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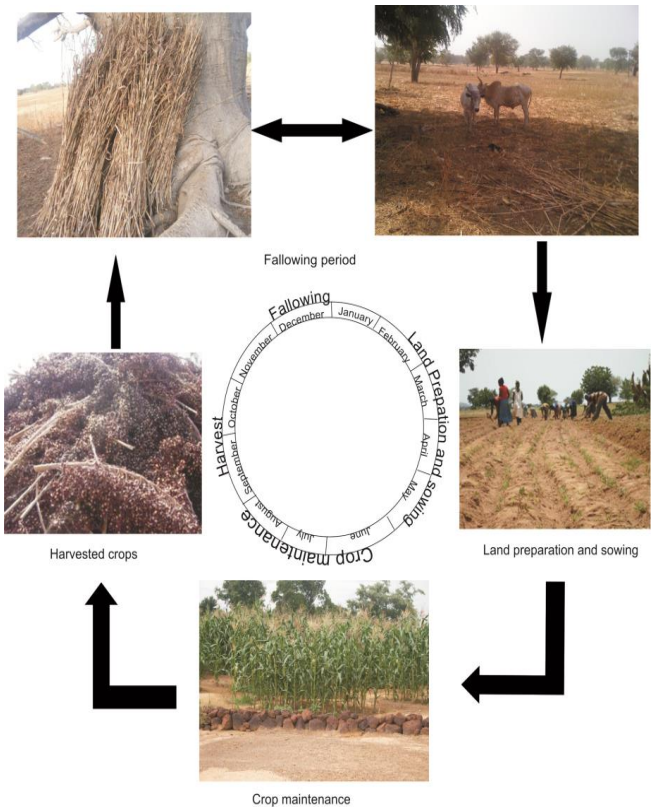
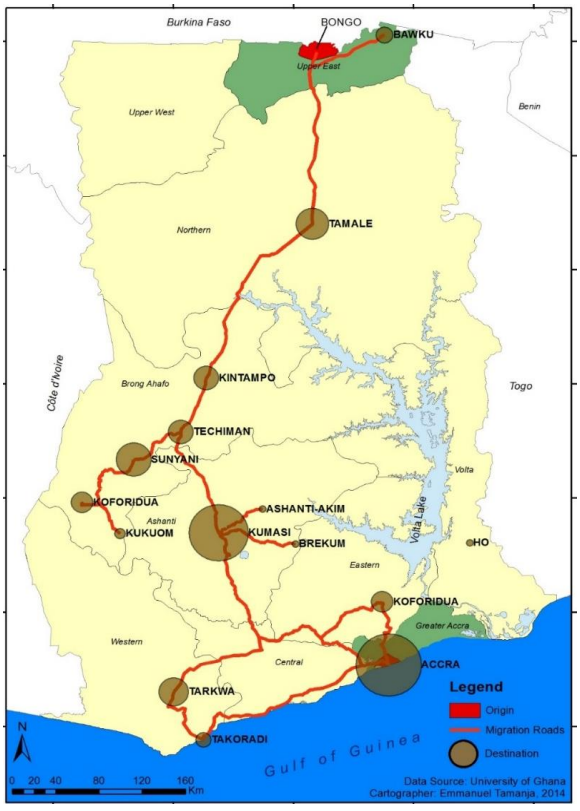
Child migration and educational progression in the Savannah regions of Ghana: Implications for planning and spatial development





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Child migration and educational progression in the Savannah regions of Ghana: Implications for planning and spatial development

By
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of a Doctor rerum politicarum awarded by the Faculty of Spatial Planning, Technical University of Dortmund

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this doctoral dissertation is the result of an independent investigation. Where it is indebted to the work of others, acknowledgements have duly been made.

Emmanuel M. J. Tamanja

Dortmund, August 2014

Dedication

This piece of work is dedicated to all migrant children in Ghana

Acknowledgement

My journey through this research project is characterised by ups and downs with unforeseen twists and turns that are envisaged in any individual project. Consequently, I have received a lot of support from institutions and individuals whose efforts deserve recognition and acknowledgement.

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Abstract

Child migration in Ghana has moved beyond the concerns of individual child migrants and their families, to one of national development concerns. Streets, pavements and other public spaces in the cities and towns - especially Accra - are flooded with children engaged in various activities. These children are not only a nuisance to road users and city authorities, but exert pressure on social amenities as well as threat to security. However, little is known about the education of children when they migrate. This requires research attention, to shed light on the phenomenon.

In this study, I explore the motivations for migration of children from Bongo district to Accra in Ghana and examine how migration influences their pursuit of basic education. The study employed a mixed methods design involving observation, interviews with 35 child migrants, community discussions, interviews with experts and schedule officers of government and non-governmental organisations working on issues of child migration. Furthermore, questionnares were administred to 490 (250 migrant and 240 non-migrant) children in 10 schools in the district and their academic performance data obtained and analysed, using Mann-Whitney U Test, to find differences in their performance.

Poverty, peer influence and pursuit of education emerged as major motivational factors, while non-migrant school children performed relatively better than their migrant counterparts. Nevertheless, the overall effects of migration on education was found to be mixed. Whereas it was negative or positive for some, others pursued apprenticeship as an alternative.

I conclude that children in deprived regions migrate to escape unfavourable living conditions and to accumulate wealth in urban areas. However, involvement in migration has negative effects on performance in class with the likelihood of stalling progress in education.

Furthermore, I recommend affirmative action by national and local government actors, in order to reduce poverty in rural areas while confronting the daunting challenges in rural schools to improve access and quality.

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Acronyms

AGREDS	Assemblies of God Relief and Development Services
AHTU	Anti-Human Trafficking Unit
BDMTDP	Bongo District Medium Term Development Plan
BECE	Basic Education Certificate Examination
BONDA	Bongo District Assembly
CAS	Catholic Action for Street Children
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CHIPS	Community-Based Health Planning and Services
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DA	District Assembly
DISCAP	District Capacity Building Project
DOVVSU	Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
EFA	Education for All
EMIS	Education Management and Information System
fCUBE	Free, Compulsory and Universal Basic Education
GDHS	Ghana Demographic Health Survey
GES	Ghana Education Service
GIS	Ghana Immigration Service
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey
GPRTU	Ghana Private Road Transport Union
GPS	Ghana Police Service
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
ISODEC	Integrated Social Development Centre
JHS	Junior High School
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MMDA	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOESS	Ministry of Education, Science and Sports
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs
NBSSI	National Board for Small Scale Industries
NCRIBE	National Centre for Research into Basic Education
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NIE	New Institutional Economics
PHC	Population and Housing Census
SHS	Senior High School
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
UNDP	United Nation's Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nation Children's Fund
WASSCE	West African Senior School Certificate Examination

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation and background to the study

My motivation for this study began in 2008, when I was employed as a Research Fellow at the National Centre for Research into Basic Education (NCRIBE) in the University of Education, Winneba in Ghana. My work at NCRIBE exposed me to the challenges migrant children face (both in school and outside school) in Accra and other cities. I got particularly interested in child migration issues when I was gathering data on a project to assess the capacity of teachers to teach Ghanaian language in school in 2009 and also assessing the impact of using a module developed by UNICEF to teach HIV/AIDS in schools in 2010. In both research projects, I conducted interviews and administered questionnaires in schools in the Northern and Upper East Regions of Ghana and encountered the phenomenon of children travelling to the south instead of learning in schools. Further, discussions with teachers and parents suggested the seriousness of the phenomenon and how it affects teaching and learning in schools in the regions. Many of such children are seen in Accra, either selling on the pavements or engaged in all manner of activities for survival. Moreover, it became clear to me during private discussions with stakeholders during dissemination meetings of the projects in Accra that, the phenomenon is also of concern to other development practitioners and well-meaning individuals and organisations. This therefore serve as my main motivation to attempt to seek understanding of the phenomenon of child migration as it influence both the individual child migrants[1] and the socio-economic development of society.

Consequently, scouting literature on the discourse to gain broad and deeper insight into the phenomenon suggest that, children have remained on the periphery of interest of migration scholars and have been largely ignored in migration analysis and theory (Camacho, 2006). Not only is child migration under-reported but it is also under researched and therefore limits the understanding, meaning and social contexts within which it takes place (Whitehead and Hashim, 2005:18). Many of the children who migrate are unaccompanied by their parents or adult relatives and friends. For instance, a recent UNICEF analysis of census and household data from 12 countries, found that one in five migrant children aged 12–14 and half of those aged 15–17 had migrated without a parent (UNICEF, 2012: 35).

Children (like adults) migrate in response to differences in spatial resource endowment and opportunities, seeking to improve their livelihoods and enhance their future development potentials. Consequently, children migrate mainly from localities with limited opportunities - mostly deprived and rural - to localities with favourable opportunities. According to the UNICEF (2012) Report on The State of The World's Children, children and young people frequently follow established patterns of migration and in West Africa and South Asia, where rates of independent child migration are high, most child migrants leave home between the ages of 13 and 17 (p. 36). Furthermore, many of these children grow up in impoverished rural areas where it is common to travel to seek work in order to supplement family income, whether for part of each year, during lean periods or for longer durations. At least 4 million children are thought to migrate seasonally, whether by themselves or with their families, in India alone (UNICEF, 2012: 36). Most of these movements take place within the confines of a country which are less restrictive than migrating across national borders and therefore affords them the opportunity to realise their dreams. For instance, about 27.3 million children in China migrated within the country in 2008 (p 35).

Child migration in Ghana assumes a north-south spatial pattern similar to the north-south

[1] A child migrant is any person, less than 18 years of age, who moves from one place of residence to another for reasons other than recreation and pilgrimage. See chapter two for detailed explanation of this concept.

physical development and poverty patterns. The major cities - especially Accra and Kumasi - are flooded with children who are engaged in various activities ranging from street hawking to house helps who mostly come from the northern (savannah) regions of the country (Hashim, 2005; Awumbila, 2007; Anarfi and Kwankye, 2009; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011). Though sights of such children are numerous and children as young as 8 years old work as head porters in the city of Accra (Awumbila, 2007), reliable estimates on their numbers are difficult to obtain. These children are often not captured in household registration and census data which has the likely effect of making them invisible (Schmidt-Kallert, 2009a and 2009b; Deshinkar, 2005; Douglass, 1998). Black et al (2009), report of significant movements of children, including children moving independently, although data sources on migration are currently poorly designed to capture such flows. Furthermore, the International Organisation for Migration's (IOM) report of 2009 on Ghana observed that management of migration in Ghana is hampered by lack of timely, objective and reliable data on migration stocks and flows (IOM, 2009), of which child migration is not an exception. Most of these child migrants are of school going age and should normally be in school.

The Ghana Child Labour Survey (GSS, 2003) estimates that 55 percent of street children in Ghana are from the three northern regions who have either not been to school at all or dropped out from the basic school system - i.e. from Primary to Junior High School (JHS) - or have not been able to transcend to the Senior High School (SHS) level. Meanwhile, the retention rate of those enrolled has not improved much despite policies implemented to provide universal, free and compulsory basic education to children in Ghana (UNICEF, 2009: 6). Furthermore, Challenging Heights - a local child rights advocacy non-governmental organisation in Ghana - warns in the Daily Graphic Newspaper of a bleak future for about one million Ghanaian children who are out of school and whose ages range between 5 and 15 years (Obour 2013, January 29). While these child migrants are within the age range of children who should compulsorily be in school under the Free, Compulsory and Universal Basic Education (fCUBE) policy[2], little is known about how their involvement in migration has affected their progress in formal education. This information gap does not only lead to overgeneralization and simplification of the issue of child migration but also escapes the attention of educational planning.

1.2 The problem

Although literature on child migration in Ghana is scant, available studies also tend to sideline child migration or subsume it under the general consideration of dropouts, child trafficking/labour and streetism. Media-related writings especially, appear to sideline child migration issues in favour of more sensational issues of child trafficking and child labour. For instance, the Friday 13th May, 2011 edition of the Ghana News Agency (GNA) reports of 166 trafficked children aged between 5 and 17 years rescued from communities along the Volta Lake - a popular inland destination of child migrants in Ghana (GNA 2011, May 13). Although this reportage acknowledges child migration as an important issue in Ghana, little consideration is given to children who migrate independent of their parents and adult friends and relatives and how migration influences their education. Furthermore, empirical studies on child migration in Ghana (Whitehead and Hashim, 2005; Hashim, 2007; Anarfi and Kwankye, 2009; Ananga, 2011; and Tamanja, 2012) have also not adequately addressed the issue. For instance, Ananga (2011) explored factors of school dropout in southern Ghana and identified seasonal child migration as a critical factor that causes children to drop out of school (p. 25).

In exploring the inter-connections between children's access to formal and non-formal education in Ghana, Hashim (2007); and Hashim and Thorsen (2011) found an ambiguous and

[2] FCUBE – "Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education", is an education sector policy that was introduced in 1996 in Ghana to ensure that all school-age children received free and compulsory quality primary education by 2005.

complex picture of both positive and negative linkages between education and children's independent migration. Furthermore, Tamanja (2012) explored child migration in northern Ghana and explained how school children employ seasonal migration as a strategy for livelihood (pp14-19). While recognizing the contributions these studies have made to the understanding of dropout and migration in general terms, little is known about the specific interrelationships between child migration and how it influences the progress of children in attaining basic education in Ghana. For instance, Hashim's (2007) study on the linkages between independent child migration and education in Ghana recommends a closer investigation into how a range of factors impact on the linkages between children's independent migration and education. She emphasises in her conclusion that 'the actual impact of migration on children's formal and informal education in different contexts will remain obscure until more research on children's independent migration become available' (p, 929). This study therefore seeks an understanding of the phenomenon of child migration by exploring why and how children in Bongo district in northern Ghana migrate and to also establish how migration influences their academic performance and progress in education.

1.3 Research questions

This research seeks to address two main questions:
1. Why do children from the Savannah Regions of Ghana migrate?
2. Does migration influence children's access and progress in education?

In order to address these issues effectively, the main questions are broken into specific and more focused questions.

1. Why do children from the Savannah Regions of Ghana migrate?
    - 1.1 What motivate children to migrate?
    - 1.2 What are the processes involved in child migration?
    - 1.3 How do children's migration history and experiences influence their migration decision making?
    - 1.4 What roles do households and communities of child migrants play in their migration decision making?
    - 1.5 How do institutions and organisations promote or constrain child migration?
    - 1.6 What livelihood options are available and utilized by child migrants?
    - 1.7 How do child migrants relate with their families back in their areas of origin?
    - 1.8 What implications does child migration have on planning and the spatial development of Ghana?
2. Does migration influence children's access and progress in education?
    - 2.1 Are children able to access schools or study when they migrate?
    - 2.2 Are there differences in academic performance between children who migrate and those who do not?

Answers to these questions give more impetus to understanding the issue of child migration and its influence on education of children, and thus help in finding ways to address the challenges.

