6	3.7	1.1	0.3	0.0
Twice in a Year	2.5	1.1	0.9	0.2	0.3	0.0
Every Two Years	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Farming Season, Especially	2.5	3.5	0.6	1.1	0.3	0.3
Festivals, Traditional Christmas	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
When we are in Need and Ask for It	2.2	1.8	0.6	1.4	0.0	0.0
Time Does Not Matter, Unspecified	30.6	23.6	15.5	10.6	0.0	1.1
Other (Monthly, etc.)	2.8	2.8	2.5	2.5	0.3	0.0
Not Reported	2.8	4.2	2.2	2.5	1.3	0.7
Not Applicable	51.1	58.4	74.0	80.6	97.5	97.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

A greater proportion of gifts sent back to the home land go to parents, spouses, brother and sisters, friends and other relatives. As a result, there is a counter flow of gifts from the rural areas to migrants in the towns (Table 7.15). Advice to migrants was the most important help offered from home. Although migrants are away from home they do continue to send home for advice in areas of family problems, occupational difficulties, etc. Juju of all types (charms, amulets, magical wands, tails and fetishes) figure prominently in the gifts which flow back to the urbanites. To many rural people, the town is full of evil spirits, bad people, a host of diseases, bad luck, etc. It is therefore, necessary to protect the individual with the charms or fetishes which they believe have the power of achieving this. The recipients of these fetishes, charms, etc. believe in them and often attribute their success to the possession of such items. Apart from giving some mystical security to the migrant in his new environment, these items tend to strengthen the bonds between migrants and relatives at home. The success of any juju will, to a large extent, depend on how the owner abides by the regulations for possessing it. Since most of these originate from home, the regulations are based on the religious beliefs and social organization of the people in the homeland. In some cities and towns, this mystical or religious role is considered so important that in addition to an ethnic headman, there is also a fetish priest. His function is religious and works closely with the headman. There are also Frafra individuals at the destinations who claim to be capable of producing these mystical items. In a few instances, this is done as a means of livelihood, perhaps the only occupation of such a person.

Table 7.15. Indicate the Types of Help, Gifts, Etc. you Send to Relatives/Friends Staying Away From Home? (Respondents in Homeland).

Responses	First Type		Second Type		Third Type	
	Returned Migrants Percent	Never Migrated Percent	Returned Migrants Percent	Never Migrated Percent	Returned Migrants Percent	Never Migrated Percent
Advice	18.0	13.7	1.9	3.2	0.0	0.0
Juju of All Types	11.1	12.7	2.8	1.8	0.0	0.0
Clothes, Smockes, Local Dress	2.5	2.5	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.3
Help with Dowry/Cattle	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
Help Him Marry A Girl	0.3	1.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
Money--Cash	2.3	1.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Miscellaneous	6.4	4.2	2.2	1.1	0.0	0.4
Not Reported	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.1
Not Applicable	58.2	63.0	90.7	91.9	98.5	98.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	323	284	323	284	323	284

Clothes sent to migrants are mostly the smocks made in Northern Ghana. Surprisingly, some relatives sent money to migrants at the destinations. Before the research, it was believed that cash flowed only from the destinations to the labor generating areas (homeland). When respondents were asked to explain why there was that reverse flow, the following reasons were often given: (a) At times middle school leavers looking for jobs rely on the help of parents at home and relatives at the destinations. This help could be in the form of money, especially if such an unemployed middle school leaver decides to change to another town to try his/her luck in the labor market. In some cases, parents would give some money to dependents who have just been employed particularly if they just finished their elementary education. The purpose of the money will be to help the son or daughter or the dependent involved to make a good start in life. Of course, all these depend on having a relative or parent back home who is in a position to help. (b) A few of the returned migrants at home live in their own well built houses. Some of them stayed in the South for very long periods, and they therefore have members of their families still living at the destinations. If this returned migrant has a business or a house for rent as a few of them did, he will be willing to send monetary help to his family still in the South. (c) There are a few migrants who cannot make ends meet at the destinations but, if they have well-to-do families back home they would send for help. Occasionally, migrants facing financial problems may send home and ask for their own poultry or livestock to be sold for some cash to help out. The above explanations are not common practices and that explains why the

proportion of people who sent cash to the destinations is low--2.3 and 1.4 percent for the returned and those who never migrated, respectively.

The migration experience has given birth to a new zeal of entrepreneurship among the Frafras, either based in the South or in the North. Some of the commercial stores and houses for rent in Bolgatanga and the other rural towns are owned by returned migrants or migrants still at the destinations.

There is a counter-stream, though nowadays a rather weak one, of returned migrants (casual visitors to the South, seasonal migrants and permanent returnees as discussed above) to the rural areas. These bring along with them some kind of wealth often appreciated in the rural setting, new ideas, knowledge of urban ways of life, acquired rudiments of education or skills, and qualities of multi-lingualism. Usually Akan, Hausa and some pidgin English are the other languages the returned migrant may know in addition to the Frafra dialect.

Educational achievements in Frafra have been very low and therefore in the past all the migrants had never been to school. This factor is brought out when we compare the responses of returned migrants and those who have never migrated in Tables 7.16(a) and 7.16(b). The figures are all almost the same. But when we consider spoken English (pidgin English), 41 percent of returned migrants had a knowledge of it, as compared with only 30 percent of those who never migrated (Table 7.16(c)). In like manner, a knowledge of spoken Hausa or any of the Southern Ghanaian languages depend to a large extent on the past migration experience of the person, thus returned migrants have a better knowledge of these than those who never migrated (Tables 7.17(a) and 7.17(b)).

Table 7.16(a). Indicate the Highest Education Obtained.

Responses	Returned Migrants Number	Never Migrated Number	Returned Migrants Percent	Never Migrated Percent
Never been to School	227	210	70.3	73.9
Primary	12	4	3.7	1.4
Middle	45	51	13.9	18.0
Secondary	16	10	5.0	3.5
Teacher's Training College	17	8	5.3	2.8
Other	2	1	0.6	0.4
University	4	0	1.2	0.0
Total	323	284	100.0	100.0

Table 7.16(b) Indicate Your Written English Proficiency

Responses	Returned Migrants Number	Never Migrated Number	Returned Migrants Percent	Never Migrated Percent
None	230	211	71.2	74.3
Fair	29	30	9.0	10.6
Good	52	35	16.1	12.3
Very Good	12	8	3.7	2.8
Total	323	284	100.0	100.0

Table 7.16(c). Indicate Your Spoken English Proficiency.

Responses	Returned Migrants Number	Never Migrated Number	Returned Migrants Percent	Never Migrated Percent
None	191	200	59.1	70.4
Fair	63	40	19.5	14.1
Good	57	36	17.0	12.7
Very Good	12	8	3.7	2.8
Total	323	284	100.0	100.0

Table 7.17(a). Indicate Your Spoken Hausa Proficiency (Homeland).

Responses	Returned Migrants Number	Never Migrated Number	Returned Migrants Percent	Returned Migrants Percent
None	83	195	25.7	68.7
Fair	174	61	53.9	21.5
Good	64	26	19.8	9.1
Very Good	2	2	0.6	0.7
Total	323	284	100.0	100.0

Table 7.17(b). Indicate Other Languages Spoken Apart From Above and Frafra Dialects.

Responses	Returned Migrants Number	Never Migrated Number	Returned Migrants Percent	Returned Migrants Percent
None	122	241	37.8	84.9
Akan	169	38	52.3	13.4
Akan and Ga	13	1	4.0	0.4
Akan and Ewe	8	2	2.5	0.7
Not Applicable	1	2	0.3	0.6
Akan, Ga and Ewe	5	0	1.5	0.0
Ga	5	0	1.6	0.0
Total	323	284	100.0	100.0

The few job opportunities at home, or for that matter in any part of Ghana, required a knowledge of some of these languages. Any person who can speak both Hausa and Akan in addition to the Frafra dialect will easily get employed in any commercial establishment in Bolgatanga. People seeking employment in the public sector and who have a good knowledge of spoken English stand far better chances of obtaining jobs than their rural counterparts who know only the Frafra dialects. Consequently, returned migrants easily obtain jobs back home when they decide to work at home. Apart from the knowledge of languages, a few migrants return home with some skills--fitters, mechanics, tailors, masons, carpenters, etc. and all these help to secure them job positions. Others are able to return with substantial sums of money and then start their own business, for example the many tailors, bicycle and lorry fitters, private masions and carpenters in Bolgatanga who are returned Frafra migrants. This edge the returned migrant has over those who have never migrated can extend to the traditional system of authority, especially the politico-military one. When a vacancy occurs in any chiefdom or village it is highly contested for by members of the clan or lineage who qualify to become chiefs. This competition can take place in any form, and more often than not, the migration experience (the skills, languages, any accumulated wealth, etc.) is a great asset to returned migrants. A majority of the village chiefs in Frafra have at some time in the past lived outside the homeland as a migrant.

Although the above are very true, the rural exodus, nevertheless, has its disadvantages, for the Frafra homeland. The sex ratios in the localities already discussed show quite clearly that most of the men are

away from home. There is no doubt that the success of any family unit in rural Frafra depends in a large part on its labor potential, the number of economically productive males, females and also the number of dependents in the family. With many men away from home, it has been very difficult for some families to cope with the farm labor requirements. Although densities have been reduced, the absence of the very productive sector of the population is a handicap to the Frafra area.

About 50 percent of the group 20-45 years of all Frafra in Ghana are away from home at any given time and although dependency indicators are somewhat difficult to determine in basically subsistence economies, it is quite obvious that the Frafra area has been deprived of some of its able bodied farmers and workers. It is not an uncommon sight to see a man or woman well advanced in age, working laboriously on the farm. And yet, the expected help from the relatives away from home might not come because the pay of many migrants is inadequate to cater for all their needs let alone for them to make remittances home. As a matter of fact, some of them continue to have serious financial strains until they finally return home, more often than not, with nothing substantial in hand as noted above. The extent of the return-migration stream has been considerably reduced in recent years such that there are migrants today who have been away from home for more than 30 years with or without a few visits made back home. The preponderance of Frafra migrants in the urban and mining occupations, which offer incentives such as gratuity (social security fund) pension, wrist watches and medalions, means that a few migrants return home

after short periods of residence at the destinations. Even the casual visitor to the South may decide to stay behind, always hoping to obtain a job, and may in due course join the unemployed labor force. Besides, whereas in the past the unskilled migrant could go back home and return with the possibilities of obtaining a job again, nowadays he has to stick to his job or else he will lose it to job-seekers. Employers too are known to be engaging only those who will stay at the job for long periods in order to achieve continuous maximum production. It was unheard of to find a successful middle school leaver as a driver mate, bread seller or a meat seller in the market, but today it is becoming common among stranded middle school leavers who have flocked to the urban centers. The unskilled migrant is therefore becoming increasingly disadvantaged insofar as job opportunities are concerned at the urban centers and this means less help will be given to relatives back home or the continuous search for jobs will prevent them from going home.