1.4 Propositions and hypotheses

Propositions and hypotheses are useful in research because they serve as guides which lead the researcher in gathering data to answer the research questions. Whereas propositions are common in qualitative research, hypotheses are mostly used in quantitative research. Propositions are statements about concepts that may be judged to be true or false if they refer to the phenomenon that is being observed. They become hypotheses when they are formulated for empirical testing. On the other hand, hypotheses are predictions the researcher makes about the expected relationships among and between variables and are often used in quantitative research or to answer quantitative questions in a mixed methods research (Creswell, 2009: 132). Good propositions and hypotheses optimise time and other resources in research which –

mostly - are inadequate to the researcher. This study therefore employs both propositions and hypotheses to reflect its design: sequential exploratory mixed methods design. The propositions guide the qualitative phase of the research because it is mostly exploratory and not based on previous models. Furthermore, it is approached from a pragmatic perspective making it more meaningful to the study. On the other hand the hypothesis predicts the relationship between the variables under study – migration and academic performance – and is employed in the quantitative phase.

Proposition

This study proposes that children migrate because they want to escape unfavourable living conditions in which for no fault of theirs, they have found themselves. They also migrate to take advantage of favourable conditions outside their places of origin in order to enhance their living conditions and attain their ambitions in life. However, children are unable to progress in their education when they migrate.

Hypothesis

This study hypothesises that:

> *There is difference in academic performance between school children who migrate and those who do not migrate*.

This hypothesis is useful to this study because academic performance serves as the principal proximate determinant for the progression or otherwise of children in formal education in Ghana, since their progress to higher levels depends on their academic performance. However the non-directional nature of the hypothesis is indicative of the intention of the study to be open for whatever direction the outcome of the test may be.

1.5 Significance of the study

The issue of child migration in Ghana has moved beyond the concerns of individual child migrants and their families to one of national developmental concerns. Streets, pavements and other public spaces in the cities and towns - especially Accra - are flooded with children engaged in all sorts of activities - hawking, begging, carrying head luggage, etc - for their livelihood. These children are not only a nuisance to road users and city authorities, but they also put pressure on social and economic facilities as well as posing a threat to crime and security. Furthermore, their education is in jeopardy as the education system is unable to accommodate them due to an array of complex administrative, social and economic challenges. It is, therefore, obvious that the child migration situation in Ghana requires more research attention to shed more light on the issue and pave way for an amicable solution to the phenomenon of child migration.

This study therefore, posits that there are strong grounds for suggesting that a study of child migration and educational progression is not only appropriate but also timely. It examines the current state of affairs regarding child migration in Ghana and explores the possible interrelationships between child migration and the educational progression of children with particular emphasis on those children who would otherwise be denied education, or fail to attain the heights they aspire to, because of their involvement in migration.

Furthermore, it would appear that child migration and educational progression is not a familiar subject of research in Ghana, hence empirical evidence on it is scant. This is supported by the observation of the IOM (2009), that management of migration in Ghana is hampered by lack of timely, objective and reliable data on migration. Moreover, the media in Ghana seems to be playing a pioneering role in drawing attention and also educating the Ghanaian public on the issue of child migration in Ghana, through publications in the print and electronic media. However, these publications are often skewed towards child trafficking and streetism and tend to sideline independent child migration. Other efforts have been made by the academia to illuminate the issue of child migration in Ghana. They include the work of: Whitehead and

Hashim (2005) on *children and migration;* Hashim (2005 & 2007) on *independent child migration and education in Ghana;* Whitehead, Hashim and Iversen (2007) on *child migration, child agency and inter-generational relations in Africa and South Asia;* Awumbila (2007) on *internal migration, vulnerability and female porters in Accra;* Anarfi and Kwankye (2009) on *independent migration of children in Ghana*; Hashim and Thorsen (2011) on *child migration in Africa;* and Tamanja (2012) on *seasonal migration of basic school children in Ghana.*

Although these efforts are commendable and have contributed tremendously towards the understanding of child migration in Ghana, none has explicitly and adequately linked the phenomenon to the educational progression of children. Therefore, the phenomenon of child migration and educational progression remains under-researched and poorly understood. Hashim (2007) for instance, recommends that closer investigation is needed into how a range of factors impact on the linkages between children's independent migration and education. She emphasises in her conclusion that 'the actual impact of migration on children's formal and informal education in different contexts will remain obscure until more research on children's independent migration becomes available' (p, 929). This study partly addresses this observation by generating some knowledge and understanding on the subject of child migration and educational progression in Ghana. Specifically, the findings provide important insights and would thus:

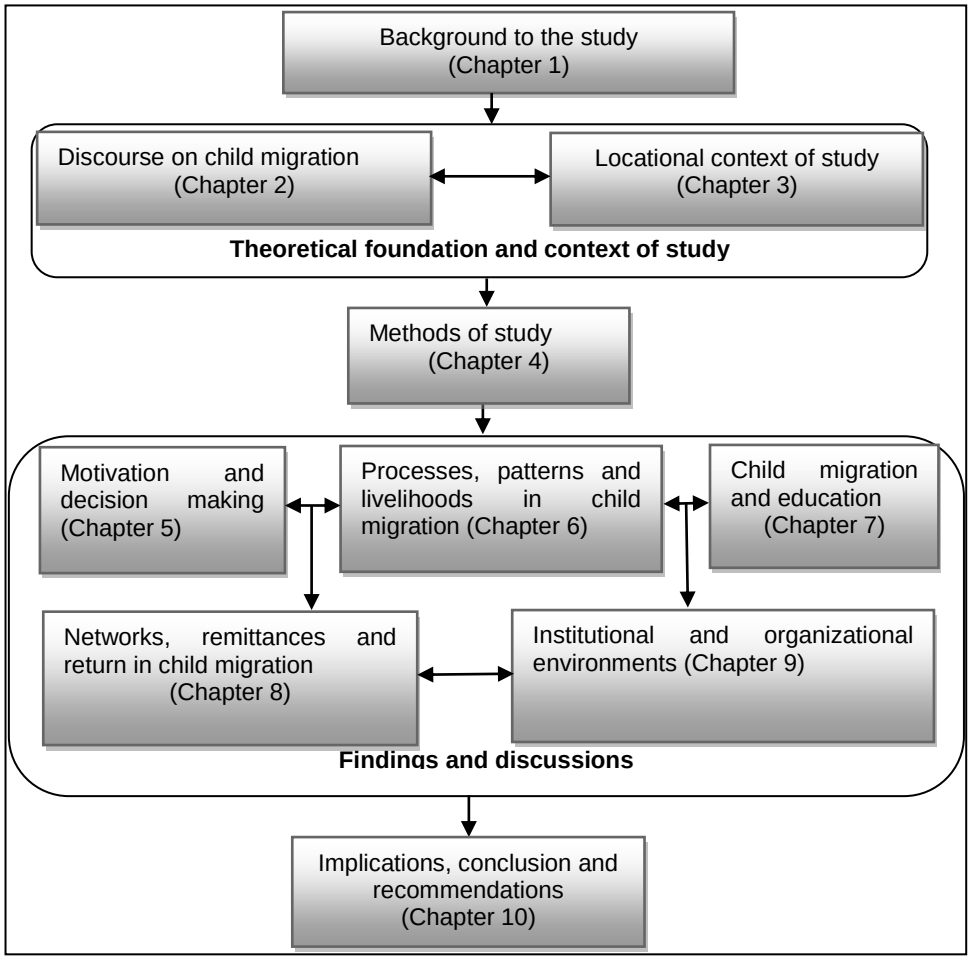
- Inform the IOM, the Government of Ghana and other stakeholders and the academic community at large on how child migration can be mainstreamed into education planning to make it more beneficial for national development.
- Constitute an important basis for the formulation of informed and well-targeted policies that would seek to reduce the risks associated with child migration and also attempt to enhance its benefits.
- Inform government agencies, non-governmental organisations and other stakeholders in migration and migration related issues to effectively manage child migration through recommendations from the study for strategic planning.
- This study does not only help in migration policy formulation but also provides a base for targeted policies focusing on the linkages between education and child migration.
- The study also contributes to the general understanding of the migration-education nexus and discourse.

I anticipate that not only do its findings provide empirical evidence on child migration and educational progression in Ghana but also, such information enables the appreciation of the reality of the issue of child migration in Ghana. It also serves as a guide to planners and other development actors in ensuring equitable spatial development of Ghana.

1.6 Structure of study report

This report is organised into ten main chapters (see figure 1.1). Chapter one provides the general introduction to the project by highlighting the background to the problem of child migration in Ghana, the questions that the study answers as well as the significance and justification of the study. Chapter two reviews relevant literature on the issue of child migration and provides the framework of concepts and theories which guide the study. It also discusses the contemporary situation of child migration and outlines its trend in Ghana. Furthermore, chapter three describes the study area which includes the origin and destinations of child migrants in order to contextualise the phenomenon of child migration and help deepen it's understanding. This is followed by chapter four, which explains the research methodology within which the study is conducted, outlining the processes involved and emphasising the mixed methods research design. The analytical chapters begin with motivations and decision making in child migration in chapter five.

Figure 1.1: Structure of thesis report



Source: Own illustration, 2014

The processes and patterns of child migration are discussed in chapter six and followed by the nexus between child migration and education in chapter seven.

Likewise, the issue of networks, remittances and return in child migration are discussed in chapter eight while chapter nine focuses on the institutional and organisational environment within which children migrate. Finally, chapter ten summarises the findings and concludes with recommendations for policy, practice and further research. The discourse on the phenomenon of children and education is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: DISCOURSE ON CHILD MIGRATION

This chapter examines the discourse in literature on the phenomenon of child migration and progression in education. It begins with the meaning of migration and narrows down to cover child migration whilst explaining the meaning of a child and child migration. Although theories are scant in child migration, the push-pull, social network and multi-locational theories and how they can help us understand the phenomenon of child migration are discussed. Furthermore, the nature and trend of migration in Ghana is explained from pre-independence to contemporary times as well as the motivations for child migration, emphasising shocks, economic, socio-cultural and educational motivations. Other concepts discussed are child migration decision making and the institutional and organisational contexts within which child migration takes place. The concepts of institutions as "rules" and organisations as "players" of the game, as espoused by Douglass North, have been discussed as well as remittance and return migration. Moreover, the nexus between child migration and education has also been discussed while the structure of education in Ghana has been described with emphasis on basic education as well as academic performance and how it influences the progression of children in their pursuit of education. Finally, the framework of concepts guiding the study has been summarised and presented diagrammatically, explaining the linkages between the concepts and how it guides the study.

2.1 Meaning of migration

The United Nation's Development Programme (UNDP) observed in 2009 that, 'migration can promote economic and social well-being and improve education and health outcomes. It may be seen as an expression of the free choice of people; where to live in the pursuit of new opportunities' (IOM Report, 2011). However, because of its volatile and multifaceted nature, migration is more difficult to capture than other demographic indicators of population change (Poulain and Perrin, 2003). But what is migration?

Migration as a concept is difficult to define because it involves movement of people for different reasons across space. Johnston et al (2000) define migration as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence by an individual or group of people which entails physical movement of people from one place to another for the betterment of life. It is generally considered as the spatial mobility of people between one geographic location and another which often involves a change of residence from a place of origin to a place of destination. In other words, it is a form of geographic or spatial mobility involving a change of usual residence[3] between clearly defined geographic units (GSS, 2008). Migration is one of the major components of population change, and has been an integral part of livelihood diversification across many developing countries (Agesa & Agesa, 1999). Furthermore, migration is multi-sectorial, multi-dimensional and cuts across different disciplines and space. It's complexity cannot be explained by any single theory as the idiosyncratic strength of migration theories is not as rigid as it is with other disciplines (Rabby, Azem, Yeasmin & Hoque, 2010: 278). As a result, it influences policy in a variety of ways and presents a wide range of implications for local, regional and global development (Deshinkar, 2005). The relative importance of migration is mostly context specific as are its effects on the local agricultural, other socio-economic activities and poverty reduction, necessitating deeper understanding of migration from different perspectives, organisation and distribution in space.

Although migration has both international and internal dimensions, evidence in migration literature suggests an increasing magnitude of internal population movement. For example, close to 120 million people in China were estimated to have migrated internally in 2001, against

[3] Usual residence is used to mean a place where people have their daily periods of rest (UN 1978 & UN 1998) and where they can also refer to as their home

458,000 people migrating internationally for work (Zhao, 2003). Furthermore, China's Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security (MOHRSS) estimated a total of 240 million migrant workers in China in 2010 (MOHRSS, 2012: 4).

Internal migration (especially rural-urban migration) is fast becoming an important source of livelihood diversification in many countries (Bryceson et al., 2003). In Bangladesh, two-thirds of all migration is from rural to urban areas and is increasing rapidly (Afshar, 2003). Furthermore, a little over half (52 %) of the population aged 7 years and older in Ghana are migrants (GSS, 2008) with most of these movements taking place internally and involving not only adults but also children in increasing magnitudes.

2.1.1 Definition of child migrants and child migration

For the purpose of this study, a migrant is used to mean a person who moves from one place of usual residence (briefly defined as place of daily period of rest - UN 1978 & UN 1998) to another for reasons other than travel for recreation, holiday, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage. Persons who move within a country are considered internal migrants while those who move across the borders of a country are regarded as international migrants.

Subsequently, a child migrant (as is the focus of this study) is any person, less than 18 years of age, who moves from one place of residence to another for reasons other than recreation, holiday, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage. In other words, if a child moves from a usual residence to another residence for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment, or religious pilgrimage, he or she is not considered a child migrant. The definition of a child in this study is in line with the United Nation's (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) which defines a child as any person less than 18 years of age (UN, 1998). Furthermore, the study adopts the definition of independent child migrants by Yaqub (2009) as persons below 18 years old, who 'choose' (to a greater or lesser extent) to move from home (usual residence) and live at destinations without a parent or adult guardian (p. 1). This definition emphasis voluntariness in the decision making and the movement of children while deemphasising compulsion in the migration of children. The concern in this definition is to distinguish independent child migrants from trafficked children or forced migrant children. It includes independence in travel and independence at destination as children can choose to migrate alone or with others and as well choose to stay alone or with others at the destination.

2.2 Theoretical perspectives on child migration

Theories are important guides in research. They serve as a lens through which the researcher observes and measures variables as well as find answers to the questions which are asked (Creswell, 2009:49). They are sets of interrelated constructs (variables), definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining natural phenomena (Kerlinger, 1979: 64 cited in Creswell, 2009: 51). Theories specify how and why variables and relational statements are interrelated. However, migration researchers have bemoaned the absence of a comprehensive migration theory, and there have been numerous calls or attempts to develop a general theory to help explain the phenomenon of migration (Lee, 1966; Massey et al, 1998; Zelinsky, 1971 and De Haas, 2008). Among the reasons explaining why it is difficult to generalize about the causes and consequences of migration, are the diversity and complexity of the phenomenon. Besides, it is difficult to separate migration from other socio-economic and political processes (De Haas, 2008). This is even more acute with child migration as it is an area yet to receive adequate research attention. Nonetheless, some adult migration theories have useful links to child migration and could provide valuable guides in the study of the phenomenon of child migration. This study is therefore conducted within the framework of - although not limited to - the pull-push, social network and multi-locational theories of migration.