An examination of the type of people who usually return home, coupled with responses from migrants in the South, has revealed that it is mostly the old people usually above 50 years, and those who have suddenly found themselves as family heads who go back home as permanent returnees. If it is argued that the returned migrant, in whatever condition he returns, is innovative or more enlightened than the non-migrant we still have to consider the resource base in which the returned Frafra migrant will find himself. The pattern of settlements here is highly dispersed and the farming system is fixed agriculture, without any fallow periods. Water is a critical problem and worst of all soil erosion (sheet and gully erosion), extensive rock-outcrops and

endemic environs have all reduced the cultivable land. As a matter of fact, the Frafra environment has presented the Agriculture Extension Officer or Regional Planner a difficult task since the efforts of Lynn in the 1930s. The migrant who is used to pay at the end of the month is unlikely to find subsistence agriculture in such an environment attractive or even satisfying. For example, a steward who had to leave Legon for home in 1968 because he suddenly became the head of an extended family through patrilineal/patrilocal inheritance was back on the campus seeking re-employment because "farming had nothing for me at home"--the beginning of the shirking of traditional family responsibilities.

CHAPTER VIII

TOWARDS AN ANALYTICAL MODEL OF THE PROCESSES OF THE MIGRATION SYSTEM IN FRAFRA

An Analytical Model of the Migration Process

Models relating the volume or rate of migration to characteristics of the migrants or of the areas of origin and destination have been developed by many social scientists. Prominent among these models are the gravity model, the intervening opportunities model, a gravity type model including wages, rates and unemployment rates developed by Lowry, and the Cornell mobility model (Zipf, George, 1946, Stouffer, S.S., 1940, Lowry, Ira S., 1966, McGinnis, Robert, 1967, pp. 121-126).

Almost all the above models used data derived from the developed countries. Models which have appeared in recent times using data from the developing world, especially Africa, include, the numerous models of migration put out by Todaro and others, the econometric model on Ghanaian inter-regional migration by Beal and others, and a functional model to estimate remittances sent back home by urban migrants in Kenyan towns by Johnson and Whitelaw (Todaro, 1968, 1969, 1971; Harris and Todaro, 1970; Johnson, 1971; Beal, Moses and Others, 1972; Johnson and Whitelaw, 1972; Riddel, 1969 and 1972).

Speare, utilizing data on rural-urban migration in Taiwan developed a cost-benefit model "to explain the frequently observed relations between migration and age, distance and other factors

(speare, 1971, p. 117). Speare based his model on Larry Sjaastad's model which treates migration as an investment from which one expects to receive returns sufficient to offset the costs of moving. Thus it is assumed that a person will move if the present value of all future monetary benefits from moving is greater than the monetary costs involved (Sjaastad, 1962, pp. 80-93). According to Speare, "we can assume that the only benefits are the difference in income between the origin and the destination and that the only costs are those of transporting the migrant, his family if they also move, and his belongings between two points" (1971, p. 118).

The basic model put out by Harris and Todaro on African rural-urban migration postulates that "migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected earnings with the urban employment rate acting as an equilibrating force on such migration" (Harris and Todaro, 1970). In short there are three characteristics of their basic model:

(1) migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations,

(2) the decision to migrate depends on "expected" rather than nominal wage differentials where the "expected" differential is determined by the interaction of two variables, the nominal wage and the probability of successfully obtaining employment in the urban sector, and

(3) migration rates in excess of urban job opportunity growth rates reflect a disequilibrium situation.

According to Hance, "it may be wondered whether migrations are not so complex and so changing as to make the development of a unified theory an unrealistic goal" (1970, p. 162). It is quite true that

there are numerous types of movements in Africa and that probably explains why the development of theory on African migration is still in its infant stages. Most of the models mentioned above were attempts to "develop a theory of rural-urban migration which can explain the apparently paradoxical relationship of accelerated rural-urban migration in the context of rising urban unemployment" (Todaro, 1973, p. 8).

In the present study the focus is on the processes of out-migration among the Frafra of Northern Ghana, both in the homeland and at the destinations. The purpose of the model being presented here is two-fold. First, it is hoped that the analytical model would help to explain further any established relationships among the main components of Frafra migration. The hypotheses of the study were examined at different level, in the previous chapters through the use of the factor analytic model in Chapter IV and descriptive statistics in Chapters V, VI and VII. The model will utilize data on the processes of the decision to migrate and the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants already at the destinations. Thus, its results should facilitate a further testing of the basic assumptions of the study.

Secondly, it was established through the review of the literature that rural-urban migration and other types of movements are very prevalent in many parts of Africa. A common pattern of labor movements in West Africa alone is the continuous flow of migrants from relatively less developed regions (mostly the Savanna and semi-desert environments) to regions with better jobs and other opportunities (the forest, mining and coastal areas). Although the patterns of Frafra migration are not necessarily very typical of the overall patterns of movements in West

Africa, we can make meaningful conclusions from this study which can, by and large, be generalized for other parts of the sub-continent, especially in areas with almost identical environmental conditions and patterns of labor flow.

The Model

The statistical method used as a predictive tool to examine further the data on the Frafra migrants was the multiple regression model. As explained in Chapter III stratified proportional sampling was carried out such that the number of migrants interviewed were more in destinations with many migrants (Berry and Barker, 1968, p. 93). The proportion of migrants interviewed in each destination (about four percent of the total number of Frafra migrans as reported by the 1960 census in each destination) was held constant. In all,1,416 migrants were interviewed in fourteen destinations.

The multiple linear regression was the form:

$$Y = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + \ldots, b_nX_n$$

where Y is the dependent variable (number of migrants interviewed in each of the 14 destinations visited); X_1, X_2,. . .X_n the independent variables; b_1, b_2,. . .,b_n, the estimating parameters and a is the regression intercept for Y. (Refer to Table 8.1 for a list of the variables).

Basically, the multiple regression model is the conventional statistical method for investingating trends in the relationships between two or more sets of data on aggregate behavior. It is useful in helping to establish meaningful areal associations between a dependent variable and a set of hypothetical independent variables. It is ,

Table 8.1. List of Variables for the Regression Analysis.

Number	Variable Name
Y	Number of migrants interviewed at each of the 14 destinations (Dependent Variable).
	Independent Variables
X_1	Distance from hometown in Frafra to destination.
X_2	Percent average rural-urban income differential between destination and hometown.
X_3	Percent of migrants with past education (Hypothesis 2)
X_4	Percent of migrants without any education.
X_5	Percent of migrants aged 14-45 years.
X_6	Percent of migrants who moved "in order to seek a job/ money" that is moved for economic reasons (Hypothesis 6)*
X_7	Percent who moved for family related reasons (Hypothesis 5)*
X_8	Percent of migrants who had information about a job before moving (Hypothesis 6)*
X_9	Percent of migrants who expected an average income before the initial movement (Hypothesis 6)*
X_{10}	Distance of hometown to Bolgatanga (Hypothesis 3)*

*Refer to Chapter II, for a list of hypotheses.

therefore, a suitable model to be used with the data collected in the field.

The variables used are some of the most important variables which directly affect the migration process as discussed in the preceeding chapters (Table 8.1). It was decided to use all of these in the regression model as an attempt to find out the explained variance of each variable in the total picture of rural-urban migration. Thus, as an aid to understanding the individual contributions of the variables both "Least Square Deletion" and "Least Square Addition" programs were carried out with the data. The contributions of the individual variables, in order of importance are given in Table 8.2.

The regression coefficients, the b's or betas, indicate the extent to which a unit change in each of the independent variables is associated with increases or decreases in migration rates. The regression coefficients, therefore, "provide a measure of the effect of a particular variable on the probability that a person with (or affected by) the characteristics described by the variable will move" (Speare, 1971, p. 123). The standardized regression coefficients provide a comparative index, indicating the relative strengths of the variables in explaining the variance in Frafra out-migration.

All the variables together accounted for 59 percent of the variance in migration rates. The most important variable is the percentage of migrants with no formal education, accounting for 48 percent of the total variation. It is quite obvious from the table that the significant variables are (1) percent of migrants with no education, (2) percent average rural-urban income differential between

Table 8.2. Summary Table for the Step-wise Regression Model (LSSTEP) In Order of Importance.

Variable	Simple Correlation r	Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	R^2	Increase or Contribution	Significance of Variable
1. Percent No Education	.32	.20	.37	.4766	.4766	.267
2. Percent Average Income	-.27	-.16	.31	.5335	.0569	.182
3. Percent Educated	.19	.07	.22	.5358	.0023	.295
4. Percent Aged 14-45 years	-.25	-.07	.22	.5578	.0220	.162
5. Percent Moved Economic	.08	.14	.20	.5631	.0053	.762
6. Percent Job Information	-.22	-.03	.16	.5768	.0137	.585
7. Percent Amount Expected	-.10	-.05	.16	.5773	.0005	.645
8. Percent Moved Family Reasons	-.07	-.05	.15	.5810	.0037	.843
9. Distance to Bolgatanga	-.18	-.00	.13	.5811	.0001	.983
10 Distance to Destinations	.06	.04	.02	.5879	.0068	.979

hometown and destinations, (3) percent of migrants with past or present education, and (4) percent of migrants aged 14 to 45 years. Perhaps, the fifth one is percent of migrants who received information about a job before moving--significance level of .58, and regression co-efficient of -.20. The rest of the variables could be regarded as insignificant in the regression model or in explaining Frafra migration.

All these important variables have been explained in the previous chapters in terms of their relative roles in the migration process. There will therefore not be another extensive discussion here and only the salient points will be given.

Apparently, the significant variables did not individually have high simple correlations with the migration rate although they were regarded as fair predictors of the migration process (the regression coefficients). Probably, the number of observations (14) and the number of independent variables (10) did not make it possible to have any significant correlations. A second problem is that the migration process in Africa is so complex in nature that most of the migration variables "are neither statistically or conceptually independent" (Riddel, 1970, p. 144). This supports Hance's contention that it will be unrealistic to try to formulate any theory on African migration (1970, p. 162).

A third shortcoming of the model is the absence of the effects of factors of length of residence of migrants at the destinations on their socio-economic characteristics. Although length of residence offered the best aggregate level of analyzing the data on migrants it was not possible, due to time and financial constraints especially the latter, to aggregate the data by length of residence for each of

the 14 Local Authorities or destinations visited.[1] There is no doubt the migration behavior, perceptions, the socio-economic characteristics, etc. of migrants who moved twenty years ago were different from those who moved in very recent years. Thus, separate regression models with data on the migrants by length of residence (recent migrants, 0-5 years; intermediate, 6-10 years; old, 11-20 years; and very old migrants, more than 20 years) would have definitely been helpful for developing the analytical model.

Although these are very true the present model can help to explain better some of the processes of migration. A combination of direct field data and the use of analytical models as predictive or explanatory tools should help to establish with certainty some of the important variables to be found in the whole real of migration. As Riddel pointed out, "given the complexity of the migration process and the expectation that the influence of certain variables will vary regionally or locally, the results of the regression model can be used to support hypotheses especially if 'the signs are all as predicted'" (1970, p. 140). Thus we could still use the model to explain Frafra migration by laying emphasis on the nature of the signs, although the correlations may be low.

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[1]As noted in Chapter III, the data on the 1,416 migrants already at the destinations were aggregated at two levels (a) by length of residence, that is four different computer outputs and (b) by the different migrant opportunity zones, that is the 14 destinatons visited giving 14 computer outputs. Thus, detailed analysis for all the destinations by length of residence would have required 56 computer outputs (14 by 4).