2.2.1 Push-pull theory

The push-pull theory of migration is popular in migration literature and seeks to explain why people migrate. It looks at the factors which drive (push) people to leave their usual places of residence as well as those factors that attract (pull) them to a destination. It takes its roots from the neoclassical and structural theoretical orientations of migration and emphasizes the tendencies of people to move from densely to sparsely populated areas or from low - to high - income areas, or link migration to fluctuations in the business cycle (IOM, 2004: 49). The push-pull theory explains migration as the product of income differentials and earning opportunities between sending/origin and receiving/destination areas (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011; Giani, 2006; Lewis, 1982; Lee, 1966). It is often attributed to Lee (1966) as the first to formulate migration in a push-pull framework at an individual level, looking at both the supply and demand sides of migration (Hagen-Zanker, 2008:10). Although the Push-Pull theory is attributed to Lee (1966), other researchers who have applied it have assumed that various factors, such as environmental, demographic and economic determine migration decisions (De Haas, 2008). Skeldon (1997:20; cited in King and Schneider 1991:62-3; Schwartz and Notini 1994) posits that the framework identifies two main forces as responsible for the pushes and pulls: rural population growth causing pressure on natural and agricultural resources, and pushing people out of marginal rural areas, and then economic conditions (higher wages) luring people into cities (De Haas, 2008:13). According to the theory, push factors are forceful, and relate to the place from which a person migrates. A few example of push factors are: unavailability of jobs, few opportunities, socio-cultural conditions, desertification, famine/drought, political fear/persecution, poor medical care, loss of wealth, and natural disasters (IOM, 2004). In the case of children, the death of a parent or breadwinner in the family, as well as poor conditions of schools are important triggers which further push children to migrate.

On the other hand, pull factors are exactly the opposite of push factors and include factors that attract people to locations outside their usual places of residence. Examples of these pull factors are job opportunities, better living conditions, political and/or religious freedom, enjoyment, education, better medical care, and security (IOM, 2004). People living in conditions which they are not content with are attracted and for that matter, are pulled toward places where these conditions prevail. These forces (push-pull) are however influenced by intervening factors, such as migration laws and are also affected by personal dispositions, including how the potential migrant perceives the factors.

Although this theory explains adult migration, it is also applicable to child migration as many of the children who migrate, do so for economic reasons and are engaged in economic activities at their destinations. In the context of child migration in Ghana, children are pushed by conditions at their places of origin which include; shocks or natural calamities, lack of economic opportunities (poverty), rapture of family relationship, and poor quality of education, among others (Beauchemin, 1999; Giani, 2006; Hashim, 2007; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011).

However, conditions such as paid job opportunities, modern or urban lifestyles, better education and apprenticeship opportunities (Hashim, 2007) and freedom from strict parental/family control (cultural bondage) serve as factors that pull children to migrate. In other words, children are attracted to migrate by perceived employment, education and/or entrepreneurial opportunities which are mainly available in cities and towns (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011:11). Migration therefore offers children a rapid route out of poverty or violence at home, and may lead to opportunities, such as education, that children may otherwise have missed.

While this theory is useful in explaining why people migrate, and could therefore be applicable to child migration, it has been widely criticised as being merely a theory. Hagen-Zanker (2008) opines it is more of a grouping of factors affecting migration, without explaining the exact causal mechanisms. It does not account for individual differences and peculiarities, thus illustrating its limitations. De Haas posits that people tend to be increasingly concentrated in crowded places - cities, towns, and prosperous agricultural areas - that, however, in spite of their crowdedness generally offer better social and economic opportunities in terms of individual

freedom, safety, education, health care, paid labour, entrepreneurial activities and amusement (De Haas, 2008:18). This is not explained by the model which among others, assumes spatial population redistribution from high to low population concentration points.

Furthermore, the pull-push theory is unable to adequately explain why groups of people - instead of individuals – move. It also assumes that migrants are well informed when they move and that economic growth is the main factor of movement and is unable to predict future movement. According to Collinson (2009), the push-pull theory fails to explain why only some people move. It does not explain who those people are, why they choose to move when others remain, when they moved, to where and to which job. This theory assumes that decision-makers have perfect knowledge about the costs and benefits of migration which is mostly not the case, especially with children who have very little or no knowledge about the destinations before migrating. Furthermore, children migrate although they do not have the necessary skills and competencies as well as the age qualification (maturity) to take advantage of the pull factors as subscribed by the theory. It is plausible therefore, to consider other reasons such as social networks rather than the economic reasons given in the push-pull explanation, to explain child migration.

2.2.2 Social network theory

The concept, network migration, is used to describe the process of what used to be known in migration discourse as chain migration[4] (De Haas, 2008). Networks can be defined as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Massey et al 1993: 448). In other words, migrant networks are interpersonal ties linking kin, friends, and community members in their places of origin and destination (Poros, 2011). Therefore a social connection to someone with experience in migration at a particular destination represents an important resource that children as well as adults can utilize to facilitate their movement. Movement of one child within a network transforms the relationship into a valuable connection that can be used by all children within the network to facilitate migration. The facilitating role of networks consisting especially of family and friends makes migration notoriously difficult for governments to control (De Haas, 2008: 24). Once established, migrant networks can lead to chain migration, stimulate and perpetuate the migration process. Those who migrate first serve as links in the chain by providing information and further contacts for potential migrants within the network. It reduces travel costs through information on safe and cheap routes or smugglers and reduces emotional costs (Curran et al, 2003).

Furthermore, network connections are a form of social capital that people draw upon to gain access to employment and services outside their places of origin (Massey et al 1993). It helps reduce cost of searching for jobs as well as providing information and livelihood strategies to new arrivals as well as encouraging potential migrants in the origins to migrate (Curran et al, 2003) while enabling potential migrants to acquire information about the potential destinations and thus help facilitate migration decision making. As De Haas (2008) posits, “besides material and human capital (education, skills, knowledge), social capital is a third, crucial migration resource in enabling and inspiring people to migrate” (p. 24). Above all, migrant networks also help to save and reduce living expense and provide financial assistance to new migrants upon arrival (Curran et al, 2003) and thus fuel the process by making it attractive to potential child migrants.

However, the kinds of ties existing in any migration network are very much conditioned by the experience of migrants and the processes that they go through, not only as they move across borders (local and international) but also after they arrive in their destinations. The most

[4] Chain migration is a process where migrants follow their predecessors, are assisted by them to establish in their destination (Lynch 2005)

distinctive feature of migrant networks is that they exist across two or more locations, but they also tend to be somewhat limited and specific in terms of the ties that they are comprised of (Poros, 2011). Such ties could be based on family, kinship, hometown, schools attended, and friendship, among others but often change over time. The strength of networks also depends on the extent to which migrants integrate into their destinations while still maintaining a connection to their origins.

Networks are weakened and sometimes break up when migrants are assimilated into their host communities at the destinations and break ties with their homesteads, as was the case in Europe, North America and Japan during their urban transition processes (Schmidt-Kallert, 2009[b]: 319). However, in other contexts such as in Africa where ethnic and hometown based ties are still very strong and define the identities of people, migrants are hardly assimilated but are identified by their origins and ethnic orientations. Such networks remain strong and last longer as illustrated in the following observation.

> *In many African cities there are large numbers of people who have lived in the metropolis all their life, even in the second or third generation, but when asked to name their hometown, they will invariably give the name of a remote village in the hinterland. And indeed, when such a person dies, the village folks will come to the mortuary in Kumasi or Dar es Salaam for the dead body, which will then be taken to the hometown for the funeral (Schmidt-Kallert, 2009[b]: 320).*

It can therefore be reasonably inferred from this quotation, that ethnic and hometown based networks have strong and long lasting ties, capable of perpetuating migration and which children can - and indeed do - ride on to migrate. Obligations in the form of membership dues, in such networks are less defining than identity which fuels their operations.

The use of social networks by children to migrate in Ghana has been reported in various studies (Beauchemin, 1999; Hashim, 2005 & 2007; Anarfi and Agyei, 2009; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011; Tamanja, 2012). Hashim and Thorsen (2011) for instance report that children in the Upper East region of Ghana and Pays Bisa in Burkina Faso are embedded in household relations (networks) that are a complex mix of dependence, independence and interdependence in which there are significant economic dimensions (p. 46).

Although the social network theory seems plausible in explaining why people migrate and some do not, it is not without limitations. Its major weakness is that it does not offer insight into the mechanisms that eventually lead to the weakening and crumbling of the networks. According to Massey et al (1998), the circular logic of the theory suggests that migration seems to go on *ad infinitum* (p. 48) but this is often not the case as networks weaken and sometimes break up eventually. The theory also fails to indicate the kinds of external, structural factors as well as internal processes that counteract the tendencies that lead to increasing migration through networks (Klaver 1997:45; Cited in De Haas, 2008). For instance, labour migration movements in the long term, do often tend to decrease or cease when the fundamental causes of migration no longer exist (De Haas, 2008). In addition, although migration is indeed difficult to control by governments due to network effects, legal and physical barriers to migration nonetheless can have an important influence on the magnitude and nature of migration, although not necessarily in the intended direction (p 33).

It is also important to note that internal forces do emerge and weaken networks over time. As observed in studies on international migration, migrants may not necessarily always serve as bridgeheads or links, facilitating migration but they also become restrictive gatekeepers, hesitant or unwilling to assist prospective migrants (Böcker, 1994; De Haas, 2003). Furthermore, although kinship networks are helpful in migration, they also tend to be exclusionary for people not belonging to particular social or kinship groups. For instance, the same strong ties that help members of a group to migrate can also exclude others outside the group from benefiting from the network. As such, networks do not provide universal leverage for all migrants and potential migrants.

Therefore, studying networks, particularly those linked to family and households, permits the understanding of migration as a social product—not as the sole result of individual decisions made by individual actors, not as the sole result of economic or political parameters, but rather

as an outcome of interaction of a range of factors (Boyd, 1989: 642). Consequently, some households maintain spatially split components – with some members located in rural while others in urban areas – and migrate between the localities to enhance their livelihoods.

2.2.3 Multi-locational household theory

The multi-locational household theory is a risk diversification model, which posits that households rather than individuals are decision-making units in migration. This theory draws its inspiration from what has been called the "new economics of migration"—which argues that determinants and the decision making process of migration must be studied at the household level rather than at the level of the individuals involved in migration (De Haas, 2008). From this perspective, the theory explains that the decision to migrate may be to maximize expected income of the household, but it may also be to minimize the risk and loosen the constraints associated with market failures. Furthermore, households utilize their networks in order to diversify their household income. This is achieved by sending a member of the household to another locality (usually an urban area), as a means to effectively distribute the financial and other risks of the household. Subsequently the first member who is sent abroad can be a contact so that if a condition arises - such as a market failure - the household can send other members to that location by taking advantage of the bridge made by the first mover (Massey and Palloni, 1992).

In another context, multi-location theory is a phenomenon of informal rural-urban exchange within spatially split household arrangements (Schmidt-Kallert 2009[b]; Dick and Reuschke, 2012). Households in these arrangements make use of the combination of two or more locations - with rural and urban characteristics - and take advantage of the differences in characteristics to enhance their livelihoods. Households in rural areas send some members to live in urban areas where they take advantage of the opportunities - both in the rural and urban areas – to enhance their livelihoods. For instance, Raihelhuber (2001), cited in Schmidt-Kallert (2009[b]:329) observed that some households in Nepal decide and send some members (usually adult sons with their nuclear families) to urban localities while other members remain and continue to cultivate the land in the village. Children living in such spatially split households take advantage of the presence of the household member(s) in the other localities to migrate. This arrangement is observed in Cape Town (South Africa) where children of young nuclear families stay with their parents only during school days but spend the non-schooling days with other household members living outside the city of Cape Town (Lohnert, 2002 cited in Schmidt-Kallert (2009[b]:326). Such movements are permanent as well as temporal, as and when there is need for household members in the spatially located households. They stay in the rural areas during cropping and harvesting seasons while spending the other period of inactivity in the urban household.

According to Tacoli (2009), research in northern Mali in the late 1990s found that up to 80 percent of households interviewed had at least one migrant member with the reasons being for economic opportunities and the need to diversify income sources of the families (p. 5). Furthermore, children from the Upper East Region of Ghana have been reported to migrate to relatives and family members in the south to help during periods of particular need (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011: 53). These children make use of the multi-locational arrangements of their households by benefiting from opportunities at both their places of origin (mostly rural) and the cities in Ghana to enhance their livelihoods. They stay at the origin during cropping, harvest and school seasons while migrating to their urban households during the 'lean season'[5] and end of year school vacation (Tamanja, 2012).

[5] The lean season refers to a period within the crop cycle in the Upper East Region of Ghana, when crop harvest is not yet due but food stocks of households have been exhausted (Tamanja, 2012). It begins in April through to September (Decker, 2008) and mostly compels families to innovate for survival.

In order to understand the issue of child migration in contemporary Ghana (as is the focus of this study), I attempt to expose adult migration (patterns, motives and possible implications) from the perspective of history by linking the current migration trajectories to those in the past. This is important because child migration in Ghana appears to take the same form and trajectories as adult migration which is influenced by the history of development of the country.

2.3 Child migration in Ghana

Although child migration is not new in Ghana, it has only been given research attention in recent times. This is partly explained by the fact that child migration was often regarded in the past as a response to adult migration. In this regard, children were seen as accompanying their parents by either moving together with them or moving at later periods after the initial movements of their parents to join them (parents) at the destination. Children were considered not to have an agency in their migration (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011) and were either accompanying their parents or being forced to migrate against their will (Abdulai, 1999; Anarfi et al. 2003; Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; and Wouterse, 2010). As such, the current trajectories in child migration in Ghana is mostly rural-to-urban and also mostly north-south, in line with adult migration. This pattern appears to be in response to the differences in spatial development as the major cities (especially Accra and Kumasi) are relatively more developed and have become magnets not only for adult migrants, but also children and young adults seeking work and educational opportunities (Adepoju, 2003; Anarfi et al., 2003). The direction and magnitude of child migration streams in the country appear to have been influenced significantly by the existence of regional inequalities in socio-economic development, employment and related opportunities (Anarfi, 2009; Hashim 2007; and Hashim and Thorsen 2011). Therefore, an understanding of the historical trend of adult migration would be useful in appreciating the current patterns and trajectories in chid migration in Ghana.