In the factor analysis in Chapter IV, rural-traditional variables were isolated as being the best predictors of Frafra migration (never been to school, low level of economic development, family ties, etc.). In the present regression model these traditional factors are still significant especially the variables, percent without any education, percent average rural-urban income differential. The importance of these rural-traditional factors support the assumption that the dynamics of kinship and family relationships are important in explaining Frafra migration.

Education

The importance of the variable "percent without any education" suggests that the role of education and literacy in migration system in Frafra is not very significant especially if we are considering the whole migrant group, including old and very old migrants. The fact that the variable "percent with past education" is the third important variable is indicative of the increasing importance of education and literacy in recent years, especially among the recent migrants.

Role of Income

Although the data supported the idea that many migrants move in order to seek employment, it was rejected in the regression model ($r = -.27$ and a regression coefficient of $-.16$). This was probably due to the complex nature of the processes of the decision to migrate. The model also rejected the hypotheses that, the probability of a person migrating for the first time will depend on among other factors, a receipt of reliable information about job opportunities at the destinations.

Distance From Hometown to Bolgatanga or the Destinations

The results of the model have accepted the assumption that the number of people from any locality in Frafra should decrease with increasing distance from Bolgatanga, the main urban center. Distances from hometown to the destinations, was not a significant explanatory variable, probably because of the fact that all the destinations are located at long distances from the Frafra homeland, that is distances to the destinations have very little effect on Frafra migration.

A further useful aspect of the model is the utilization of the simple correlation matrix (Appendix 6). Some of the important correlations will be discussed here. There is a correlation of -.56 between distance from hometown to destination and distance from hometown to Bolgatanga. This suggests that the further the destination the more likely the person will be staying near Bolgatanga. This is quite logical because people who migrate from the vicinity of Bolgatanga are more likely to go to the urban areas than their rural counterparts would. That is, migrants with former urban experience are more likely to move to urban areas than to rural areas. Apart from Kumasi, all the other major towns are further away from Frafra, mostly on the coast; hence the bi-polar correlation. There is a positive relationship (.46) between the distance to destinations and the average rural-urban income differential, that is the further you are from the destinations the higher the rural-urban income differential. This is true because the distribution of resources in Ghana is such that the further you move from the South the poorer the area will be.

There is an inverse relationship between percent educated and percent who moved for family reasons (-.67). Perhaps we will

understand this relationship better if we note that there is also a bi-polar correlation between those "with no education" and "expected incomes" (-.42). Apparently, those who are educated have no problems moving away from home because there is usually less family opposition. Their prime objective is to seek a job. A majority of them are young and single males, hence the level of family responsibility is rather low. If they migrate solely to obtain jobs then the educated intending migrant will tend to have higher expected incomes than the uneducated intending migrant. As noted elsewhere, the role of education has been to raise the aspirations of many rural people who seek urban jobs, and consequently move from home.

It is difficult to explain the inverse relationship between percent aged 14-45 years and percent moved for economic reasons (-.50). Perhaps it might have been a positive correlation if data on the young age group (15-24 years) had been used because this age group had most of the middle school leavers. This inverse relationship also points to the complex nature of the processes of the decision to migrate (refer to Figure 15).

The positive correlations between the variable, moved for economic reasons, and the two variables (1) percent who had information about a job, and (2) distance of hometown to Bolgatanga, (.74 and .63 respectively) are obvious relationships. If an intending migrant has information about a job, the most logical motive for his movement will be economic. We have noted above that migrants from the Bolgatanga area will prefer to go to the towns than to rural areas. Also, by virtue of living near an urban center at home, they are likely to be more conversant with the money economy than rural people. Their motive

for moving will most unlikely be,"in order to enjoy better social life" because most of the facilities in the destinations also are available in Bolgatanga. Some of the Bolgatanga urbanites are at times so aware of increasing their earning capacity that they will leave lower paid jobs at home and move. Thus, economic reasons will be more important to people who move from an urban area to another urban environment than rural people in the same migration stream.

Summary and Conclusions

Geographical mobility is a complex phenomenon of the human geography of any place. It is inter-related with a myriad of factors which are socio-economic, demographic, political, historical, socio-psychological and indeed, the totality of the human environment. Regions of varying levels of economic and social development in Africa are connected by streams of persons who move from one region or locality to the other in order to avail themselves of real or perceived opportunities.

In recent years many African countries have been hard hit by unemployment problems, the root cause of which is the continued influx of more people to urban areas. Migration is the key determinant of the urban labor supply hence it is necessary to better understand the processes of rural-urban migration.

This is a study of internal migration in Ghana, West Africa. In order to more fully understand the nature of migration patterns and their consequences for both the source and destination areas, the study focused on one ethnic group--the Frafra of Northern Ghana, for an indepth study.

Research Methods

Data were derived for the study from the Ghana Census Reports, Records in the Public Records Office, London and relevant material from the National Archives of Ghana and other related departments. The bulk of the data were however collected from the field through the use of interview schedules. Basically, stratified proportional and the systematic random sample methods were used in selecting the migrants to

be interviewed at the destinations and also the respondents interviewed in the homeland. In all 1,416 migrants at the destinations and 607 of the people at home were interviewed.

The following assumptions (hypotheses) were made for the study.

Hypothesis 1: There should be a direct relationship between migration on one hadn and literacy, ability to speak English and formal education on the other. In like manner the migration "experience" as found in families should in turn affect "the number of children in school," in a family. The analysis showed that although education has been important in recent years, the low level of illiteracy rates have not prevented rural Frafra people from moving. Hence the hypothesis had rather a weak level of acceptance.

Hypothesis 2: The extent of out-migration in any locality (settlement) in Frafra should be a function of the total population of that locality. Here it is assumed that over-population coupled with lack of cultivable land should be one of the prime factors which enter into the decision-to-migrate. Accepted as one of the major predictors of migration in a factor analytical model, but it had a weak correlation with migration rate when the derived factor was used in a regression model in Chapter IV.

Hypothesis 3: The number of people to migrate from any locality to the South should decrease with increasing distance from Bolgatanga--the commercial and administrative capital since 1936. Bolgatanga is suggested to be the center of out-migration (through its influence as a recipient of local migrants) to other parts of Ghana. This hypothesis was supported by data collected in the field and accepted by both the factor analytical and multiple regression models.

Hypothesis 4: Considering the location of Frafra in relation to destination areas, it is here assumed that their long distance migration destinations are predetermined at home and therefore intervening opportunities or obstacles should be of minor consideration. This assumption also means that "step-migrants" decide on the intervening stops before they leave home. Supported by the data collected in the field. This particular hypothesis is directly related to chain migration. The choice of a destination depends, to a large extent, on the existence of a relative there, and not necessarily the job opportunities in it.

Hypothesis 5: The number of migrants over time should be concentrated in some families, clans or lineages who make frequent movements to other regions. The migrant who has been to the South once is more likely to go again than the one who has not. Consequently, migration experience, contacts, friends, knowledge of job opportunities, etc. should easily be passed from migrant to clan members. The initial "social security" for the rural migrant on arrival at his destination for the first time from a family or clan member will also affect the decision-to-migrate process. Therefore, there should be a social network of chain migration in such families. The evidence of chain migration was strongly supported by the data as discussed in especially Chapter V and VI.

Hypothesis 6: Considering the role of economic factors in the decision-to-migrate process, the probability of a person migrating for the first time will depend on, among other factors, reliable information about job opportunities at the destination area. This was

not an important factor in the decision-to-migrate process, so it was rejected.

Hypothesis 7: Returned migrants should be "better off" in the home area. The probability to obtain regular employment for wages in the homeland itself should be directly related to the number of migration trips to the South or the length of stay in the South or both. Here is is assumed that the returned migrant who probably has acquired some skills, some form of education, knows other languages apart from the mother tongue, and above all, is used to being paid at the end of the month is likely to join the labor force in the modern sector at home. On the other hand, the nonmigrant who is used to subsistence agriculture will continue to keep up with his responsibilities in the traditional sector. This assumption was supported by data collected in the field as discussed in Chapter VI.

Migration and (a) the Different Opportunity Zones and (b) Length of Residence at the Destinations

Frafra migrants were considered as a heterogeneous group in two ways (1) by migration opportunity zones and (2) by length of residence at the destinations. The results of the research showed that in many respects migrants differ by the types of migrant opportunity zones in Ghana (mining, urban, agricultural, etc.). For example, migrants at the farms were at times strikingly different from their counterparts living in urban areas. The nature of job opportunities at these ecological zones also had a profound influence on the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants. Indeed, the distribution of resources and related employment opportunities in Ghana has made some parts of

the country mainly as labor reservoirs and others as migrant receiving areas (intermediate, and target destinations of different levels).

The bulk of the data were analyzed by four migrant categories of length of residence (1) recent, 0-5 years; (2) intermediate, 6-10 years; (3) old, 11-20 years; and (4) very old migrants, those who have been at the destinations for more than twenty years. The data strongly supported the idea that the socio-economic characteristics, migration behavior, perceptions, the processes of the decision to migrate, etc. of people who moved for the last five years were significantly different (through the use of chi-square tests) from people who moved ten or twenty years ago.

Factors of Momentum and Environmental Stresses

Since the 1930s there has been a continued flow of migrant labor from many parts of Northern Ghana, especially the Frafra area. A consequence of rapid urbanization and other economic developments in the Southern forest and Southeastern Savanna zones of Ghana has been the continued flow of seasonal and long-term migrants from the Northern Savannas.

As a result of the encouragement from the colonial administration, improved transportation system, the efforts of illegal recruiters, coupled with rather difficult conditions in the peculiar environment of the Frafra area, out-migration by the 1930s was a permanent phenomenon in the population geography of the district. In the 1930s, Fortes found that among the Tallensi alone about one man in three had at sometime or other in the past decades visited the South (Fortes, 1945, p. 11).

Over-population on a limited land resource base has been one of the major problems of Frafra area and in neighboring areas occupied by the Kusasi and Busansi. The situation was made worse by an influx of immigrants from further North (Upper Volta, Northern Togo and Mali) who "were seeking land for cultivation or were desirous of escaping the stringent political administration tax systems in their respective countries" (Dickson, 1969, p. 280). Consequently, there was a serious problem of land shortage with its concomitant problems of soil erosion periodic hunger and the like. As early as the 1930s, Lynn found out that the average land cultivated per person was about 0.4 acres in the more densely populated areas and .08 acres in the sparsely populated areas. At the time 78 percent of the arable land was under fixed cultivation (the compound farming system) and 22 percent in bush farm (Lynn, 1937). It has been estimated that approximately 280 persons per square mile is the maximum possible carrying capacity in the Nangodi traditional area (Hunter, 1967). Thus the densities as given above are far beyond the carrying capacity of the land considering the scarse resources available and the high unreliability rate of rainfall in these areas.

Faced with such a situation, out-migration probably provided an escape valve from the stringent survival system in the area. In the 1930s, Fortes noticed that "whereas, in former years, a young man moved out temporarily to the periphery of settlement on account of a shortage of land in his natal community, nowadays he often goes to Ashanti or the mines as a labourer" (Fortes, 1945, p. 10). Thus since the 1930s as inertia of rural-urban migration has been created in the

the Frafra homeland and there exists today a social network of chain migration among clan members or specific families. Among these migrants are those who go to seek permanent jobs, visitors of all categories to the South, and oscillatory or seasonal migrants, especially those few who work on the cocoa and food producing farms.