2.3.1 Migration during pre-colonial period (Before 1874)

Ghana's migration story is dynamic and complex, and as with most African countries, present-day migration trends are deeply rooted in historical antecedents (Bump, 2006). Due to the central location of Ghana in West Africa, the country was a key component of established trade routes, especially during the pre-colonial era (Kasanga & Avis, 1988; Anarfi et al., 2001; Songsore, 2003 & 2011). The pre-colonial period refers to the period preceding 1874 (Agyei and Ofosu-Mensah, 2009: 10). The important migration routes related to agriculture, nomadic movements and trade have been used for centuries (Songsore, 2011: 50). Migration during this period took various forms and was associated with internecine warfare, trade, colonisation of new lands and slavery (Agyei and Ofosu-Mensah, 2009: 10). Sudarkasa (1974-75 cited in Anarfi, 1989; Agyei and Ofosu-Mensah, 2009: 13) argues that migration for the purpose of trade and agriculture gained some appreciable level of momentum during the colonial era and that the situation was due to the relative peace that prevailed in the region following the end of inter-tribal wars, and the establishment of better lines of communication. Migration therefore, formed an integral part of the social fabric of the people and impacted the demographic, economic and socio-cultural relations of the society (Songsore, 2003). Migration was therefore in response to human needs such as favourable ecological conditions, fertile land for agriculture, shelter and trade (including slave trade) as well as greater security during tribal wars (Agyei and Ofosu-Mensah, 2009: 13). This feature of migration mainly involved adults, with children – if they were involved at all - considered only as accompanying their parents. However, the form and character of migration did not experience significant changes with the advent of colonisation although colonisation led to the creation of boundaries meant to ensure territorial jurisdiction but mostly in lieu of the colonial authority (Songsore, 2011).

2.3.2 Migration during the colonial period (1874 - 1956)

The period between 1874 and 1956 witnessed European colonisation and rule until independence in 1957. This period witnessed the creation of national and regional boundaries for effective governance. These boundaries did not stop people from moving but rather the trend continued with movements of people within the borders of the country. This involved mostly individuals who were attracted by the economic possibilities held out in an era of legitimate trade, the vast expanse of fertile, unoccupied agricultural lands in the southern regions (Amin, 1974 cited in Songsore, 2011). Furthermore, the development of gold mines and cocoa farms from the late nineteenth century to the second half of the twentieth century attracted immigrants from other parts of the country (Cleveland, 1991; Agyei and Ofosu-Mensah, 2009: 13) to the regions (in the south) where these mines and farms were located. According to Amin (1974 cited in Agyei and Ofosu-Mensah, 2009: 13 - 14), southern Ghana was the outstanding region that benefited from permanent migration and that most of these migrants were unmarried young male adult who worked mainly in agriculture and mining. This was due to an increase in demand for labour to work in the mines and farms which later resulted in the shortage of labour in the colony (Mabogunje, 1990; Songsore, 2003 & 2011). At the same time, the cocoa industry also provided inducements in the form of high wages (Ababio, 1999) for the migrants.

The Northern Territories - constituting the current Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions - on the other hand were deemed by the colonial regime to have little direct economic value. This was probably because of lack of mineral deposits and also less fertile land for the cultivation of cash crops which were of interest to the colonial authority (Songsore, 2003). A deliberate policy was therefore made not to develop these northern regions but to draw on its people as labour for the plantations and mines in the south. Hence in the 1920s, the colonial government designated the territories as a reserve for the supply of cheap human labour for the mines and general labour in the cities in the South (Guggisberg, 1920 cited in Cleveland, 1991). Coercion and systematic neglect of the development potential of the north were used to promote migration of people from the northern territories to the south (Songsore, 2011:72). This became evident in 1919 when then Governor Guggisberg launched a development plan in November 1919. It was projected in the plan that a total labour force of 27,000 men would be needed and therefore a special recruitment was suggested to be organized in the Northern Territories (Fage, 1959; Songsore, 2003; Agyei and Ofosu-Mensah, 2009: 16) to ensure that the labour gap was filled. Accordingly, the period 1919 to 1924 witnessed the acceleration of labour recruitment in the Northern Territories (Anarfi et al., 2001; Agyei and Ofosu-Mensah, 2009) which in some instances were done through cohesion with the involvement of the local leaders (chiefs) in the Northern Territories (Songsore, 2003 & 2011:73). In the view of Mabogunje (1990), the development and recruitment practices of the colonialists led to the creation of what he termed as two unequal worlds of the “colonizer” and the “colonized,” as well as a sharp dichotomy between “urban” and “rural”. The colonialists also practiced a system of urban bias toward the development of the colony, whereby only areas with natural resources to promote their economic agenda were developed (Fadoyomi, 1990) with little or no attention to the development of the Northern Territories, which supposedly were not endowed with natural resources (Songsore, 2011). For example, fertile areas for cocoa farms, mining areas and coastal cities that served as their ports and administrative centres were developed, while rural areas with fewer natural resources were neglected (Akinboade, 1999). The towns were established either for industrial or administrative purposes and mainly to serve the interest of the colonialists. The building of government offices and commercial establishments by European traders and infrastructure in these relevant cities and towns gave them an urge over others in their development and employment opportunities (Ewusi, 1987).

Furthermore, the national capital was moved from Cape Coast to Accra in 1877 and therefore changed the role of Accra as the centre of administration and politics for the colonialists (Songsore, 2011). Many industries were also located in Accra and the construction of a harbour in Tema added further impetus to the national capital (Fage, 1959; cited in Anarfi et al 2003). The cities and towns also became important centres for job seekers, as these were the

only places where employment existed. Therefore, men who were employable were compelled to migrate from the rural areas into the cities and towns, thereby perpetuating the process of rural-urban migration (Caldwell, 1969) in the country. Also as the northern territories were neglected, its inhabitants who wanted employment had no option but to migrate to the south where those opportunities existed. As such, it can be argued that the current form and trend of migration is in part, a corollary of colonial development planning. It is therefore not surprising that the current migration trajectories of children also follow the rural to urban and also the north-south trend, as was with adult migration created by the colonial government and continued after independence as a result of political instability.

2.3.3 Turbulent post-independence period (1957 - 1992)

The turbulent post-independence period of Ghana's history covered the period of independence (from the rule of the British) in 1957 to 1992 when a national constitution was adopted and an election held to return to democratic governance. The 35 year period witnessed six (6) violent Coup d'états and military takeovers of governance, starting from the over through of Kwame Nkrumah - the first president - in 1966 by Joseph Arthur Ankrah to Hilla Limann (also elected president) in 1981 by Jerry John Rawlings (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Coup d'etats in Ghana

Coup d' etat	Coup Leader	Affiliation	Overthrown Incumbent
24/02/1966	Joseph Arthur Ankrah	NLC	Kwame Nkrumah (Elected President)
02/04/1969	Akwasi Amankwa Afrifa	NLC	Joseph Arthur Ankrah
13/01/1972	Ignatius Kutu Acheampong	NRC	Akwasi Amankwa Afrifa
05/07/1978	Frederick Fred William Kwasi Akuffo	SMC	Ignatius Kutu Acheampong
04/06/1979	Jerry John Rawlings	AFRC	Frederick Fred William Kwasi Akuffo
31/12/1981	Jerry John Rawlings	PNDC	Hilla Limann (Elected President)

Source: Own illustration, 2013
NLC: National Liberation Council NRC: National Redemption Council SMC: Supreme Military Council
AFRC: Armed Forces Revolutionary Council PNDC: Provisional National Defence Council

As shown in table 2.1, not only were there many military takeovers but they were also violent and resulted in the loss of lives and property as well as abruptly ending any development agenda of the governments that were overthrown. It is therefore possible to posit that no meaningful planning could be made to reverse the trend in development and subsequently that of migration. This period nevertheless, witnessed the development and implementation of four development plans (see table 2.2), although some of them were not fully implemented. The implementation of some of these plans were disrupted because of the frequent and violent changes in governments through the barrels of the gun and thus resulted in the rule by decrees instead of development plans.

As seen in table 2.2, some of the plans were short term of one and two years duration, except the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) under the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which spanned seven years with varying degrees of implementation challenges. The actual implementation period of the 5-Year Development Plan for instance, was 3 years instead of the 5 years because there was a military takeover in 1978 which ushered in the last military dictatorship in the governance of Ghana. Although child migration did not categorically feature in these plans, their impacts resulted in the movement of people (mostly families) for various reasons.

Table 2.2: Development plans during turbulent post-independence period in Ghana

Development plan	Planned Duration	Period	Actual implementation
		Years	Years
The 2 - Year Development Plan	1968 – 1970	2	2
The 1 - Year Development Plan	1970 – 1971	1	1
The 5- Year Development Plan	1975 – 1980	5	3
The Economic Recovery Programme	1983 – 1989	7	7

Source: Adopted from Mensa-Bonsu (2008)

Many people migrated for fear of political persecution from the military dictators, while the ERP also resulted in privatisation of State Owned Enterprises (SOE) with a concomitant retrenchment of labour who ended up migrating because their skills and labour were no longer in need by the new owners/management of the enterprises. For instance, a UNICEF report on Children in Ghana in 2009 (Cited from Takyi and Addai, 2003; UNDP, 1997) observed that retrenchment under structural adjustment led to the loss of some 300,000 public sector jobs in 1985 and an additional 12,000 jobs in 1987, sharply reducing the size of the labour force employed in the formal sector and pushing more families to relocate. Accordingly, many of these families never fully recovered, with serious consequences for the generation of children born during that period to retrenched workers, subsistence farmers and poor urban dwellers (UNICEF, 2009: 21). Furthermore, the exodus and subsequent repatriation of Ghanaians from Nigeria had significant impacts on families with concomitant spatial mobility for adjustment and readjustment of affected families.

On the other hand, the unequal spatial pattern of development created during the colonial period led to differences in the development of the regions as regions with natural resources and urban areas continued to receive financial resources to the detriment of the rural areas (Ewusi, 1987). The historical pattern of socio-economic development and the unequal distribution of natural resources therefore, resulted in the creation of three distinct geographic identities in Ghana: the coastal, middle and northern zones. In the view of Kwankye (2009), migration flows in Ghana have largely been in response to the spatial pattern of natural resource distribution across the three ecological zones, consisting the coastal belt, forest middle belt and the northern savannah (p. 1). Accordingly, the coastal zone, comprised mainly of Accra-Tema and Secondi-Takoradi, is the most industrialized and urbanized area in the country and has been the focus of internal migration. The middle belt, with its forest, mining and agricultural potential, was the centre of the old Ashanti empire. With its natural endowment, the middle belt became an area of rapid socio-economic development in the 1980s (Konseiga, 2003). Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti region, became a dominant centre in the country and became the focus of migration from the Northern savannah belt (Nabila 1986). Thus the relative affluence of the coastal zone and the middle belt resulted in the creation of migration foci within the southern part of the country. Nabila (1974) opines that the existence of economic development in regions along coastal Ghana made them growth points and centres of attraction for migration. Accra as the national capital developed and continued to grow in size because it was the seat of the colonial administration (Laverle, 1995). On the other hand, Kumasi - the headquarters of the middle zone - attracted not only people in its vicinity, but also large numbers of migrants from the north (Caldwell, 1969).

Although migration during the turbulent post-independence period continued with the trend it inherited from the pre-colonial era, it reduced in magnitude because of safety concerns. As such it remained dominated by adult single males who could brace the military brutality.

2.3.4 Stable post-independence (Since 1993)

The stable post-independence (also referred to in this study as the contemporary) period spans the period from 1993. This period marked the end to violent military coup d'états and ushered in a stable constitutional democracy, through a national constitution (the 4th Republican Constitution) in 1992 and subsequent national election in December that same year (1992). A democratic government was constituted in January 1993 and there has since been a change in five governments through competitive multi party democratic elections with political power transferred, not only from one government to another, but also to governments of different political parties (see table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Governments of the 4th Republic of Ghana

Governments of the 4th Republic of Ghana	Period	Political party	President
First Government	01/1993 – 12/1996	NDC	Jerry John Rawlings
Second Government	01/1997 – 12/2000	NDC	Jerry John Rawlings
Third Government	01/2001 – 12/2004	NPP	John Agyekum Kufour
Fourth Government	01/2005 – 12/2008	NPP	John Agyekum Kufour
Fifth Government	01/2009 – 12/2012	NDC	John Evans Atta Mills[6]/ John Dramani Mahama
Sixth Government	01/2013 – 12/2016	NDC	John Dramani Mahama

Source: Own construct, 2014
NDC: National Democratic Congress NPP: New Patriotic Party

The ushering in of constitutional rule since 1993 (as shown on table 2.3), also known as the Fourth (4th) Republic, has witnessed stability and steady progress in the socio-economic development of the country. Governments are changed through peaceful democratic multi-party elections, organised every four years. Also significant, is that, the changes in government is not only within one political party, but from one party to another of different political ideologies. It is important to note however, that although these parties purport to have divergent ideologies, their policies in practice suggest otherwise as both seem to have pursued similar policies during their tenure in governance. Furthermore, the death of a president in office in 2012 also witnessed smooth transition of power to the Vice in accordance with the constitution. This political stability has resulted in the successful implementation of development plans (see table 2.4) although the trend in migration has remained the same.

Table 2.4: Development plans during the stable post-independence period in Ghana

Development plan	Planned period		Actual implementation
	Duration	Years	Years
Ghana Vision 2020	1995 – 2020	25	5
Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme (GPRS I)	2003 – 2005	3	3
Growth and Poverty Reduction Programme (GPRS II)	2006 – 2009	4	4
Ghana Shared Growth and Development (GSGD)	2010 – 2013	4	4

Source: Adopted from Mensa-Bonsu (2008)

[6] President John Evans Atta Mills died in office on the 24th of July 2012, so John Dramani Mahama (then Vice President) became the president by default, in accordance with the Constitution of the 4th Republic of Ghana, to complete the term of the Government

Apart from the Vision 2020 (see table 2.4), the span of development plans appear to coincide with the cycle of change in partisan political leadership, with each government focusing on their four year mandate. Governments appear to be more concerned with achieving short term objectives which they can use to campaign for votes than focusing on long term goals which could evenly distribute development and thus reverse the trend in migration. Therefore, the current migration trajectories continue to be rural-to-urban and north-to-south with cities such as Accra and Kumasi remaining magnets not only for traders, but also young migrants seeking work and educational opportunities (Adepoju, 2003; Anarfi et.al, 2003).

Although difficult to quantify, the direction and magnitude of migration streams in the country have, on the whole, been influenced significantly by the existence of regional inequalities in socio-economic development, employment and related opportunities (Caldwell, 1969; Gugler, 2002). The pattern of public expenditure during the various development plan periods shows that the urban areas, which accounted for about 20 per cent of the country's population, receive roughly a-half of total plan allocation, while the rural areas that accounted for 80 per cent of the country's population in 1993 got the other half (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 1993). This statistics are changing though, as the results of the 2010 Population and Housing Census estimate 51% urban population (GSS, 2012). Nonetheless, the overall development strategy of the country has remained biased against rural areas (Songsore, 2003). The urban bias of development is evident in relatively larger public expenditure incurred in urban areas on social infrastructure and basic amenities like health, education, water and sanitation, and social services (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1997; Asibuo, 2000).

Expenditure on primary health care and primary education, of which the major beneficiaries are children and in rural areas, is a small proportion of total sectoral allocations, while the largest portion of the allocations go to secondary and tertiary health facilities, universities and institutions of higher learning, all of which are located in the urban areas (Ewusi, 1986; Awumbila, 2001; GSS 2002a). Similarly, budgetary resources of the transport sector are spent mainly in building urban-related capital-intensive facilities like bridges, roads and highways (GSS, 1986). Again, allocation to industry, which goes mainly to large and medium scale publicly owned enterprises, mostly benefit the urban areas where these industries are located (Sarfo, 1987; Addo & Kwegyir, 1990). On the other hand, small and cottage industries, which are mostly located in rural areas, receive little support and encouragement in official policy statements and actions (Amanor, 2001). All these clearly show that government policy and programmes have a built-in bias towards the urban areas, which is an important corollary of the phenomenon of rural-urban migration in Ghana.