The Decision to Migrate

Both the forces of momentum and the environment stresses in Frafra can be regarded as the underlying factors of Frafra migration. The flow of information between the North and the South, and the creation of an awareness about job opportunities and better social life at the destinations have been responsible for the continued influx of the Frafra to the South. The dynamics of the family and clan system in Frafra have helped in the creation of chain migration.

The characteristics of movers indicated that it is mostly the young single males, the middle school leavers, returned migrants, the unemployed in the home area, the people without land to farm, etc. who participate in the long distance movements to the South. The role of chain migration has been to give assurance to the new migrant about a sound survival in the urban environment. The choice of a destination does not often depend on the opportunities there, but rather on the number of relatives living in the area.

The Socio-Economic Characteristics of Migrants Already at Destinations

Frafra migrants are mostly unskilled and semi-skilled workers, with a few in skilled positions. The bonds of network of relationships among migrants (relatives, friends, ethnic members)have resulted in the

concentration of Frafra migrants in specific occupations. In the urban environment, contrary to the rural-urban dichotomy concept, there is no erosion of the Frafra family or dynamics of clan and ethnic relationships. Instead, Frafra migrants live in very close ties with one another with almost all aspects of the Frafra culture or traditional norms seriously practised by them. Family and ethnic ties are often strong determinants of where a migrant will live at the destinations. Indeed, the Frafra migrant has been able to survive in the urban environment because he has succeeded in transferring the social security benefits of his extended family system to the destinations. Step-wise migration has been a common practice among Frafra migrants but it is gradually losing its importance. There are more direct trips today than was the case in the past.

Rural-Urban Links

Although a migrant might be away from home, there are, nonetheless, very strong links between him and relatives/friends at home. These links express themselves in varied forms including continuous remittances and gifting by the migrant to the people left home, return trips home, hospitality paid to visitors from home, etc. Above all, it is the desire of every migrant to return home permanently.

The migration experience has given birth to a new zeal of entrepreneurship among the Frafras, either based in the South or in the North. Some of the commercial stores and houses for rent in Bolgatanga and the other rural towns are owned by returned migrants or migrants still at the destinations.

There is a counter-stream, though nowadays a rather weak one,

of returned migrants (casual visitors to the South, seasonal migrants and permanent returnees) to the rural areas. These bring along with them some kind of wealth often appreciated in the rural setting, new ideas, knowledge of urban ways of life, acquired rudiments of education or skills, and qualities of multi-lingualism. Usually Akan, Hausa and some pidgin English are the other languages the returned migrant may know in addition to the Frafra dialect.

Although the above are very true, the rural exodus, nevertheless, has its disadvantages, for the Frafra homeland. The sex ratios in the localities already discussed show quite clearly that most of the men are away from home. There is no doubt that the success of any family unit in rural Frafra depends in a large part on its labor potential, the number of economically productive males, females and also the number of dependents in the family--the dependency ratio or load. With many men away from home, it has been very difficult for some families to cope with the farm labor requirements. Although densities have been reduced the absence of the very productive sector of the population is a handicap to the Frafra area.

Conclusions and Generalizations Based on the Analytical Model Presented in Chapter VIII

1. Economic factors, (rural-urban income differentials and different levels of development in Ghana and other parts of West Africa have been responsible for creating labor reservoirs in some regions.

2. Traditional factors are very important in explaining African migration. The dynamics of ethnic and family ties have led to the establishment of chain migration. The phenomenon of chain migration

is in some instances solely responsible for the destinations chosen by migrants, the types of occupations done, and above all for the continuous flow of migrants to the towns.

3. In regions where the level of education is low, and yet there are no job opportunities in the homeland, the majority of movers will be the uneducated. This is usually a function of forces of hisotrical factors, the environmental stresses and above all a better perception of job opportunities in other areas. In recent times, however, the improvement in education has changed this pattern such that a majority of recent movers are educated, especially middle school leavers. The inability to provide an equilibrium between improved education and job opportunities in rural areas will continue to encourage middle school leavers to migrate to the towns. The recent movers benefit from the forces of chain migration, because of the many migrants who may already be at the destinations, and are therefore in a better position to face the risks of migration than did migrants in the past.

4. As a result of the striking imbalances in the availability of resources and economic development, distance is generally not a hindrance to migration, especially if there is a better awareness among people of job opportunities further away.

5. People of working age (15-45 years) who move from urban centers in search of better opportunities are more likely to go to other urban centers than to rural destinations. This means that urban-rural types of movements are not common in Ghana, and perhaps other parts of Africa. For instance, the data showed that Frafra migrants who moved from Bolgatanga, the main urban center at home, went mostly to other urban centers and not to rural (farming) regions.

Policy Implications of Frafra Out-Migration

The free movementsof people have made it possible for certain sectors of the nations economy to be developed. There is no doubt that most of the development projects which have successfully been carried out in some parts of Ghana,since the colonial period,would have never been possible without the free movements of people. It was the influx of migrants from the Northern Savannas and neighboring African countries to the areas needing labor in the South which helped in the socio-economic transformation of Ghana. Beal and others have pointed out that "the huge expansion in migration improved its allocation of labor resources and enabled agricultural output to be increased in Ghana" (Beals, et. al., 1966, p. 200).

Although this is the case, rural-urban migration in recent years has created a host of problems for many African nations, notably urban unemployment. Many African nations have been aware of this problem though no effective measures have as yet been devised to cope with the continued influx of rural people to the towns. In Tanzania for instance, in 1965 the President ordered that all unemployed people in Dar es Salaam, the nations capital, should be shipped back to the home areas. But this program did not really arrest the situation until quite recently when Tanzania introduced large scale rural development programs.

The dynamics of historical factors, environmental problems such as poor soils, over-population, shortage of cultivable land, etc. in Frafra, coupled with the wide gap between rural-urban incomes are important determinants in the Frafra migration system. In addition, chain migration has been of major importance in facilitating continuous

movements of people in some families to different destinations in the South.

What alternatives are then left open to the social scientist, economist, regional planner or administrator, civil engineer, the regional medical officer, the social welfare worker, the agricultural officer, etc. regarding the implementation of programs which would help solve the environmental problems in Frafra area. Is out-migration to be encouraged or curtailed in the Frafra area? Ghanaians today are striving at building one nation for one people and therefore it is probably unrealistic to talk of internal migration policies. However, in the interest of fostering successful national or regional self reliance programs, we may have to re-evaluate the rural development programs in the Frafra area or for that matter, in most of the districts in Ghana with high out-migration rates.

According to Todaro,

> ". . .policies which operate only on the demand side of the urban employment picture such as wage subsidies, direct government hiring, elimination of factor-price distortions, and employer tax incentives are probably considerably less effective in the long run in alleviating the unemployment problem than are policies designed directly to regulate the supply of labor to urban areas. Policies of rural development are crucial in this regard" (1973, p. 15).

In like manner, Addo has remarked that rural development in Ghana

> ". . .may raise the living standards among the rural population and guarantee the prices of certain commodities such as rice, maize, oil-palm and cocoa. These measures themselves may themselves create confidence among the rural population and in turn encourage the children of these workers to participate in farming" (1972, p. 250).

In view of the rising urban unemployment rates, inadequate housing, educational and health problems at the destinations, there is a need for some rural development projects in rural Frafra in order to reduce the influx of migrants to the towns.

Some progress has already been made in the area--the Bolgatanga Meat Factory, the Tomatoe Factory at Pwaligu, the Vea Irrigation Project, and the urban developments in Bolgatanga. But all these, except the last, have a prerequisit of a sound agriculture base, namely, available good land for food crops, cash crops and grazing; wide stretch of land for effective irrigation or for easy use of simple farm machinery; a sound transportation system; and marketing facilities. The dispersed settlement pattern and the resultant fragmented individual holdings means that land consolidation will be very difficult to achieve here. And even the rough terrain--rock outcrops--in many parts of the district is bound to restrict the use of machinery. For any agriculture program to succeed here the government would have to be prepared to invest in the area because of the low earning capacity of the people. Their responses pertaining to how agriculture can be improved show quite clearly the role that the government must play in order to make agriculture more acceptable (Table 8.3). This is the crux of the problem because the government has many other national development programs to take care of, thereby making the capital available for numerous rural development programs rather limited.

Economic considerations are very important in the decision to migrate process. An effective rural development program is therefore likely to affect the rate of out-migration. A family planning program

Table 8.3 What Should Be Done to Make Agriculture More Acceptable?

Responses	Recent Migrant (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Government must provide capital	8.8	9.9	8.8	11.2
Government must buy farming implements	65.7	60.5	64.9	62.9
Agriculture should be mechanized	5.5	5.1	7.8	8.8
Loans must be given to farmers	8.5	9.9	8.0	10.7
Better price for farm products	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.5
Market must be provided for products	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0
Privilege must be given to farmers	0.7	0.3	0.8	0.0
Other	2.1	5.4	2.4	1.0
Not Applicable	0.7	0.6	0.0	0.0
Not Reported	7.8	7.4	6.7	4.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

in an area which has a large proportion of rural population will take some generations to be successful.[1] Cooperative farming is already gaining ground here and more cooperative units based on the clan and lineage system should be formed for better productive utilization of the land, coupled with credit facilities to the farmers. Cottage industries could be encouraged here, especially leather work, among the farmers and other enterprising people. Probably, with tourism being encouraged in the region (the development of the Paga Crocodile Pond) leather products of all types should find an easy market. If the reactivated Bolgatanga Meat Factory is in continued production skins and hides could be sold to the leather workers.

Fortunately, the government has recently decided to expand the irrigation scheme around the Vea Dam in order to cater for more rural farmers. If this objective is well executed it should go a long way to help in minimizing the rural exodus of the Frafra people.

Though the Frafras readily move to the South, they are reluctant to be resettled as the Damongo Resettlement Scheme showed. Is it possible that with expansion of cash agriculture in the North a newly settled hard working Frafra farmer is likely to stay at his new home without a permanent return to the original home in Frafra? Though with increased value attached to land now in the North, it might be a little difficult to acquire new areas for Frafra resettlement projects it

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[1]In 1969 the Ghana Government issued a population policy in which it promised to bring facilities to the people, and also encouraged private organizations, to assist the population to practice family planning (Ghana Populaton Policy, Accra, 1969).

should present no serious problems with careful administrative and traditional planning, especially in neighboring areas with wide expanse of land. What possibilities exist for reclaiming the lost rich river valleys for increased food and cash crops production? Already, tobacco is a rewarding cash crop to some farmers in the area and the added utilization of settled riverine areas will be a booster to the rural economy. We hope that the joint efforts of the World Health Organization and the World Bank at eradicating onchocerciasis and the simulian fly in West Africa will help to achieve this (Hunter, 1972).

In the field, migrants indicated that they would be willing to move to rural areas if they could earn the same income (Table 8.4). The failure of the early resettlement schemes have scared many social scientists about recommending similar programs in order to ease the population congestion in Frafra. In Frafra people are resettled in areas very close to the homeland such as in South-Mamprusi or Dagomba, where cash cropping is thriving they are most likely to stay permanently. If chain migration is responsible for most of the movements, this factor can be utilized in settling influential family members in such cash cropping areas with substantial financial and technical aid to them. In this way it might be possible to reduce the pull of family members already in the South. Indeed, the influential family members already in the South could all be encouraged to become settlers of the new "cash cropping towns." Returned migrants could be helped to start very productive agricultural lives in these towns in case they do not have any land of their own in the homeland for farming. When such a program is implemented in South-Mamprusi or Dagomba, frequent visits by settlers to the homeland should not be discouraged, considering the

proximity of Frafra, unless it greatly affects production levels.

Table 8.4. If You Could Earn As Much Income From Agriculture as From Urban Jobs, Would You Settle in a Rural Area as a Farmer?

Response	Recent Migrants (0-5 Yrs)	Intermediate (6-10 Years)	Old (11-20 Yrs)	Very Old (20 + Yrs)
Yes	80.7	86.6	87.1	90.2
No	10.1	6.0	5.6	4.4
Not Applicable	8.3	6.8	5.6	1.0
Not Reported	0.9	0.6	1.7	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	434	352	373	205

We have also seen the effect of education on rural young people. "The idea of the dignity of labor must be instilled in the youth of the country, and the educational system also reorganized to place emphasis on education for production in all sectors of the economy" (Addo, 1972, p. 250). Such a program is very much needed in Northern Ghana where the lack of facilities have made many educated youths feel that they were made to live in the towns. A reorganization of the education program, as is done by the current military regime through the "Operation Feed Yourself Program", would definitely help in diverting some of the middle school leavers, who flock to the towns, to become successful farmers. Cooperatives, loans from the Central Government and related technical advice to these young farmers will be needed to make a program of that type useful. Such appeals as was made recently

by the Divisional Chief of Tongo to the Ministry of Agriculture for farming machinery, fertilizers and other facilities for farmers in the area, if effectively implemented will go a long way to reduce the hunger, disease and poverty so prevalent in these parts of the country. Programs to alleviate the economic hardships of these areas inevitably calls for the participation of all disciplines in learning, government departments, the medical profession, private entreprenuers, the legal profession, etc.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FRAFRA MIGRANTS RESIDING OUT-SIDE FRAFRA HOMELAND (i.e., AT THE DESTINATIONS) AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER.

Local Council_____ Enumeration Area_____ Name of Town_____

Region_____ Name of Interviewer_____ Date of Interview_____

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Name of Migrant:_____ 2. Age:_____ 3. Sex: M ☐ F ☐

4. How old were you when you first migrated to the South?_____

5. House_____ Address: _____

6. Relationship to Head of Household: _____ 7. Age of the Head: _____

8. Marital Status of Migrant: S ☐ ; M ☐ ; D ☐ ; Sep. ☐ ; Widowed ☐

9. Wife's (wives) ethnic group and hometown:

(1)_____ (2)_____ (3)_____ (4)_____

10. Total No. of Wives_____ 11. Children:_____ Male:_____ Female_____

12. What is your religion? (i) Protestant ☐ ; (ii) Catholic ☐ ; (iii) Traditional ☐ ;

(iv) Muslim ☐ ; (v) No Religion ☐ ; (vi) Other (Specify)_____

13. Where did you become this?_____ 14. In what year_____

15. Have you ever changed your religion? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ 16. If Yes, Why?_____

SECTION B: INFORMATION ABOUT HOME AREA

1. Place of Birth: (Town/Region)_____ 2. Hometown in Frafra L.C.:_____

3. Distance of hometown from Bolgatanga:_____ 4. Your sub-ethnic group: (i) Talensi ☐;

(ii) Gurensi ☐; (iii) Nabnam ☐;

(iv) Boonsi ☐.

5. Name of Clan/Lineage_____ 6. Name of Head of Clan: _____

7. Give details about your clan members now staying the whole of South Ghana:

Town or Village	Region	No. There	Types of Jobs Engaged In

8. Total No. of Clan Members in the South:_____

SECTION C: PATHWAYS, STEPWISE AND RETURN MIGRATION

1. When did you leave home? _____ 2. Give all the towns/villages/regions you have been to since you first left:

Station	Name of Town	Region	Length of Stay--Date If Possible	Nearest Big Town	With Whom Stayed	Why Left	Means of Transportation

3. Where were you enumerated for the 1960 and 1970 Population Censuses--Town/Region/Local Council:
(i) 1960_____ (ii) 1970_____

4. When did you last visit home and for what purpose?_____

5. Over the past three years how many times have you gone home?_____

6. Give the time you usually return home:_____ 7. Give the reasons why you make these return visits home:_____

8. When do you hope to have your next visit home and for what?_____

APPENDIX 1: Continued.

9. Are you contemplating a permanent return to your village? Yes ☐ ; No ☐
   If Yes, when and why? _____

10. Do you wish to stay here for the rest of your life? Yes ☐ ; No ☐

11. If Yes, Why do you want to be here for the rest of your life? _____

12. If No, how much longer are you then going to stay here? (i) Less than 3 months ☐ ;
    (ii) Three months to one ☐ ; (iii) One to two years ☐ (iv) Two to four years ☐ ;
    (v) Four to six years ☐ ; (vi) Six to eight years ☐ , (vii) Eight to ten years ☐ ;
    (viii) More than 10 years ☐ . State how long _____

13. Why do you want to stay in this place for the time you have just said? _____

14. What would make you decide to return home permanently? (i) When I obtain sufficient income ☐ ;
    (ii) Cannot find a job ☐ ; (iii) I must return home to farm ☐ ; (iv) Tired of living in the
    South ☐ , (v) When I become a family head at home ☐ ; (vi) When children are all educated ☐ ;
    (vii) When most of, or all my children are adults (over 21 years old) ☐ ; (viii) Other (Specify)
    _____

SECTION D: INFORMATION ON CHANNELS-CARRIERS: MIGRATION BEHAVIOUR

1. Before your first migration trip what did you know of the South? (other regions outside Northern Ghana) _____

2. When did you decide (or when did it occur to you) to migrate? _____

3. What were your reasons for migrating to the South? (List all reasons):
   (1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____ (4) _____ (5) _____

4. If these were your reasons for leaving home what were you hoping to obtain or enjoy in the South?
   (1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____ (4) _____ (5) _____

5. Among these indicate the three most important aspirations you had:
   (1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____

6. Which of these have been fulfilled? _____ 7. Are you satisfied Yes ☐ ; No ☐ ; Why? _____
   _____

8. Indicate in order of importance whom/what you will say influenced your principal move (Use 1, 2, 3,4 in the boxes): (i) Father ☐ ; (ii) Mother ☐ ; (iii) Brothers/Sisters ☐ ; (iv) Other Relative (Specify) ☐ ; (v) Friend ☐ ; (vi) Labour Recruiting Agent ☐ ; (vii) On my own ☐ ;
   (viii) Other (Specify) _____

9. Were you promised anything before you left home? (i) Job ☐ ; (ii) Education ☐ ; (iii) Domestic Training ☐ ; (iv) Wife/Husband ☐ ; (v) Other (Specify) _____ (vi) None ☐

10. Who gave you the promise?

Name	Relationship	His/Her Occupation	Results of Promise

11. How did you obtain information about the South and all the Southern towns you have lived in? (Sources of information) _____

12. Give details about relatives, friends, etc. you travelled with, and the means of transportation between the places you have been to (start with the time he left his hometown).

	From _____ To _____	No. of Relatives on Trip	List Relationships	Their Locations Now	Means of Transportation

13. How was your means of transportation to the South provided/financed? (i) Financed by self ☐ ;
    (ii) Close Relative ☐ ; (iii) Friend ☐ ; (iv) Employment Agent ☐ ; (v) Other (Specify) _____

14. Why did you decide to come to this present town and not another place? _____
    _____

15. With whom did you first stay in this town? _____

16. Apart from him whom did you know here on your arrival in town? (You can indicate more than one where applicable). (i) Friend ☐ ; (ii) Relative ☐ ; (iii) Acquaintance ☐ ; (iv) Ethnic Members ☐ ; (v) Employment Agent ☐ ; (vi) None ☐ ; (vii) Other _____

17. Did you have any communication with him before coming? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ ; Explain how: _____

APPENDIX 1: Continued

18. What would make you decide to leave this town for another town in the South?
(i) Cannot find a job ☐ ; (ii) Lost my job ☐; (iii) Wages too low ☐ ; (iv) Tired of present job ☐ ; (v) Tired of living here ☐ ; (vi)Other(Specify)_____

19. List any towns in Ghana in order of preference you wish to migrate to (including the present location): (1)_____(2)_____(3)_____(4)_____(5)_____

20. Before you left home which were the towns, in order of preference, you would have liked to migrate to? (target towns). (1)_____(2)_____(3)_____(4)_____(5)_____

21. How often did you visit Bolgatanga in a month/year and for what purpose?_____

22. If Bolgatanga is not your home town, did you ever live there? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ .

23. If yes, for how long and for what purpose?_____

24. What will be your recommendation to a friend or relative at home who wants to migrate to this town or any other place in Southern Ghana?_____

25. List the types of help available to a new migrant who arrives in this town: (i) _____ (2)_____ (3)_____

Residence of Your Family Members

26. Where are your wives living? Give the number in the boxes: i. In this house ☐ ; ii. At home with my or her people ☐ ; iii. In another house in this town/village ☐ ; iv. In another town or village in Southern Ghana ☐ ; v. In another town in Northern Ghana outside Frafra ☐ ; vi. Other (Specify)_____

27. Married Women--How many wives has your husband including you?_____

28. Where is your husband living? (i) In this house ☐ ; (ii) At home with my/his people ☐ ; (iii) In another house in this town ☐ ; (iv) In another town in the South ☐ ; (v) In another town in North outside Frafra ☐ ; (vi) Other Specify)_____

29. Indicate the present location in Ghana of your children.

No. of Children	Sex		Ages	Where	With Whom	Why There
	M	F				

30. Were you married before you left home? Yes ☐ ; No ☐

31. Did you migrate during your first trip with your wife/husband? Yes ☐ ; No ☐

32. A Man: How long did you stay in the South before your wife joined you?_____

33. A Woman: How long did you stay at home without your husband before you joined him in the South?
_____

34. What would make you decide to send your wife back home to live with your/her people?
(i)_____(ii)_____(iii)_____(iv)_____(v)_____

SECTION E: EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT AND FAMILY

1. Indicate highest education obtained; Give Class/Form where necessary: (i) Never been to school ☐ ; (ii) Elementary-Primary ☐ ; (iii) Middle School ☐ ; (iv) Secondary ☐ ; (v) College-Teachers ☐ ; (vi) University (Degree) ☐ ; (vii) Arabic Education ☐ ; (viii) Other, Specify:_____

2. Give the Schools, Colleges, etc. you have attended:

School/Address	Duration	Distance From home	Certificate/Diploma etc. Obtained

3. Indicate your English proficiency: Spoken: None ☐ ; Fair ☐ ; Good ☐ ; Very Good ☐ .
Written: None ☐ ; Fair ☐ ; Good ☐ ; Very Good ☐

4. Indicate your Hausa proficiency Spoken: None ☐ ; Fair ☐ ; Good ☐ ; Very Good ☐
Written: None ☐ ; Fair ☐ ; Good ☐ ; Very Good ☐

5. Other languages spoken or written by you apart from the above_____

6. Indicate the highest education obtained by your wife(ves)_____

7. Give the No. of your children and relatives attending school here under your care.

Name of Child	School Attending	Age	Sex	Class	Why with You

APPENDIX 1: Continued

8. List any special training you have already completed or taking for apprenticeship/domestic/ driving, etc.

Type of Training	Duration	Location	Reasons Taken	Results

SECTION F: SOCIAL CHANGES AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS AMONG FRAFRA MIGRANTS IN THE SOUTH

Residential: Information About the Migrant's Present Location

1. Name of neighbourhood (section) in town: _____

2. What are the walls of the house made of? (i) Cement/Stone Block ☐ ; (ii) Landcrete ☐ ; (iii) Burnt Bricks ☐ ; (iv) Wood ☐ ; (v) Swish/Mud ☐ ; (vi) Other (Specify)_____

3. What is the roofing material made of? (i) Asbestos ☐ ; (ii) Corrugated Metal ☐ ; (iii) Concrete ☐ ; (iv) Wooden tiles/Shingle ☐ ; (v) Tatch (grass/leaves) ☐ ; (vi Other ☐ .