The direction of migration is generally geared towards urban areas because they are also more economically stable, vibrant and have more employment opportunities than rural areas (Mabogunje, 1989; Adepoju, 2000). For instance, the net-migration rate for Greater Accra region in 1984 was 11.3% which increased to 30% in 2000. This means that the region experienced the largest net-gain of population between 1984 and 2000 and was followed by the Western region, where Sekondi-Takoradi is located, by 17.3% (GSS, 2002b). On the other hand, the Upper East and West regions experienced large net-loses of -25.9% and -33.7% respectively. This implies that these regions which incidentally are also the least developed in the country, lost 25.9% and 33.7% of their populations respectively to other regions (GSS, 2002a). It can therefore be inferred that, people migrate to more developed regions with the probable objective of enhancing their livelihoods through the development opportunities and prospects of those regions and as a result, perpetuate the spatial regional imbalances in development.

The Greater Accra region continues to be the main destination for most migrants. According to the 2000 population and housing census, the population growth rate of the Greater Accra region was 4.4% between 1984 and 2000, compared to the national growth rate of 2.7% per annum during the same period (GSS, 2002a). Thus out of the 20 largest localities in Ghana in 2000, 25% were in the Greater Accra region (GSS, 2002b). The situation has not changed significantly in recent times. The results of the population and housing census of 2010 indicate

that the region has 16.3% share of the entire population of Ghana with a density of 1,236 persons per square kilometre while the population of the three northern regions constitute only 17.1%. The Upper East and West regions in particular remain the least populous regions with 4.2% and 2.8% shares and densities of 117 and 37 persons per square kilometre respectively of the total population of 24.6 million (GSS, 2012).

It is imperative from the forgoing, that the pattern and trajectory of child migration in Ghana will naturally follow those of adult migration, thus perpetuating and reinforcing the north-south, rural-urban pattern. This has been catalysed by political stability during this period and improvement in communication through expansion in road networks and telecommunication. Migration is therefore no longer a dominant adult male phenomenon, but children and women freely move to urban destinations where they think their dreams can be realised. According to Agyei and Ofosu-Mensah (2009:39) child migration in contemporary times in Ghana is on the ascendency, with the main destinations of child migrants from the north being the cities of the south, particularly Accra and Kumasi where they undertake menial jobs such as head porterage, truck pushing and street hawking, among others. Children as young as 8 years are involved in migration (Awumbila, 2007: 2) and serve in different capacities including head porterage in the cities of Ghana. The discovery and commercial production of oil in the Western region of Ghana, which started in 2010, could possibly rejuvenate the potential and attraction of the region (Sekondi-Takoradi) as an important destination for child migrants to take advantage of jobs and economic opportunities which would be created by the oil production. The foregoing discourse is summarised in table 2.5 to show the periods, form, purpose and actors involved in migration in Ghana.

Table 2.5: Trends of migration in Ghana

Migration	Pre Colonisation	Colonisation	Turbulent post independence	Stable post independence	Future
Form	• Forced	• Forced • Coerced	• Coerced • Voluntary	• Voluntary	

Purpose	• Inter-tribal conflicts conquest and occupation
	• Trans-Atlantic trade
		• Inter-tribal conflicts and slavery
		• Cheap labour for:
		  • mines
		  • plantations
		• Military recruitment
		• Clerical work
			• Labour for:
			  • mines
			  • plantations
			• Recruitment
			• Industry
			• Civil Service
				• Mines
				• Cocoa plantations
				• Recruitment
				• Industry
				• Civil Service
				• Informal work
				• Domestic servants
					?

Actors	Adult males	Adult males	Adult Males with accompanying : • Spouses • Children	• Adult males & females • Unaccompanied children	
	Before 1874	**1874 – 1956**	**1957 - 1992**	**1993 – 2013**	

Source: Own illustration, 2013

As shown in table 2.5, the form of migration during the period of pre colonisation was mainly forced migration, involving adult males through conquest and occupation in inter-tribal conflicts as well as trade with others across the sub-region. This continued into the period of European colonisation but with an addition of coercion to get cheap labour into the mines and plantations in the south, while recruiting some of the male migrants into the Armed Forces and Clerical work. Conditions seemed to have improved after independence with an end to inter-tribal wars. The form of migration then changed from forced to coercion and voluntary migration, with spouses and children able to join the males who were working in the mines, plantations, industry, civil service and Armed Forces. However, migration during contemporary times is mainly voluntary, involving all categories of people with children migrating alone without parents

and adult guardians. For instance children as young as 8 years old have been reported to migrate without their parents (Awumbila, 2007). Therefore, considering the changes in form that have taken place over the periods, it remains uncertain what form migration will take in the future. Whether, children will continue to play a dominant role or they will rescind from migration and pursue education, is uncertain.

It is therefore plausible to posit that, if planning was used as a tool during the period of colonisation to chart the course of migration from the north to the south, and which has remained to date, then it will be the same tool (planning) that could be used to either reverse or change the trend of migration in Ghana.

2.4 Motivation for child migration

Children (as adults) react differently to situations and conditions in their localities. As such the motivations of children to migrate are both positive and negative (Reale, 2008:7) and vary widely, depending on the context and circumstances. Nevertheless, these motives can be grouped into four broad categories: shocks, economic, socio-cultural and educational.

2.4.1 Shocks

Shocks are sudden and unexpected changes in the living conditions of people. These could be natural or artificial and in the form of earth tremors, floods, fires, droughts, conflicts and deaths. These conditions leave children (but also adults) unable to cope and manage their lives as they are sudden and unexpected. In such instances, children are compelled to migrate as a route to safety as they have no choice but to leave their localities affected by the shocks (Reale, 2008:7). However, earth tremors, floods and fires have not caused noticeable population movement in Ghana. Nonetheless, a drought in 1981-82, an ethnic conflict in the Northern region in 1994 and death of parents have caused people, including children, to migrate from the Northern Savannah regions to other regions: mostly to the coastal and forest regions. A longitudinal analysis of migration and rainfall by Van der Geest shows that the period of worst environmental stress – during the Sahelian droughts of the late 1970s and early 1980s - was a time of reduced out-migration from northern Ghana. In this period of northern Ghana's migration history, economic and political factors weighed heavier than environmental factors. Accordingly, the picture that emerged for Northern Ghana was not one of distress migration in the face of environmental disaster, but rather of migration as a way of dealing with structural environmental scarcity (Van der Geest, 2011: e82). Also, Van der Geest et al concluded in a study of migration and environment in Ghana that migration to Accra is mainly opportunity driven, and that neither environmental push nor pull play an important role in this migration system (Van der Geest et al, 2010: 121).

Although there is no reliable statistics on the number of people who migrated due to the drought in 1981-82, the 1994 ethnic conflict for instance, resulted in the creation of a suburb of Accra called Agbogbloshie (near Old Fadama) to resettle victims fleeing the conflict in the Northern region. These refugees were not only adults but included children. The settlement has since attracted many people including children who migrate from the north to Accra as it provides them with accommodation and job opportunities as well as the possibilities of experiencing urban lifestyles. However, as an ad hoc emergency decision, the provision of the necessary facilities (housing, etc) and the appropriate regulatory mechanisms did not precede the creation of the settlement. The migrant inhabitants engaged in petty trading (mainly in agricultural produce) as a livelihood strategy which made them establish and re-established networks with the food producing areas. These activities subsequently attracted other migrants, mostly from the Northern and other regions into the settlement. The growth of the population of the settlement has since been phenomenal, leading to the development of a slum of about 30,000 inhabitants (Armah, 2007) and currently 50,000 (Koranteng, 2013) with 90% being migrants from the three northern regions of Ghana seeking greener pastures in Accra. This

settlement is also called 'Sodom and Gomorrah' because of immoral activities of the inhabitants.

Family calamities (mostly, the death of a parent) results in serious challenges to the surviving spouse and children. This is often linked to the gradual breakdown of the nuclear family system (Beauchemin, 1999) with the failure of parenting playing a complex role (Whitehead, Hashim and Iversen, 2007) in the creeping laxity of child upbringing in Ghana. In northern Ghana, where poverty is high and existing social protection opportunities are fast eroding because of urbanisation and deteriorating economic conditions, surviving spouses and children are left alone to fend for themselves. This is more acute if the deceased spouse was the male head of household and also the bread winner of the family. The surviving widow, in this instance, has no title to the land for farming. Even in situations where access is possible, they often lack the skills and capital to invest in the farming enterprise resulting in harsh conditions of living. Children (mostly first born children) are thus compelled by the circumstances to migrate to work in order to support their mothers to take care of their younger siblings. Literature on migrant children from the Upper East Region of Ghana (Whitehead et al, 2007; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011:56) reveal that many children from the region migrate because of family reasons with most of the children in this category being orphans or children who have lost their fathers. Indeed, they found instances of older children who migrated when orphaned of a father to help their mothers cover expenses associated with their younger siblings' formal education, or just because they felt it was their duty, especially if they were the eldest sons, and that these gestures were understood and appreciated by siblings and other kin (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011). This is not to underscore other observations as maltreatment at home (as observed by Khair, 2005 in Bangladesh) or abusive home environments (Beauchemin, 1999) in a study of exodus of street children in Ghana. Furthermore, Zohry in assessing the impact of internal migration on Egypt also observed an increasing number of landless households, increasing fragmentation of land-holdings due to inheritance as responsible for internal population movement in Egypt (Zohry, 2009). These shocks often manifest in economic hardships faced by households and result in child migration.

2.4.2 Economic motivation

The motives for migration are overwhelmingly economic, irrespective of the context in which they occur (Ranathunga, 2011:23). They seem to dominate both at the push and pull divides of the push-pull theory of migration. As such, whereas many children migrate to take advantage of earning opportunities to contribute to the income of their families or households (Reale, 2008:8) others migrate due to declining economic opportunities in rural areas, scarcity of services and other social amenities as observed in Egypt (Zohry, 2009). Furthermore, a study by the Migration Development Research Centre (DRC) in Bangladesh also indicates that poverty is the most prominent reason why Bangladeshi children opt to leave home (Whitehead and Sward, 2008:2). Changes in the economic fortunes of most African countries have adversely undermined the abilities of families to meet their basic needs, resulting in the weakening and disintegration of family control over children who turn to the street, seeking lowly paid jobs (Adepoju, 2010: 11). These observations are not different from those prevailing in Ghana. A UNICEF and Catholic Action for Street Children (CAS) report on street children in Accra observed that 35% of a registered street children's programme in the capital (Accra) cited poverty as their reason for migrating from their homes (Beauchemin, 1999:15). Similarly, Frempong-Ainguah et al in a study of north-south independent child migration in Ghana posit that, though a variety of reasons account for child migration, economic motivation, more than any other factor, has been the driving force behind the migration of children from northern to southern Ghana (Frempong-Ainguah et al, 2009:71)

Although economic motivations present a strong and convincing explanation for the migration of children, the socio-cultural milieu within which these movements occur have enormous influence on the migration of children.

2.4.3 Socio-cultural motivation

The reasons why children migrate cannot be solely explained by economic reasons in isolation. The socio-cultural milieu within which children live and grow up have strong impacts on their migration motives. A study by Save the Children, in a number of countries show that many children are pushed to seek earning opportunities by a strong sense of filial responsibility (Reale, 2008: 8). Also, in a study of working children in the Philippines, Camacho observed that children migrate because of parental expectation and their (children's) felt obligations to contribute to the survival of the household (Camacho, 2001). She explains that children are brought up to believe that a good child is obedient and respectful, fully recognizing the importance of filial responsibility. They therefore consider it a duty to help in the family's survival and earn social approval if they are able to meet the social criteria of a good child (p. 17). A combination of the expectations from parents and the feeling of responsibility by children themselves, motivate them to migrate.

Socio-cultural motivations of child migration have been reported in studies in Ghana (Beauchemin, 1999; Anarfi and Appiah, 2009; and Hashim and Thorsen, 2011). According to Nabila (1974 cited in Anarfi and Appiah, 2009) the patrilineal system of inheritance among the Frafra tribe of Northern Ghana (and also applicable to other tribes in the north) passes on property (including land) to brothers of a deceased man, until all of the brothers of the generation pass away before it comes to the turn of the generations of sons (p. 55). This has been fuelled by the breakdown of the extended family system in favour of the nucleus system of family arrangement where parents are more focused on their biological children while neglecting the children of their deceased relatives. This practice deprives children (especially orphans) of access to land for economic and other opportunities and thus leave them with the option of migrating to places where they can participate in economic activities for their livelihoods as well as support their widowed mothers and younger siblings. Indeed some of these children are fostered by both relatives and non-relatives, with the possibility of them accessing education and apprenticeship (Hashim, 2007).

2.4.4 Educational motivation

The quest for or lack of education has the tendency for children to migrate. This is because, education is generally envisioned by many as the pathway out of poverty and recognition in modern societies. However, for many young people living in rural areas, education is either not available at all or only available at the primary level (Reala, 2008). Moreover, schools in rural areas are more likely to be under-resourced, with poor-quality teaching, which may lead children to migrate to schools outside their places of origin. For instance, in a study by Save the Children (UK) in Cote d'Ivoire, many children who attend school are prepared to give up education and move away from their families if other opportunities appear more appealing elsewhere (ibid: 8). Also, Punch (2007) argues that constraints such as limited resources, lack of available teaching materials, inadequate infrastructure, poor quality of teaching and low wages for teachers all lead to poor perception of schooling (p. 11). This example perceives education negatively, probably as a result of poor quality and inability of children and parents to realise their objectives for schooling or educating their children. Furthermore, Whitehead and Sward (2008) observe that quality of schooling in rural areas is usually of a comparatively poor standard, and children from poor families typically do not possess the financial resources to access better educational opportunities (p. 3). On the other hand, Hashim (2005 & 2007) identified education and apprenticeship as some of the reasons why Kusasi children from the Upper East Region of Ghana migrate. This migration is motivated by the perception of accessing better resourced schools and/or apprenticeship in urban destinations in southern Ghana. It is therefore plausible to submit that education or the lack of it, serves to either push or attract children to migrate. Therefore, the motivation to migrate eventually leads to decision making, regarding whether to or not to migrate and where to migrate to, if migration becomes the option.

2.5 Child migration decision making

Migration decision making is a continuous process, throughout the migration planning cycle. It is not limited to the planning phase, but continuous through implementation to the evaluation phase. Although the process may not be as structured as the normal process of planning, children continuously make and revise decisions on their migration intensions and actions based on the information and resources available to them. This decision making is influenced by a plethora of considerations, involving not only the individual child migrant, but also the households as well as the communities in which the children live. This section therefore focuses not only on the child migrant but also the involvement of all three actors in the decision making process: the individual child, household and community, in children's migration decision making.