4. Condition of Dwelling Area: (Sleeping room, Kitchen, Hall, etc.) (i) Excellent ☐ ; (ii) Good ☐ ; (iii) Fair ☐ ; (iv) Poor ☐ .

5. What is the main source of light in this house? (i) Electricity ☐ ; (ii) Pressure lamps ☐ ; (iii) Other Kerosene lamps with glass shade ☐ ; (iv) Other, Specify_____

6. What is the cooking fuel for your family? (i) Electricity ☐ ; (ii) Gas ☐ ; (iii) Kerosene ☐ ; (iv) Charcoal ☐ ; (v) Firewood ☐ , Other, Specify_____

7. How many rooms in this house are occupied only by your household?_____

8. How many people of your household live together in a room? (Average No.)_____

9. How long have you been living in this town/village? (i) Less than 6 months ☐ ; (ii) 6 months but less than 1 year ☐ ; (iii) 1 year but less than 5 years ☐ ; (iv) 5 years but less than 10 years ☐ ; (v) 10 years or more ☐ ; State No of years_____

10. Are you satisfied with your present residence? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ .

11. If No, which type of house would you wish to live in? (Brief description)_____

12. What were the main reasons which led you to come to this section of the town?_____

13. List other section in this town you have ever stayed and duration of stay:

Section in Town	Duration	Why Left

14. Accommodation: How do you hold this accommodation? (i) Rent ☐ Give amount paid per month_____ (ii) Owner occupied ☐ ; (iii) Not owner occupied but free rent ☐ ; (iv) Other, Specify_____

15. If you rent it, or if it is rent free who owns this accommodation? (i) Relative ☐ ; (ii) Friend ☐ ; (iii) Private Ownership ☐ ; (iv) Public (Gov't.) Owned ☐ ; (v) Other, Specify_____

Social Networks Among Migrant in the South

16. When you first came here what was the occupation of the first person you stayed with?_____

17. How long did you stay with him?_____

18. Did you pay rent for staying there? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ .

19. Which of these did you enjoy? (i) Free meals ☐ ; (ii) A few free meals ☐ ; (iii) Paid for some of my meals ☐ ; (iv) Paid for all meals ☐ .

20. Since then have you again lived in a friend's house, in a relative's home or a house provided by an employer: Yes ☐ ; No ☐ .
If Yes, continue with 21 but if No, skip to 24. (Make sure that host is not around--if around skip to 23 and come back later if possible).

21. How long did you stay there?_____ 22. Did you pay rent there? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ .

23. Which of these did you enjoy? (i) Free meals ☐ ; (ii) A few free meals ☐ ; (iii) Partly paid for meals ☐ ; (iv) Paid for all meals ☐ .

Appendix 1: Continued

24. List dependents of all ages whom you feed and provide with accommodation in this house.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship	Why with you	Duration	Occupation

If many give the total number of dependents after a few examples_____

25. Do you belong to any organisations/associations/social clubs etc.

Name	Location	When Joined	Brief Objectives	Benefits By You	Role Played in Them

26. Indicate in order of importance the allegiance you owe to the following traditional heads. (Use 1, 2,3,4 in the boxes). (i) Clan/Family Head at Home ☐ ; (ii) Traditional Chief at home ☐ ; (iii) Chief of the Frafra Community here ☐ ; (iv) The chief of this town ☐ ; (v) None of the above ☐ ; (vi) Other, Specify_____

27. Do you make any gifts to any of these traditional heads? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ .

28. If Yes, fill in the following:

Whom	Type of Gift	Why Gift is Made	How Often in a Yr./s.

29. If you belong to associations etc. at home state briefly here the role you play and the achievements of these associations_____

Urban Life: Attitudes and Benefits

30. Apart from the main (chief) reasons why you came to this town, are there any other advantages of coming to this town? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ . If Yes, mention the 3 most important advantages (1)_____ _____(2)_____ _____(3)_____

If No, why?_____

31. Do you, or did you face any problems in living in this town? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ .

If Yes, mention the 3 most important ones:_____

32. (i) What is your best form of entertainment_____
(ii) Can this be found in this town? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ .
(iii) Can it be found in some other areas? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ . If Yes, which areas_____

33. If you could find the same type of job as your present one in a rural area, would you prefer working in a rural area? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ .

34. Considering your background and education, which type of work best suits you? (i) Urban work ☐ ; (ii) Rural work ☐ ; (iii) Location does not matter ☐ .

35. Indicate in order of importance how you obtain information about events in the city, country, etc. (Use 1, 2, 3, 4. . .in the boxes). (i) Radio ☐; (ii) Newspapers ☐ ; (iii) Friends ☐ ; (iv) Family Head Here ☐ ; (v) Local Chief Here ☐ ; At Work ☐ . (vii) Other, Specify_____

36. Indicate in order of importance how you think you are better off than people at home. (Use 1, 2,3,4....in the boxes). (i) Has a job ☐ ;(ii) Better social life--entertainment ☐ ; (iii) Electricity ☐ ; (iv) Women-prostitutes--available ☐ ; (v) Can support family ☐ ; (vi) Education--training etc. ☐ ; Other, Specify_____

37. As a result of your living in an urban area (like this town) do you gain any special advantages or disadvantages in your local area or in the eyes of your local people? (a) Advantages ☐; (b) Disadvantages ☐ ; (c) Does not apply ☐.

If (a) or (b) state them: (i) Advantages_____
(ii) Disadvantages_____

APPENDIX 1: Continued.

SECTION G: ECONOMIC CHANGES--INCOME, EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT AND PROPERTY

Employment--Income

1. Before you migrated out of Frafra area what work were you doing: (Indicate all that apply). (i) In school ☐ ; (ii) Employed for wages ☐ (a) Job_____(b) Wages earned per month_____(iii) Self-Employed business, e.g., trader, seamstress etc. ☐ ; (a) Specify business_____(b) Amount earned from business per stated period_____(iv) Farming (a) Full time ☐ ; (b) Part time ☐ ; (c) Family Farm ☐ ; (d) Independent farm ☐ ; (e) State income from farm_____ (v) Fully unemployed ☐ , State length of period unemployed_____(vi) Other, Specify_____

2. Where were you staying before you migrated from the Frafra area? (i) At home in a family house ☐; (ii) In a friend's house ☐; (iii) In a house provided by your employer in Frafra ☐ ; (iv) In a rented house (room) ☐ ; State amount paid per month_____(v) Other, Specify_____

3. How much money did you bring to the South during your first migration trip?_____

4. In deciding to migrate did you have some information about a job? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ .

5. If Yes, which of the following gave you the most information about the job? You can indicate up to 3 in a ranking order. (i) Family Members ☐ ; (ii) Friends ☐ ; (iii) Labour Recruiting Agent ☐ , (iv) Radio ☐ ; (v) Newspaper ☐ ; (vi) Labour Office in the North ☐ ; (vii) Other, Specify_____

6. When you first arrived in the South what type of work were you looking for?_____

7. When you first arrived how much money in a month were you expecting to earn from this job/_____

7b. What work did you do first?_____

8. When you first arrived did a friend or family member help you find work? Yes ☐ ; No ☐

9. If Yes, Relationship_____His Occupation_____

10. If No, How did you obtain your first job? (i) The Labour Office ☐ ; (ii) An Employment Agent ☐ (iii) My own arrangements with my employer ☐ ; (iv) Other, specify_____

11. Occupation on History out of Frafra (including Present Job).

Occupation	Type of Migration	Location (Where)	Duration	Income/Month	Why Left

12. Apart from your job name other sources of income?_____

13. List all the benefits you are enjoying from your present job:_____

14. When you are in need of money/help whom do you contact--List in ranking order about 3 people.

	Relationship	His Occupation	Why contact him

15. Since you came here (South/Town) have you been sending anything back home? Yes ☐ ; No ☐

16. If Yes, fill this table:

	Type of Remittance	Time Sent Home	To Whom	For What Purpose

17. If No, any comments?_____

18. State your total INCOME per month._____

19. Expenditure: State your monthly expenditure on the following:

Food	Housing	Education	Remittances to Relatives Amount per stated period Year/month	Clothes	Other

APPENDIX 1: Continued

PROPERTY OWNED:

20. Indicate here details about your property:

	Total Number	Where Located	Types	When Acquired	Income Producing/Year	Joint/ Personal Owned
(i) Buildings (Houses)						
(ii) Land/farm (Acres)						
(iii) Business						
(iv) Animals						
(v) Savings						
(vi) Vehicles, Machines etc.						
(vii) Others						

21. Among these which did you own before you migrated?_____

22. List what you have now which you did not have at home_____

23. When you are ready to return home list in order or priority what you would like to take back home.
(i)_____(ii)_____(iii)_____(iv)_____(v)_____

Unemployment

24. When you finished school how long did it take you to obtain a job?_____

25. If you stayed here for a period without a job did you consider any of the following?
(i) Accepting a lower paid job than your expectations ☐ ; (ii) Farming as an occupation ☐ ;
(iii) Going to some other town or area ☐ ; (iv) Other, Explanation_____

26. Why did you not move to another place to obtain a job?_____

Questions 27 to 32 are to be filled if he/she is now UNEMPLOYED

27. What do you think are the main reason(s) why you cannot find a job here? You can indicate all that apply to you. (i) You have too little education ☐ ; (ii) There are no jobs available ☐ ; (iii) You are being discriminated against by employers ☐ ; (iv) The Labour Office is not doing its best ☐ ; (v) Wages are too low here ☐ ; (vi) I do not want any work here ☐ , Explain
_____

(vii) Other, Specify:_____

28. In your opinion name the jobs which are easily available now to the unemployed people
(i)_____(ii)_____(iii)_____(iv)_____(v)_____

29. Which towns do you know that offer more and better jobs to the unemployed than here?_____

30. Why would you not move to any of them?_____

31. Name any benefits you enjoy as an unemployed person_____

32. What do you think are your major problems as an unemployed migrant?_____

SECTION H: ATTITUDES TOWARDS RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

(Use Question 1 to 3 where applicable)

1. Why did you decide to migrate to this town/city instead of going to a cocoa farm or a food producing area?_____

2. Why did you decide to come to this mining town instead of going to a farming region in the South?
_____

3. Why did you come to this farming area instead of going to a town or a city?_____
_____

APPENDIX 1: Continued

4. If you could earn as much income from agriculture as you do from urban employment, would you be willing to undertake some form of agriculture work? Yes ☐ ; No ☐ .