2.5.1 Individual children in migration decision making

Until recently, literature on migration decision making was limited to adults, with children only accompanying their parents in the course of their (adult) migration. In order words, children were not included in the migration decision making process, even if those decisions lead to their involvement in migration: whether with the adult parents, guardians or alone. This thinking portrayed children as passive individuals in the entire process of migration and in decision making in particular. Levison (2000:126) supports this view by opining that children are relegated in decision making, both in the family and in schools and as such are depicted as powerless and without agency on their own. However, arguments and evidence have emerged in child migration literature (Camacho, 2001 & 2006; Hashim 2005 & 20007; Frempong-Ainguah, Badasu and Codjoe 2009; Anarfi and Agyei, 2009; and Hashim and Thorsen, 2011) to counter this assertion, by making a strong case for children as agents in their own migration decision making. Camacho (2006) for instance, emphasises how children in the Philippines use negotiation as a tool in making decisions to migrate. Therefore, focusing on the role of adults in the decision making process suggest some degree of compulsion and/or coercion which has the tendency of downplaying children's own motivations and involvement in the decision making process (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011: 44). The Children's Act 1998 of Ghana (Act 590) provides the legal basis for children in Ghana to actively participate in making decisions bordering on their lives, including the decision to migrate. The Act stipulates that:

> *No person shall deprive a child capable of forming views, the right to express an opinion, to be listened to and to participate in decisions which affect his/her well-being, the opinion of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child (Children's Act 1998, Act 590).*

This legal provision elucidates the leverage with which children in Ghana can make and be engaged in migration decision making albeit contra cultural influences and practices. Nonetheless, children continuously negotiate with their parents, siblings, friends and other relatives as well as non-blood relatives in their communities in making decisions bordering on migration. Hashim and Thorsen (2011: 61) observed how Kusasi boys (in northern Ghana) in particular, negotiate with their parents in order to obtain permission to migrate but with a promise to return. This negotiation has been enhanced in recent times by improvement in Information Communication Technology (ICT) which eases access to information about prospective destinations. For instance, children are able to gather information about potential destinations through telephone conversations with friends and relatives living in distant destinations with ease and at lower or no cost through improved access to mobile communication in rural areas in Ghana.

Furthermore, in a study of independent child migrants in Ghana, Frempong-Ainguah, Badasu and Codjoe (2009:90) observed that about 64% of 450 child migrants involved in the study, took the decision to migrate to Accra and Kumasi on their own. Similarly, Anarfi and Agyei (2009:113) in the same study, argue that child migrants themselves are major decision makers in the whole process of migration. They observed that 59.8% of the respondent child migrants took the decision to migrate on their own. These evidences suggest that children in Ghana are

active participants in their migration decision making process, although this may be negotiated as observed by Camacho (2006).

It is worth noting that migration decision making is a complex and continuous process and can only be well understood within the context in which they are made. Child migration decisions are made before, in the process and while at the destination as to whether to adapt and stay, re-migrate or return. Children, as adults, continuously assess their conditions and weigh the options available to them. If they are convinced of improvement and future prospects at their location (whether before migration or at the destination) they adapt with the hope of future improvement in their conditions of life. However, if their assessment convinces them of better prospects elsewhere, then they re-migrate to other destinations. Conversely, if the assessment presents a bleak future than their home (origin), then they choose to return.

Although the foregoing discussion strongly supports that children make migration decisions on their own, the influence of households and the communities in which children live cannot be denied in the process of the decision making.

Definition of household

It is worth acknowledging that the usage of household in migration literature, lacks general acceptance and uniformity. Therefore it is useful to define and explain the meaning of the term household in the context of this study. The Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS 5) report of 2008 defines household *'as a person or a group of persons, who live together in the same dwelling, share the same house-keeping arrangements and are catered for as one unit*'(GSS, 2009: 2). This definition, although useful - as data generated by it (GLSS 5) is used in this study - seems inadequate at capturing the fluidity of household composition in Ghana. Schmidt-Kallert (2009[a]:324), in a study of livelihood strategies of households, observed that many households in Ghana are spatially split with some members living in the city for cash while the other members live in rural localities as a way of harnessing the potentials of both rural and urban localities and thus reducing their vulnerability. This observation suggests that the membership of a household in Ghana does not necessarily limit individuals to a fixed geographic location, but extends to other spatially separate locations. Such individuals could share some levels of housekeeping arrangements, but not necessarily sharing the same dwelling and at all times. As such, the term household is used in this study to include:

> *any person or group of persons bounded by kinship (blood, marriage or adoption), who share the same housekeeping arrangements, regarded as a unit and either live together in the same or spatially split dwellings*.

They are catered for as one unit but may be spatially and temporarily separated for reasons of mutual benefits and are bounded by kinship. The choice of this definition is to ensure conformity with existing Living Standard Survey data which were collected for other purposes but are useful to the study, while at the same time, accommodating the amorphous structure of households in Ghana.

2.5.2 Households in child migration decision making

Child migration decisions are made in the context of the households[7] in which they live. The level of involvement of households in child migration decision making however varies in relation to the strength of kinship ties existing in the society or community. In this regard, Mincer (1978) argues that migration decisions are taken by families rather than by the single individuals involved in migration. He suggests that migration decisions are not made solely by the individuals physically embarking on the migration, but are determined by the family. Accordingly, the net family gains motivate households more than the personal gains of the individuals

[7] The term household is used in this study to mean, any person or group of persons bounded by kinship (blood, marriage or adoption), who share the same housekeeping arrangements, regarded as a unit and either live together in the same or spatially split dwellings.

involved in the process. The new economics of migration theory (see Stark, 1991) focuses on the household or the family as the relevant decision making unit, rather than on the individual. Parents often encourage or support the migration of their children, seeing it as opening opportunities for a better future, although in other cases, children may move against the wishes of their parents (Real, 2008:8). Raihelhuber (2001) cited in Schmidt-Kallert (2009[b]:329), observed how households in Nepal decided on some members (usually adult sons with their nuclear families) to migrate into urban localities with children of school going age while the older generations continue to cultivate the land in the village. In this context, the decision to migrate (although the movement involved children) is a household decision and not by the children themselves. In an effort to understand the migration experiences of child domestic workers in the Philippines, Agnes Camacho argues that migration decisions are usually made within the context of the household, guided by the needs of the household economy, informed by asymmetrical power relations along gender and generational lines, influenced by information and support from earlier migrants, and sustained by a widespread culture of migration (Camacho, 2006:9). Furthermore, Adepujo (1977) in an earlier study observed that migration decision-making process in Africa is largely a household, rather than an individual concern, and is evidently more complex than is assumed by behavioural models. He advocates the need to reformulate models which, as far as possible, would integrate the household situation into the migration decision making process, by integrating non-economic motives in the process of migration decision-making. Furthermore, Lohnert (2002) is cited in Schmidt-Kallert (2009[b]:326) as having observed how children of young nuclear families in Cape Town (South Africa) stay with their parents only during school days but do not live in the city for the rest of the time. Therefore, the decision of children to migrate from the forgoing discussion, are taken by households and not by the children in isolation.

In the work of Hashim (2005 and 2007) on independent child migration in Ghana, she shows how parents allow their children to travel out of their home community as a way of supporting their children's aspirations. Accordingly, parents reluctantly allow their children to migrate, conscious of the ways in which the households and the communities offer their children too little. She observes that rural underdevelopment and the poverty that accompanies it "constitute the primary constraints for both parents and children in relation to the migration decisions that are made" (Hashim, 2006: 29). Furthermore, Frempong-Ainguah, et al (2009: 90) observed in their survey, that 31.9% of the child migrants reported the involvement of their parents and or relatives in their decision to migrate. They further observed that increase in age reduced the influence of parents and close relatives in children's migration decision making. Whereas 49% of children between the ages of 10–14 years old said their decisions were made for them by parents and relatives, the percentage among those, aged 20–24 years was less (23.8%). Similarly, Anarfi and Agyei (2009:114) observed that parents and other relatives were responsible for migration decisions of 35.5% of 450 child migrants surveyed in Accra and Kumasi in 2005.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that households are intrinsically and actively involved in the migration decision making of children. The level of involvement however decreases, as the ages of the children increase and also more disposed to deciding for the migration of their male children than female children. As children grow older in age, they are able to make more independent decisions than when they are younger (Tutu, 1995), while households with larger sizes produce greater numbers of migrants than smaller households (Ackah and Medvedev, 2010). On the other hand, parents are more disposed to allow their male children to migrate because they associate lower risk with the migration of male children than with female children. This is probably because, girls are perceived to be more susceptible to (sexual) exploitations at unknown destinations than their male counterparts and so parents are less willing to let them travel unaccompanied. In addition, parents (especially in rural localities in northern Ghana) anticipate receipt of dowry for their daughters during marriage and see it as their responsibility to protect and preserve them for their suitors, not only for the dowry but also for the protection and preservation of the integrity of the family and clans (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011). Therefore, girls often have to shelve their migration decisions from their parents in order

that they are not discouraged or prevented from migrating. A case in point is a Ghanaian Times (Daily Newspaper) report in July 2007 of a girl chained into a seat of a commercial bus in Accra, to be forcefully returned to Walewale in the Northern region of Ghana because the parents did not want her to migrate (Anarfi and Agyei, 2009:120).

2.5.3 Community involvement in child migration decision making

The decision of an individual to or not to migrate depends not only on the individual alone, but on the circumstances and actions of people around him/her. In other words, other people in the environment in which the individual lives, directly or indirectly influence the individual's migration decision making process (Harttgen and Klasen, 2009:12). The people around an individual play important roles in the decisions that the individual makes. Mincer (1978) emphasises the importance of family ties in the migration decision making process and suggests that migration decision is not an individual decision but determined by the community in which the individual lives. Accordingly, the gains to family and community members motivate migration more than an individual's personal gains. In contrast to the neoclassical theory, the new economics of migration focuses on the family and networks in a community as the relevant decision making units, rather than on the individual. In the context of northern Ghana, the family extends beyond the nucleus of father, mother and siblings, to a larger network of relations. It is thus not uncommon to hear children referring to persons from their places of origin as brothers, sisters, uncles or aunties although such people may be distant relatives or part of the network of relations from the home community. Such ambiguous and amorphous family relationships and networks are often exploited by children as members of such networks feel obliged to assist children from their places of origin and therefore play crucial roles in the migration decision making of children. Such roles are not limited to the pre-migration stage but continue during the migration phase and also at the destination. They include (although not limited to) providing information about the proposed destination, finance and other resources, accommodation, helping to find work, introducing children to existing networks, among others.

In a study of independent north-south child migration in Ghana, Anarfi and Agyei (2009) observed that other relatives (excluding parents of child migrants) and friends decided for children to migrate to Accra and Kumasi. Whereas other relatives accounted for 7.3%, friends accounted for 4.7% of the respondent children's migration decision making (p. 118). Caldwell (1968) also observed the important role of friends or relatives not only in migration decision making but also at the destination locality. Furthermore, while acknowledging the role of community in migration decision making, Ackah and Medvedev (2010) included migration networks as important determinants and argue that, younger persons are more likely to be influenced by the community to migrate than older ones. This could probably be due to the fact that older people have greater responsibilities and commitments to the areas than younger people, making it easier for children to decide to migrate.

To conclude, although children might be physically involved in migration, their decisions to migrate are context specific and are arrived at through the interplay of the individual children, the households and the communities in which they live. Nevertheless, the decisions take place within a milieu of rules and organisations that regulate the process of migration.

2.6 Institutions and organisations in child migration

Institutions and organisations play very important roles in the existence and interactions in any human endeavour. This study observes carefully, how migration of people and specifically children, influence and is intend influenced by institutions and organisations. It borrows the concepts of institutions and organisations from institutional economics, which regards institutions as "rules of the game" and organisations as "players" in any human society.

Institutions, according to North (1992), are the humanly devised constraints that structure human interactions in a human society. In order words institutions are the rules of the game of a

human society, which consist of formal and informal rules, and the enforcement characteristics of both. Institutions comprise the basic rules of society to which its members adhere when interacting with one another (Boettke and Fink, 2011). Formal rules include statute law, common law and regulations while informal rules on the other hand comprise of conventions, norms of behaviour, and self-imposed rules of behaviour (North, 1992:4). Furthermore, institutions comprise the basic rules of society to which its members adhere to when interacting with one another. It is the basic institutions that determine the long-run economic performance of a society (Boettke and Fink, 2011). What is not clear is how the laws and norms in Ghana promote or constrain child migration.

Ghana is signatory to a number of conventions, including those on the rights of children. In addition, the national constitution of Ghana (the 1992 Constitution) provides the legal basis for children to engage in migration. The Children's Act (1998) of Ghana (Act 590) provides the legal basis for the protection of children in Ghana, especially from exploitation. It stipulates that 'no person shall engage a child in exploitative labour' and defines exploitative labour to mean labour that deprives the child of its health, education or development. The Act further stipulates that 'no person shall engage a child in night work' and categorises night work as constituting work between the hours of eight o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning.

Although the Act (Act 590) defines a child as any person below the age of 18 years, it allows for the admission of children to employment at age 15, but distinguishes between light work and hazardous work. It states that, the minimum age for the engagement of a child in light work shall be thirteen years. Accordingly, light work constitutes work which is not likely to be harmful to the health or development of the child and does not affect the child's attendance at school or the capacity of the child to benefit from school work.

On the other hand, it sets the minimum age for the engagement of a person in hazardous work as eighteen years and defines hazardous work as work that poses a danger to the health, safety or morals of a person, to include the following: going to sea; mining and quarrying; porterage of heavy loads; manufacturing industries where chemicals are produced or used; work in places where machines are used; and work in places such as bars, hotels and places of entertainment where a person may be exposed to immoral behaviour.

This provision is spatially neutral and does not preclude any child on the basis of origin or location in any part of the country. In other words it serves to protect child migrants in equal measure as non-migrant children. However, the implementation of these provisions depends on the existence and effectiveness of organisations that operationalise them.

Organisations are considered by the New Institutional Economics (NIE) as 'players of the game'. In other words, they are groups of individuals bound by a common purpose to achieve set objectives. They include political bodies (political parties, the senate, a city council, a regulatory agency); economic bodies (firms, trade unions, family farms, cooperatives); social bodies (churches, clubs, athletic associations); and educational bodies - schools, colleges, vocational training centres (North, 1992:4).

A continuous interaction between institutions and organisations, influence the nature and form of migration in space and time. The nature and effectiveness or otherwise of the interaction between institutions and organisations either promote or discourage migration of children. For instance, the Children's Act 1998 mandates District Assemblies to protect the welfare and promote the rights of children within their areas of authority and to ensure that governmental agencies liaise with one another in matters concerning children within their respective districts. It specifically mandates the Social Welfare and the Community Development Department of the District Assemblies to investigate cases of contravention of children's rights within the districts (Children's Act, 1998).