5. If No, why?_____

6. What should be done in order to make agriculture more acceptable to people? (i)_____ (ii)_____ (iii)_____ (iv)_____

7. Given that the cost of living is lower in the rural areas, will you be willing to work in the rural area if your present job is moved to:
   (a) your local area Yes ☐ ; No ☐
   (b) some rural area not far from your home town? Yes ☐ ; No ☐
   (c) any rural area? Yes ☐ ; No ☐

   If answer is still No, why?_____

8. If the government wants people to work in the rural areas, what things must the government do if the idea is to be accepted: Name these in order of their importance_____

E N D

You have been very helpful and co-operative. Thank you very much for that.

REMARKS BY INTERVIEWER

1. The respondent was: (i) Quite co-operative ☐ ; (ii) Neutral ☐ ; (iii) Not very co-operative ☐

2. The respondent: (i) seemed to remeber well and likely was accurate ☐ ; (ii) had difficulty recalling the information desired from him ☐ ; (iii) May not have been giving accurate answers ☐ .

3. The interview lasted about_____Hours_____Minutes.

Note: Interviewers can include any comments below.

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PEOPLE 15 YEARS AND OVER RESIDING IN THE FRAFRA HOMELAND (RETURNED MIGRANTS, NON-MIGRANTS, INTENDING MIGRANTS ETC.).

Local Council_____ Enumeration Area_____ Name of Town_____

Region_____ Distance from Bolgatanga_____

Name of Interviewer_____ Date of Interview_____

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Name: _____ 2. Age: _____ 3. Sex M ☐ ; F ☐ 4. House Address_____

5. Relationship to Head of Household: _____ 6. Age of the Head: _____

7. Marital Status: s ☐ ; D ☐ ; Sep. ☐ ; Widowed ☐ ; M ☐ 8. No. of Wives_____

9. No. of Children: _____ Male: _____ Female: _____ 10. What is your religion? (i) Protestant ☐ ; (ii) Catholic ☐ ; (iii) Traditional ☐ ; (iv) Muslim ☐ ; (v) No Religion ☐ ; (vi Other, Specify_____

11. Where did you become this_____ 12. In what year_____

13. Have you ever changed your religion? Yes ☐ ; No 14. If Yes, Why?_____

15. Your sub-ethnic group (i) Talensi ☐ ; (ii) Gurensi ☐ ; (iii) Nabnam ☐ ; (iv) Boonsi ☐

16. Name of Clan/lineage: _____ 17. Head of Clan: _____

18. Where were you enumerated for the 1960 and 1970 Population Censuses? Town/Region
(i) 1960_____ (ii) 1970_____

SECTION B: EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT AND FAMILY

1. Indicate the highest education obtained: (i) Never been to school ☐ ; (ii) Elementary Primary ☐ ; (iii) Middle School ☐ ; (iv) Secondary ☐ ; (v) College ☐ ; (vi) University (Degree) ☐ ; (vii) Arabic Education ☐ ; (viii) Other, Specify_____

2. Give the Schools, Colleges etc you have attended:

School/Address	Duration	Distance from Home	Certificate	Diploma Obtained

3. Indicate your English proficiency: Spoken: None ☐ ; Fair ☐ ; Good ☐ ; Very Good ☐
Written: None ☐ ; Fair ☐ ; Good ☐ ; Very Good ☐

4. Indicate your Hausa proficiency: Spoken: None ☐ ; Fair ☐ ; Good ☐ ; Very Good ☐

5. Other languages spoken or written apart from the above_____

6. List any special training you have already completed or taking for apprenticeship/domestic/driving etc.

Type of Training	Duration	Where Taken	Reasons Taken	Results

7. Indicate the Highest Education obtained by your wife(ves): (i)_____(ii)_____(iii)_____

8. Give the Number of children and relatives attending school here under your care:

Name of Child	School Attending	Age	Sex	Class	Why with You

9. Give details about members of this house who have completed their education: (past education)

Name	Highest Class Obtained	Where Located Now	Occupation	Help Received From Him/Her

10. If more than 10 fill in ten names and write the total number of people with past education here: _____

APPENDIX 2: Continued

SECTION C: MIGRATION BEHAVIOUR, EXPERIENCE, INFORMATION CHANNELS, ETC.

1. Have you ever lived outside Frafra area for more than 6 months? Yes ☐ ; No ☐

2. If Yes, what were the main reasons for migrating to the South or other parts in the North?
(i)_____(ii)_____(iii)_____(iv)_____

3. Indicate in order of importance whom/what you will say influenced your past migration outside Frafra? (Use 1, 2, 3, 4 in the boxes). (i) Father ☐ ; (ii) Mother ☐ ; (iii) Brothers/Sisters ☐; (iv) Other Relatives ☐ , (v) Friend ☐ ; (vi) Labour Recruiting Agent ☐ ; (vii) On my own ☐ ; (viii) Other (Specify)_____

4. Indicate below all the places outside Frafra you have lived in for more than 6 months.

Town	Region	Length of Stay	With Whom Stayed	Why Went There	Means of Transportation

5. Give the reason(s) why you returned home: (i)_____(ii)_____(iii)_____

6. Do you intend to migrate to any place outside Frafra? Yes ☐ ; No ☐

7. If Yes, list in order of preference the towns you would like to migrate to? (target towns):
(i)_____(ii)_____(iii)_____(iv)_____(v)_____

8. How do you obtain information about the South or about the towns you have listed above? (Sources of Information) (i)_____(ii)_____(iii)_____(iv)_____(v)_____

9. What are you hoping to obtain or enjoy when you migrate outside Frafra? (i)_____
(ii)_____(iii)_____(iv)_____(v)_____

10. Among these indicate the three most important aspirations you have for wishing to migrate outside Frafra: (i)_____(ii)_____(iii)_____

11. Indicate in order of importance whom/what you will say has influenced or is influencing your intention to migrate. (Use 1, 2, 3, 4 in the boxes); (i) Father ☐ ; (ii) Mother ☐; (iii) Brothers/Sisters ☐ ; (iv) Other Relative ☐ ; (v) Friend ☐ ; (vi) Labouring Recruiting Agent ☐ ; (vii) On my own ☐ ; (viii) Other, Specify:_____

12. If you will never migrate outside Frafra give the reasons for deciding to do so:_____

13. What will be your recommendation to a relative or a friend who wants to migrate outside Frafra?
_____

Residence of Your Family Members

14. Where are your wives living? Give the number in the boxes: (i) In this house ☐ ; (ii) At home with my or her people ☐ ; (iii) In another house in this town/village ☐ ; (iv) In another town or village in Southern Ghana ☐ ; (v) In another town in Northern Ghana outside Frafra ☐ ; (vi) Other (Specify)_____

15. Married Women--How many wives has your husband including you?_____

16. Where is your husband living? (i) In this house ☐ ; (ii) At home with my/his people ☐; (iii) In another house in this town ☐ ; (iv) In another town in the South ☐ ; (v) In another town in North outside Frafra ☐; (vi) Other (Specify)_____

17. Indicate the present location in Ghana of your children:

No. of Children	Sex		Ages	Where	With Whom	Why There
	M	F				

18. Did you migrate during your first trip with your wife/husband? Yes ☐ ; No ☐

19. A Man: How long did you stay in the South before your wife joined you?_____

20. A Woman: How long did you stay at home without your husband before you joined him in the South?_____

21. Will you migrate outside Frafra with your wife/husband? Yes ☐ ; No ☐

22. If Yes, Give the reasons for your decisions:_____

23. If No, Why?_____

APPENDIX 2: Continued

SECTION D: RELATIVES, FRIENDS ETC. FROM THIS HOUSE IN THE SOUTH AND OTHER PLACES OUTSIDE FRAFRA

1. Give details below about people from this house alone now living outside Frafra:

Name	Sex	Town and Address if any	Occupation	Marital Status	Duration	When Expected Back Home

N.B. If more than seven, give the total number here after filling in seven names above: _____

2. What will you say were the main reasons why these migrated outside Frafra? _____

3. Indicate the nature or tvpes of contacts between you and the people in the South? (Indicate all that apply) (i) Letters ☐, How often? (Months/Years) _____
(ii) Their visits ☐; How often? (Months/Years) _____
(iii) Your visits ☐; (a) Give towns _____ (b) How often (Months/Years) _____
(iv) Messages ☐; How Often? (Months/Years) _____
(v) Other, Specify _____

4. Give details below about the help-money, clothes, farm implements, building materials, you receive from your relatives away from home:

Type of Remittance	Time Usually Sent	From Whom	For What Purpose

5. Indicate below the help (advice, medicine, juju, smock etc.) you give to your relatives in the South:

Type of Help	Time Given	To Whom	For What Purpose

6. What would you say are the advantages and disadvantages of people migrating outside Frafra?
Advantages: (i) _____ (ii) _____ (iii) _____ (iv) _____ (v) _____
Disadvantages (i) _____ (ii) _____ (iii) _____ (iv) _____ (v) _____

SECTION E: ECONOMIC CHANGES--INCOME, EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT AND PROPERTY

1. What is your occupation? (Indicate all that apply): (i) in School ☐; (ii) Employed for wages (a) Job: _____ (b) Wages earned per month _____ (iii) Self-Employed business, e.g. trader, seamstress, etc. ☐; (a) Specify business _____ (b) Amount earned from business per stated period _____ (iv) Farming: (a) Full Time ☐; (b) Part-time ☐; (c) Family Farm ☐; (d) Independent Farm ☐; (e) State Income from Farm _____

2. Apart from your job or farm, name other sources of income. _____

3. In deciding to migrate do you have some information about a job? Yes ☐; No ☐

4. If Yes, which of the following have given you the most information about a job? You can indicate up to 3 in a ranking order: (i) Family members ☐; (ii) Friends ☐; (iii) Labour Recruiting Agent ☐; (iv) Radio ☐; (v) Newspaper ☐; (vi) Labour Office in the North ☐; (vii) Other, Specify _____

5. When you arrive in the South what type of work would you be looking for? _____

6. When you arrive how much money in a month will you be expecting to earn from a paid job? _____

7. List all the benefits you are enjoying from your present job: _____

8. When you are in need of money/help whom do you contact--List in ranking order about 3 people.

Relationship	His Occupation	Why Contact him

9. State your total INCOME per month: _____

10. Expenditure: State your monthly expenditure on the following:

Food	Housing	Education	Remittances to Relatives Amount per stated period (Year/Month)	Clothes	Others

APPENDIX 2: Continued

Property Owned

11. Indicate here details about your property:

	Total No.	Where Located	Types	When Acquired	Income Producing/Year	Jointly/ Personally Owned
(i) Buildings (Houses)						
(ii) Land/Farm (Acres)						
(iii) Business						
(iv) Animals						
(v) Savings						
(vi) Vehicles Machines etc.						
(vii) Others						

12. If you have ever migrated, among these which did you own before you migrated?_____

13. If you intend to migrate how will you pay for the cost of transportation?_____

Unemployment

14. When you finished school how long did it take you to obtain a job?_____

15. If you stayed here for a period without a job did you consider any of the following:
(i) Accepting a lower paid job than you expectations ☐ ; (ii) Farming as an occupation ☐ ;
(iii) Going to some other town or area ☐ ; (iv) Other, Explanation:_____

16. Why did you not move to another place to obtain a job?_____

17. What do you think are the main reason(s) why you cannot find a job here? You can indicate all that apply to you (if unemployed): (i) You have too little education ☐ ; (ii) There are no jobs available ☐ ; (iii) You are being discriminated against by employers ☐ ; (iv) The Labour Office is not doing its best ☐ ; (v) Wages are too low here ☐ ; (vi) I do not want any work here ☐ ; Explain_____(vii) Other, Specify_____

18. In your opinion name the jobs which are easily available now to the unemployed people.
(i)_____(ii)_____(iii)_____(iv)_____

19. Which towns do you know that offer more and better jobs to the unemployed than here?_____

20. Why would you not move to any of these?_____

21. Name any benefits you enjoy as an unemployed person._____

22. What do you think are your major problems as an unemployed person?_____

23. How long have you been unemployed?_____

E N D

You have been very helpful and cooperative. Thank you very much for that.