Other organisations that are engaged in work related to child migration in Ghana include governmental agencies such as the Department of Children under the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC), the Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU), the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU) of the Ghana Police Service (GPS), the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) and the Ghana Education Service (GES) under the Ministry of Education (MOE). Nongovernmental organisations working on areas related to migration of children include the

International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), International Labour Organisation (ILO) as well as local NGOs and CBOs, prominent among which are the Children's Rights International, the Catholic Action for Street Children (CAS), Assemblies of God Relief and Development Services (AGREDS), Challenging Heights, among others. Many of these organisations have their headquarters in Accra but with presences in rural areas either through branch offices or in partnership with local organisations at the regional, district and community levels.

Traditional authorities such as chiefs and District Assembly members in the local communities also play important roles in child migration. This is particularly useful because they live in the communities with such children and experience the conditions in which such children live and grow. The Traditional authorities in the communities serve as custodians of the culture of the people and as such the norms and practices in the communities which serve to promote or discourage migration of children. What is not clear is the extent of cooperation between the governmental, non-governmental agencies and the traditional authorities. Effective collaboration will ensure realistic promulgation and implementation of bye laws to stop or enhance the benefits of child migration.

2.7 Remittance

Remittances constitute very important components of the income of many households in developing countries (Ranathunga, 2011: 22). According to official records of the World Bank, remittance flows to developing countries are estimated to have reached $372 billion in 2011, an increase of 12.1 percent over those of 2010 which was $351 billion (Ratha and Silwal, 2012). India and China for instance received $55 billion and $51 billion, respectively from remittances in 2009 (Poros, 2011). It constitutes an important motivation for migration and is used to mean sending money and other items to a recipient in a different location. It involves hand-carrying transfers in cash or kind, personally or through a close relative, friend or known transport operators or bank transfers, etc. However, while international remittance flows have been estimated for a number of countries, little is known about internal remittance flows (Deshingkar, 2004) with much less known about child migration although they are likely to be significant because of the larger numbers of people involved.

Children have often been regarded as beneficiaries of remittances by adult migrants through the provision of basic needs and paying for their education. However, attention is increasingly being given to children as agents and people who are capable, and indeed, remit but not just passive beneficiaries of adult remittances. For instance, Nguyen and Purnamasari (2011) observed, in a study of the impact of remittances from international migration on child labour in Indonesia, that remittances tend to reduce child labour and has both positive and negative impacts on school enrolment. This conceptualisation of remittance cannot adequately explain the complex nature of remittances in child migration as it is deeply ingrained in the social networks and multi-locational living arrangements (as discussed earlier in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3) from which children grow up. Punch (2007) observes that children in Bolivia migrate for work in order to meet their obligations of contributing to meet household needs. Similarly, Whitehead and Hashim (2007) argue that children are encouraged and expected to contribute to the livelihood activities of their household (p.18). Children's remittances are not necessarily monetary but include items and labour in reciprocity (Schmidt-Kallert, 2009[b]) where migrant children return to help during farming seasons and part of the foodstuffs are sent to them at their destinations after harvest. Also, Tagoe and Kwankye (2009) quotes an opinion leader in a study of independent child migrants in the Northern Region of Ghana as saying that, male migrants return during the farming season while female migrants return during the harvest season to help their families left behind (p. 231). This arrangement resolves the potential conflict (Whitehead and Hashim, 2007) between prospective child migrants and their parents, because their labour is important for the livelihoods of their households and mostly needed during the farming season.

Nevertheless, remittance in the form of money is still a common feature in child migration. In a study of child migrants in Accra and Kumasi in Ghana in 2005, Anarfi and Kwankye found that more than one half of the child migrants sent money home. They observed further that boys sent money more frequently than girls and remittances were mainly sent through relatives, friends, traders and drivers, and used mostly to buy food. Other uses include buying building materials, farm inputs, medical treatment, trading, purchase of sewing machines, livestock or items for marriage, helping younger siblings, and for the purchase of personal belongings or as savings which their mothers could use (Anarfi and Kwnkye, 2005). Also, Hashim (2007) identified that children in the Upper East Region of Ghana migrate to get money which is used to pay for the cost of their education and that of their siblings.

Child migrants also send remittances as a return intension. Children migrate with the hope of working to accumulate capital with the intention to return in future and establish small scale business enterprises or marry and settle. As such earnings are sent home for safe keeping, as many of them live in less secured accommodation at their destinations with high risk of keeping their earnings with them. This applies mostly to returned adults who migrated when they were young and have returned for the rest of their lives in their home (origin) communities.

2.8 Return migration

Return migration constitutes an important component of the continuous process of migration and serves either as an end point in the process or leads to other forms of migration. It is not necessarily seen as the closure of the migration cycle, but rather as one of many steps within the process which could lead to other form, such as circular (Tagoe and Kwankye, 2009) or repeat migration. It occurs when migrants return to their places of origin, usually from their destinations during or after they have migrated and involves both adults and children engaged in temporal as well as long term migration.

Migrant children return for various reasons, which can be grouped into two main categories: achieving or failure to achieve their objectives for migrating. In other words, whereas “some children return successful with goods and money, others return with problems, like debt, sexual diseases, babies, and challenges to traditional customs” (Yaqub, 2009: 30). Children who migrate to raise money for schooling (Hashim, 2007; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011; Tamanja, 2012) return after earning some money and also when the school term begins. This is usually of short duration involving small amounts of money to buy basic items and pocket money needed to stay in school. Tamanja (2012) observed how JHS children in Namoo (a farming village in the Upper East Region of Ghana) return with items they need for schooling and money to buy food during break time, after migrating during vacation to work at destinations in the south. Furthermore, Hashim (2007) also reports of child migrants returning with money to buy prospectus and pocket money for SHS education after working in the south. Migrant children who stay longer do occasionally visit home, especially, during festive occasions such as Christmas, Easter and funerals, but return afterwards to their destinations. This category of children considers their migration as positive and successful because they have been able to meet their short term objectives for migrating.

Children who stay longer on the other hand, return with relatively higher capital and personal effects to start life or invest in small scale enterprises. In Ghana, female migrants returning from the south acquire sewing machines and utensils for marriage while their male counterparts return with bicycles and capital for farming and to establish small scale business enterprises (Tagoe and Kwankye, 2009; Hashim, 2007; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011). Besides these monetary and material considerations, others return with skills and also to fulfil family obligations such as caring for ailing parents or to maintain family property. These returnees are regarded as asserts and role models who contribute to the development of their communities (Tagoe and Kwankye, 2009: 236 - 237).

Nevertheless, “when children return home either for a short visit or for longer periods, there can be a clash of values between the generations; between old and new ideas” (Punch,

2007: 8). This is mainly because they acquire lifestyles that are incongruous with their home communities. This occurs mostly when children return with problems, like debt, sexual diseases, babies, and lifestyles which tend to challenge traditional customs (Yaqub, 2009: 30). Such children return home because they are unable to realise their dreams or because of frustration at the destination (Tagoe and Kwankye, 2009: 207) and become misfits in their home communities. For instance, babies born in the course of migration may be regarded by traditional rural cultures as illegitimate children while urban lifestyles are regarded as disrespectful and promiscuous and frowned upon in the community upon return (Yaqub, 2009).

Finally it is important to note that these challenges and frustrations children face upon return have the tendency of making them re-migrate either to the destinations they were or to other destinations. Furthermore, successful return migration (returning with property, skills and good lifestyles) also has the tendency of encouraging other children (non-migrants) to migrate, therefore perpetuating the cycle of child migration. Therefore, policy makers and implementers need to be circumspect in addressing the issue of child migration through return programmes as such policies and programmes may end up fuelling the phenomenon rather than solving it.

2.9 Child migration and education

> *Education is a human right that is basic to personal and societal well-being. It enhances lives, provides the means for transmitting knowledge to the next generation and for sustainable development. Obtaining formal education is one of the fundamental elements in the process of transition from childhood to adulthood and enhances an individual's potential contribution to national development (UNICEF, 2009: 77).*

This statement suggests that migrant as well as non-migrant children, need formal education to enhance their future potential contribution to national development. Therefore, strenuous efforts at providing quality education for all children are *sine qua non* as children hold the key to the future development of any nation. However, there is limited research on the linkage between child migration and education, especially when child migrants are engaged in economic activities. This could be as a result of the perception that work and education are binary opposites and the construction that work and education are mutually exclusive (Hashim, 2007: 915). In other words, children are not supposed to combine work with schooling, but migrant children often work as a strategy for survival. This orientation could be traced to the industrialized world during the nineteenth century, as a result of economic, social and political transformations which institutionalized childhood as a category separate from adulthood (Davin, 1996; Morrow, 1996, cited in Hashim, 2007) such that the rightful place of children is the school. This in part, explains the lack of research on the linkages between child migration and education as children are supposed to be in school but not migrating. Thus, available literature on children's migration does not provide reliable data on the number of children involved in migration or its effects on their well-being and progress in education (Whitehead and Hashim, 2005; Hashim, 2007). However, this linkage is complex and is also specific to the context within which migration occurs. Nonetheless, the nexus between education and migration presents what can be considered a mixed relation. Whereas some observe a negative relationship (Beals et al, 1976), others report a positive relationship between migration and education (Ackah and Medvedev, 2010) while some others (Hashim, 2007) argue for both positive and negative relationships between child migration and education.

2.9.1 Negative nexus

When school children migrate, the likelihood of them abandoning their education presents a worrying reality. The effect of migration on education of children could be negative particularly when they become victims of urban unemployment and school drop-out (Anarfi, 1993; Piesse, 2003). In a study of migrant children in India by Rao (2009), children from poorer and working

class families, from lower castes and tribes, consistently under achieve at every level of the educational system compared to middle and upper class children, with many of the poor and low class families involved in migration. Also, Ackah and Medvedev in a study of internal migration in Ghana observe that migrants are more likely to stop their school education when they migrate (Ackah and Medvedev, 2010). Accordingly, the primary motivation for Ghanaian migrants is to find work, mainly in the manufacturing sector or in sales, with education being a secondary consideration. They identified factors ranging from language, school cost, differences in curriculum, and attitudes toward migrants as compelling migrants to abandon school education. For instance, although English is the official language in Ghana, there are about 68 other languages spoken across the length and breadth of the country, with eleven (11) selected and used as medium of instruction at the basic level of education. These selected languages include: Fante, Asante Twi, Akwapim Twi, Ga, Dangme, Nzema, Ewe, Dabani, Gonja, Dagaare and Kassem (Owu-Ewie, 2006: 77) and reflect their spatial distribution, use and dominance in the country. Consequently, schools located within a language area use the selected language as medium of instruction alongside English language. Local language is used as the medium of instruction while English Language is taught as a subject at the lower primary level (P1-3/Grade 1-3) and then a switch is made from grade 4 onwards, where English becomes the medium of instruction and the Local language taught as a subject (MOESS, 2006). Therefore, children who migrate to areas where the local language of instruction is different from that of their origin (mother tongue) are disadvantaged, which could result in such children not doing well in class and possibly prevent them from progressing in education.

Furthermore, as part of the efforts at achieving the Education for All (EFA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), basic education in Ghana is free under the Free, Compulsory Universal Basic Education (fCUBE) programme which was introduced in 1996, following educational reforms in 1987 (GES, 2004). However, after almost two decades (1996 – 2013) of implementation, the fCUBE programme is yet to achieve its objectives, as there are still about 20% of children who are not in school (UNICEF, 2010:5; GDHS, 2008) while parents complain of high school cost. Cost arising from miscellaneous necessities, such as school equipment, extra teachers and teaching, school uniforms and exercise books are borne by parents (Hashim, 2007: 916). Moreover, whereas basic education has been free in the north of the country, since independence, the same is not the case in other parts of the country. Migrant children and also parents, who are unable to meet such school costs at their destinations are not able to access or progress in their education.

In addition, not only does the involvement of children in migration have a negative impact on their progress in education, but also, parents and guardians tend to focus on providing other needs of the family such as food, land and housing, household consumer items (such as television sets and mobile phones) with little or no investment in the education of their children. A study by the Migration Development Research Centre (DRC) in four villages in India on remittances and investments in education among seasonal migrants, found that investments in children's education were done only in a few exceptional circumstances. On the contrary, remittances were spent on food and other goods needed for survival (Sward and Rao, 2008:3). However, investments in children's education were popular and significant among long-term migrants who moved with their families. This suggests a positive linkage between child migration and education which does not necessarily depend on remittances but also on earnings of child migrants.

2.9.2 Positive nexus

Involvement of children in migration does not always mean an end to their educational dreams, but could also be a turning point for access to better resourced schools than those in their places of origin, or an opportunity to afford some school cost which could otherwise not have been possible. A study on migration and education linkages in India and Bangladesh observed that children migrate in order to pursue formal education or vocational training (Sward and Rao, 2008:3), especially when schools in their localities are perceived to be poor and under

resourced. Children therefore migrate as a means of escaping such unfavourable conditions to places where the conditions are favourable. In a study involving 70 child migrants in Ghana, Hashim found a strong linkage between migration and education and categorised them into three related categories. These include children entering into fostering arrangement in order to ensure continuous access to education or better education, seeking an apprenticeship opportunity through migration and where children travel to secure resources to continue or complete their education (Hashim, 2007: 919). In any of these instances, children migrated from the Upper East region, where educational opportunities are limited, to destinations in the south with better opportunities and quality of education. This positive linkage reflects in the reasons why children migrate, as 16% of the 70 child migrants in the study admitted they migrated for the purpose of education. Education as the primary motivation for migration also accounted for 16.5 percent of adult migrants in Ghana (Ackah and Medvedev, 2010).

Furthermore, although opportunities for education and vocational training may be present in some rural settings, they are often not effective and children are often motivated to migrate to access better schools and training facilities for non-farm occupations and/or to acquire money to cover their costs (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011:104). It is therefore worthy of note, that the relationship between child migration and education is complex and influences each other in both positive and negative ways. However, the extent of the influence is dependent on the nature and structure of education (Gaini, 2006; Punch, 2007). Children lose out when the structure is rigid whereas a flexible structure accommodates the peculiarity of migrant children and therefore benefit all children.

2.9.3 Education in Ghana

Education in Ghana dates back to the pre-colonial period in the Gold Coast with mixed race children of European traders in the castles. The colonial government later on provided education to sustain the machinery of colonial rule. However, the major effort to expand education began with Christian missionaries who regarded education as necessary for their missionary activity (Akyempong et al, 2007). This was accelerated by pre independence colonial rulers to expand access to education by creating incentives for all children to attend school. As such by 1881 there were 139 schools with about 5000 pupils, mainly concentrated in the south, but spread slowly till the era of Gordon Guggisberg (1919–1927) - then governor of the Gold Coast - when a clear 16 principles proposal was made to develop education. These principles (as they are often called) focussed mainly on equal opportunities for boys and girls, relevance of education to local economic activities, technical and vocational education, the place of vernacular in teaching, and the importance of well-trained teachers to deliver quality education (Akyempong et al, 2007:4). This was later followed by a 10-year education expansion plan in 1945 to achieve universal primary education within 25 years (i.e. by 1970). Further effort at expanding education was in 1951 with the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) for Education, which aimed to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE) for all. The ADP produced a 20-year structure of education (see Table 2.6).