REMARKS BY INTERVIEWER

1. The Respondent was: (i) Quite cooperative ☐ ; (ii) Neutral ☐ ; (iii) Not very cooperative ☐

2. The Respondent (i) seemed to remember well and likely was accurate ☐ ; (ii) had difficulty recalling the information desired from him ☐ ; (iii) May not have been giving accurate answers ☐

3. The interview lasted about _____Hours_____Minutes.

Note Interviewer can include any comments below.

APPENDIX 3

The Distribution of Frafra Migrants in the South
(Refer to Figures 7 and 8)

Census Code No.	Local Council	No. of Frafra in Council	Percentage of All Frafra in the South
1	Nzima-Evalue-Ajomoro	90	0.28
2	Ahanta-Shama	130	0.41
3	Sekondi-Takoradi M.C.	1,240	3.94
4	Komenda-Edina-Eguafo	170	0.54
5	Cape Coast	410	1.30
6	Mfantisiman	90	0.28
7	Gomoa-Awutu-Effutu	100	0.31
8	Swedry	30	0.09
9	Agona	10	0.03
10	Nyakrom-Nkum	30	0.09
11	Breman-Ajumako	50	0.15
12	Asin	220	0.69
13	Denkyira-Twifu-Hemang	660	2.09
14	Wassaw-Fiasse	810	2.57
15	Tarkwa-Abosso	1,870	5.94
16	Amenfi-Aowin	370	1.17
17	Sefwi-Wiawso	550	1.74
18	Sefwi-Anhwiaso-Bekwai	1,470	4.67
20	Ga-Dangbe-Shai	110	0.34
21	Accra M. Council	2,320	7.38
22	Tema	330	1.04
30	Western Akim	800	2.54
31	Southern Akim Abuakwa	120	0.38
32	Nsawam	40	0.12
33	Akwapim	110	0.34
34	Ada	0	0.0
35	Akwamu-Anum-Boso	20	0.06
36	Manya-Yilo-Asoduku	170	0.54
37	New Juaben	210	0.66
38	East Akim Abuakwa	330	1.04

Appendix 3. Cont'd.

Census Code No.	Local Council	No. of Frafra in Council	Percentage of All Frafra in The South
39	West Akim Abuakwa	920	2.92
40	Oda-Swedru	410	0.13
41	South Kwahu	420	1.33
42	North Kwahu	270	0.85
50	Anlo South	20	0.06
51	Keta U. Council	40	0.12
52	Anlo North	30	0.09
53	Tongu	10	0.03
54	Ho	60	0.19
55	Kpandu	140	0.44
56	Buem-Krachi	360	0.14
60	Adansi-Bankwa	500	1.59
61	Obuasi	1,220	3.88
62	Amansie	460	1.46
63	Kumasi West	1,090	3.46
64	Kumasi M. Council	4,740	15.08
65	Kumasi South	470	1.49
66	Kumasi East	1,350	4.29
67	Sekyere	1,760	5.59
68	Kumasi North	590	1.87
70	Brong-Ahafo South	1,180	3.75
71	Sunyani	150	0.47
72	Brong-Ahafo Central	780	2.48
73	Brong-Ahafo North	710	2.25
74	Brong-Ahafo East	890	2.83
	Total	31,430	100.00

(After Ghana 1960 Census, Special Report E)

APPENDIX 3 Continued

Distribution of the Frafra in Northern Ghana
(Refers to Figures 7 and 8)

Census Code No.	Local Council	No. of Frafra In Council	Percentage of Frafra in the North
80	Western Gonja	960	0.61
81	Eastern Gonja	180	0.11
82	Nanumba	160	0.10
83	Eastern Dagomba	350	0.22
84	Tamale U.C.	1,470	0.94
85	Western Dagomba	760	0.48
86	South-Mamprusi	5,260	3.36
87	Wala	70	0.04
88	Lawra	40	0.02
89	Tumu	30	0.01
90	Builsa	60	0.03
91	Kasena-Nankani	800	0.51
92	Frafra (Homeland)	143,830	92.06
93	Kusasi	2,260	1.44
	Total	156,220	100.00

(After Ghana 1960 Census, Special Report E)

APPENDIX 4

4(a). Income of Urban and Rural Households, Eastern Region, 1967.

		Urban	Rural	Urban (Rural = 100)
1	Income per household (NC per month):			
2	of which: of household head	37.5	33.1	113
3	of other members	30.6	23.3	131
4	imputed (production for self-consumption)	3.8	2.1	181
	Income per capita (NC per month)			
5	all households	11.0	10.1	109
6	single member households	26.3	25.9	102
7	multi-person households	9.0	8.4	107
	Size of household (persons):			
8	all households	3.41	3.27	104
9	multi-person households	4.61	4.18	110
	Income of heads of household exclusively engaged in one occupation (NC per month):			
10	wage income	40.5	30.4	133
11	trading	31.0	33.9	91
12	sale of crafts	30.3	24.8	122
13	farming	23.0	29.2	79
14	of which: sales	13.8	17.8	78
15	self-consumption	9.3	11.4	82
	Percentage of households with:			
16	more than one income recipient	13	21	
17	only one source of income	83	87	
18	a single member	33	29	
	Percentage of household heads:			
19	employees	39	17	
20	self-employed	56	80	
21	unemployed	3	2	
	Percentage of household income from:			
22	wage income	44	15	
23	trading	26	21	
24	sale of crafts	8	4	
25	farming	16	57	
26	of which: sales	8	34	
27	self-consumption	8	23	
	Income per household by education of household head (NC per month):			
28	no primary education or illiterate	30.8	32.4	95
29	some primary education	32.5	35.7	91
30	some middle school education	49.0	37.9	129
31	some education beyond middle school	61.5	47.9	128
32	urban wage earners/rural farmers, no more than primary education	35.6	27.4	130
	Distribution of household income			
33	standard deviation (NC per month)	27.1	19.6	138
34	coefficient of variation (percent)	73	58	126
	Income per household (NC per month):			
35	poorest quartile	16.9	15.2	111
36	richest quartile	67.8	58.4	116
	Percentage of total income received:			
37	poorest quartile	11.4	11.1	
38	richest quartile	45.8	42.8	

Notes: [1]The valuation of home-produced and consumed goods was based on local market prices.

[2]Income includes income (less any business costs, and excluding imputed rents) from all sources.

[3]Income is net of taxes: but apart from wage-employees on PAYE, very few returns showed tax deductions.

Source: (After J. B. Knight, 1972).

4(b). Expenditure of Urban and Rural Households 1961-62.

	Urban	Rural	Urban (rural = 100)
Expenditure per household (NC per month):			
All Regions:			
Consumption of own produce	2.6	8.5	31
Other expenditure	34.2	19.0	180
Total expenditure	36.8	27.4	134
By Region:			
Accra	46.3		
Ashanti	41.3	35.6	116
Brong Ahafo	42.5	30.7	138
Eastern	36.2	31.1	116
Northern	23.4	17.1	137
Volta	33.7	33.3	101
Western	27.9	26.5	105
Expenditure per capita (NC per month)	9.0	6.0	150
Average size of household	4.08	4.54	90
Percentage of single member households	22.3	13.4	

Notes: [1]The data relate to a two-stage stratified sample of 990 households with incomes under NC100 per month.

[2]Urban comprises "urban" and "large towns," and refers to all towns with a population of 5,000 and above.

[3]No allowance is made for imputed rents. Consumption of goods produced by the household was valued at local market prices.

Source: (After J. B. Knight, 1972).

APPENDIX 5

Explanatory Notes on the Design of Figure 17 (Chapter VI)

The sources of material for the map were (1) Ghana Survey Department, (2) Grove and Huszar, (1964)and data from the current research.

The first exercise to be undertaken, in order to determine the spatial framework of step-wise migration, was the utilization of a map with all the important Ghanaian towns. The administrative map of Ghana published by the Survey Department was very helpful in this respect. Grove and Huszar produced a hierarchy of places (towns) in Ghana based on 17 essential kinds of services. These were derived from the main service categories of (1) Administration, (2) Communications, (3) Commerce, (4) Social Services, (5) Local Industry (Grover and Huszar, 1964). The service centers so defined by them in each region were utilized with the Administrative map for designing Figure 17. These service centers (urban and mining centers, important towns in farming regions, etc.) are mostly the places Frafra migrants move to. Since a majority of the migrants live in the cities and the main mining centers, it can be assumed that there is a strong relationship between the number of services in a destination and the number of Frafra migrants living there (Table 2.4).

During the research, migrants were asked to indicate the towns they had as targets before they left home, the towns they wished to

move to, and the number of times and names of destinations they have been to since they migrated (Tables 6.39 to 6.43(b), i.e., pp. 249-263). These tables, especially Table 6.39, were used with the above maps, and the distribution map of Frafra migrants (Figure 8) for the final product of Figure 17. For a better presentation of the different levels of destinations (immediate, intermediate, target towns of first to fifth order) symbols were designed to cover separately each of the following: (a) towns in Northern and Upper Regions, (b) Belts with intermediate or final destinations and minimum attraction for Brong-Ahafo, Ashanti and Volta Region and (c) all towns in Southern Ghana where most of the target destinations are.

APPENDIX 6

6. Simple Correlations Matrix

	Number of Migrants	Distance to Destination	Percent of Average Rural-Urban Income	Percent of Past Education	Percent of No Education	Percent of Aged 14-45 Years	Percent of Migrated Economic Reasons	Percent of Moved-Family Reason	Percent of Information Job	Percent of Average Expected Income	Distance Hometown Bolgatanga
Number of Migrants	1.0000										
Distance to Destination	-.18476	1.0000									
Percent of Average Rural-Urban Income	-.26866	.46043*	1.0000								
Percent of Past Education	.18880	.15996	.40234	1.0000							
Percent of No Education	.32262	-.13247	.26907	.16071	1.0000						
Percent of Aged 14-45 Years	.25330	-.29081	.23032	.37285	.17503	1.0000					
Percent of Migrated Economic Reasons	.07566	-.14022	.00119	-.22928	-.17074	-.49735*	1.0000				
Percent of Moved-Family Reason	-.07306	.15514	-.04117	-.66749*	-.02996	-.43436	.15549	1.0000			
Percent of Information Job	.21754	-.01181	.36217	-.06980	-.07574	-.16044	.73671*	.01756	1.0000		
Percent of Average Expected Income	-.09727	.10167	.32859	-.00712	-.42342*	-.40154	.41985	.19977	.39109	1.0000	
Distance Hometown—Bolgatanga	.06292	-.55729*	-.18692	-.37072	-.06948	-.25353	.63347*	.08075	.44747	.32769	1.0000

*Relevant Correlations.

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