Table 2.6: Structure of education before 1987

Level of Education	No. of Years	Grade
Primary	6	1 – 6
Middle School	4	7 – 10
Secondary School	5	11 – 15
Sixth-Form	2	16 – 17
University	3	

Source: Own illustration, 2014

As shown in Table 2.6, the structure of education consisted of six years of primary education, four years of middle school, five years of secondary schooling and two years of sixth-form

education for entry into university (Akyeampong et al, 2007). This structure guided the provision of education in Ghana until 1987 when reforms were made to reduce the duration of schooling.

Contemporary structure of education

The current structure of education in Ghana consists of three main components: basic, secondary and tertiary education which is achievable within a time frame of 18 years (see table 2.7 and figure 2.1). This structure follows from reforms in 1987 and 2002 which reduced a previously 20 years system to 16 years in 1987 and later added 2 years Nursery/Kindergarten (not compulsory though) in 2002 (GES, 2004), making it 18 years (see Table 2.7).

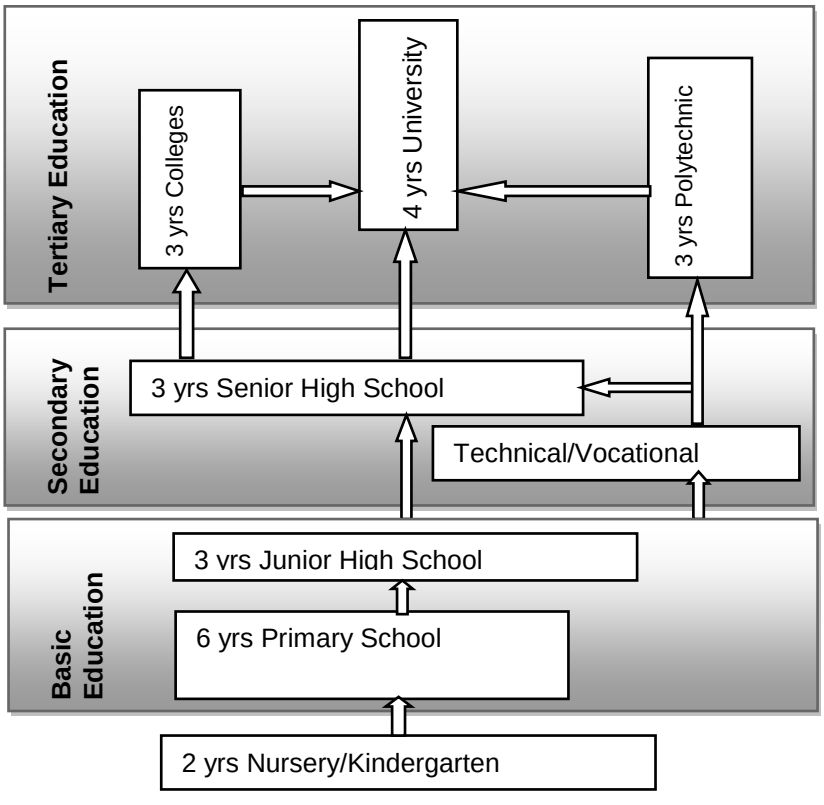
Table 2.7: Current structure of education in Ghana

Level of Education	Grade	Age-Group
Nursery	0	4 – 5
Primary	1 – 6	6 – 11
Junior High School	7 – 9	12 – 14
Senior High School	10 – 12	15 – 17
Tertiary Institutions	13 – 16	18 – 22

Source: Own illustration, 2014

According to a report on children in Ghana by UNICEF (2009), this reform was based on a report on education by a commission in 1974 (the Dzobo Report of 1974) which was eventually implemented in 1987 to among other things, improve access, quality, efficiency and equity in basic education, as well as making the curriculum more relevant for the diverse socio-economic groups (UNICEF, 2009: 81). As can be seen in Table 2.7, the appropriate age for enrolment into Primary/Grade 1 is 6 years and by the time children attain adulthood (18 years), they would have completed pre tertiary education in readiness to enter the University or pursue other post-secondary programmes. The various levels of education from nursery to the University are presented in figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Structure of education in Ghana



Source: Own illustration, 2014

As shown in Table 2.7 and Figure 2.1, Basic Education begins at age 6 and consists of Primary and Junior High School (JHS) with duration of 6 and 3 years respectively. However, an optional two-year Early Childhood/Nursery/Kindergarten schooling for children aged 4 and 5 became part of the mainstream education system in 2002, which has extended the period for basic education from 9 to 11 years (GOG, 2012; GES, 2004). The 9 years basic education phase of the structure is free under the Free, Compulsory Universal Basic Education (fCUBE) policy, introduced in 1996 following educational reforms in 1987, which exempts parents from bearing the cost of education at the phase (Akyeampong et

al., 2007; Boateng, 2012; MOE, 2013) and serves as a critical step towards achieving the global goals of Education for All (UNICEF, 2009).

Although, the fCUBE programme was supposed to achieve its objective of free basic education within a period of ten years by 2005 (GES, 2004), after almost two decades (1996 – 2013) of implementation, there are still almost 20% of children who are not in school (UNICEF, 2010:5; UNESCO, 2010; GDHS, 2008) while parents complain of high school cost. However, cost including miscellaneous, exercise books, uniforms among others are borne by parents although uniforms and exercise books are gradually being supplied by government in response to complains that poor parents are unable to bear the cost (Aheto-Tsegah, 2011). Subsequently, the government in 2005 implemented the Capitation Grant policy to absorb supplementary costs borne by parents. The capitation grant is designed to relieve parents of the burden of paying tuition fees in public schools (Little, 2010) as a means to increase enrolment (UNICEF, 2009) and thus making it possible for children – including migrant children - from poor backgrounds to access basic education. Besides the capitation grant, other programmes such as providing a meal for children in school (school feeding programme) and offering free ride to school for school pupils by metro mass transport buses, especially in towns and cities, are pro-poor policies and programmes under the educational reform programmes (UNICEF, 2010:20). Therefore, the guideline for providing education under a long term *Education Strategic Plan (2010–2020)* focuses on access, quality and management as the main policy drivers determining priority interventions and also in response to internationally agreed development goals, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and the Education for All (EFA); the Dakar Principles. These include provision of infrastructure, promoting gender equity, provision of Capitation Grants for primary schools, textbooks and school uniforms for children from poor households (Aheto-Tsegah, 2011).

At the end of the JHS 3 (9 years of basic education/Grade 9) pupils write the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE)[8] in order to progress to the next phase (secondary education). Students who perform sufficiently well in the BECE then proceed to Senior High Schools (SHSs) for another period of three years and where fees become payable. While these vary between schools, depending on factors such as the location and perceived desirability of the school, fees are generally high and often unaffordable for poor parents (Hashim, 2007).

On the other hand, students who complete Basic Education but unable to enrol into the SHS may enter a Technical Institute to pursue 3-year technical and vocational programmes (see Figure 2.1) with a possibility of continuing in a polytechnic at the tertiary level. Senior High School graduates may proceed to the University for Degree Courses or to Polytechnics for Higher National Diploma (HND) courses; or to any of the other post-secondary institutions (Colleges of Education/Nursing/Agricultural/Journalism, etc) to train for careers of their choice. Graduates from Polytechnics and the colleges may also enter the University after training in their chosen careers to further their training, leading to the award of university degrees.

Apart from the Nursery level, progress from one stage to another in the structure of education is dependent on academic performance in national examinations. Students progress from the Basic to Secondary and further, to the Tertiary phase by passing examinations organised by the West African Examination Council (WAEC). Whereas students in JHS 3/Grade 9 write the BECE to progress to the secondary level, those in SHS 3/Grade 12 progress to the Tertiary level after passing the West African Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE).

2.9.4 Academic performance and progress in education

In general terms, academic performance refers to how learners/students deal with their studies and how they cope with or accomplish different tasks given to them by their teachers. It is the

[8] Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) is an examination pupils write at the end of basic education (JHS 3) to enable them enter the Senior High School. It is organised at the national level by the Ministry of Education through the West African Examination Council (WAEC)

ability of students to study and remember facts and also being able to communicate what has been learnt verbally or in writing. In other words, academic performance is the outcome of education or the extent to which students, teachers or institutions have achieved their educational goals and commonly measured through examinations or continuous assessment. Academic performance is influenced by several factors which Yahaya (2003), in examining contributory factors towards excellent academic performance in Malaysia observes to include: the role of teachers and schools, peers, family and learners' themselves.

According to Yahaya (2003), teachers and schools play important roles towards learning capabilities of students, including promoting active learning, developing thinking skills, creating effective learning zones, promoting success, providing effective feedback, recognizing and creating learning windows, developing good relationship, developing learning pedagogy, enhancing motivation and accepting individual differences. Therefore, students perform well when these factors are favourable but perform poorly on the contrary. Furthermore, friends of students also influence their academic performance as students tend to select friends with similar interests and goals. As such peers either give academic leverage, synergy or academic doom to students. Therefore students whose peers have higher educational aspirations tend to have more positive academic self-concepts themselves which leads to high academic performance. Yahaya further observes that students from families with positive and supportive attitudes, enabling favourable socio-economic environments through provision of learning materials, authoritative parenting and small family sizes tend to perform well in school. Finally the disposition of students themselves plays a critical role in making them high academic achievers. As such students who have positive self-motivation and who have effective learning strategies or styles, learning goals, ability to build on knowledge and strategic thinking, perform well in school.

Similar observations have been made in Ghana in a recent study on factors that promote academic performance in privately owned Junior High Schools in Accra (Okyerefo et al (2011). They identified and grouped such factors into socio-demographic; the school environment (supervision, availability of teaching and learning materials, homework/class assignment, and membership of a club); the home environment (the role of parents, the role of the media, friends, and siblings of the child); and social groupings (such as membership of a club) and the influence of role models as influencing academic performance of students in JHSs in Ghana. Although this study was conducted at a micro scale, involving only four privately own schools in Accra, the findings could be useful to the understanding of performance in public schools and also to migrant school children. For instance the study found that supervision at all levels was effective, parents provided the enabling environments for their children while children themselves had high intrinsic motivation to learn. However, these conditions seem to be the opposite in the case of public schools where migrant children are mostly found. There is laxity in supervision, poor parental care (probably due to poverty) with little or no motivation by children to learn and therefore do not perform well. However, none of these studies have considered the effects that migration has on the academic performance of school children who combine migration with education.

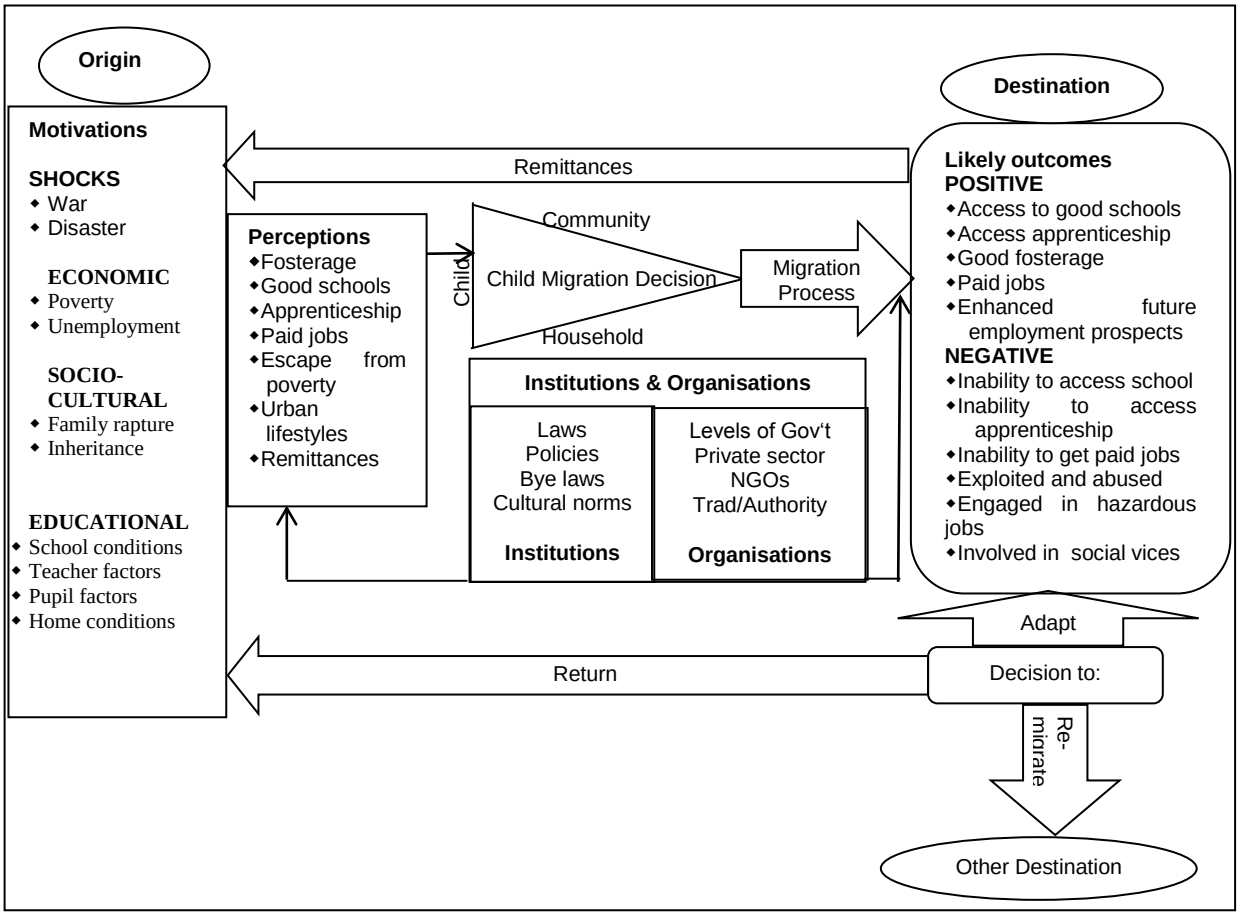
Furthermore, progress from one stage of the structure of education to another (usually from JHS to SHS and to Tertiary) in Ghana depends on the performance of students at the BECE and WASSCE. Students need to perform sufficiently well in other to progress. The BECE for instance, measures overall learning progress, and results since the late 1990s indicate that less than two thirds of the candidates passed the test nationwide as at 2007 (UNICEF, 2009: 88). The BECE results are very important to a child's future, because it determines whether or not a student will progress to SHS, which can accommodate only about one third of the students who complete JHS. Therefore, the scarcity of places at the SHS makes a good BECE score vital as children who underperform are unable to progress. In a related instance, although primary school children do not write external examination to progress to the JHS, a study by Boakye et al in 1997 observed that 25 per cent of primary school children in Ghana dropped out of school due to poor academic performance, while a similar percentage (25.3%) cited school conditions, migration, or distance between school and home as reasons for not progressing (Boakye et al.,

1997; cited in UNICEF, 2009: 86). As such, it is plausible to use academic performance as a proximate determinant for academic progression of children as is the focus of this study, in that, children who perform well are more likely to progress than those who perform poorly. Therefore, when children migrates and have little or no time to study, they may perform poorly and thus unable to progress in their education. On the other hand, migrant children who are lucky to access better resourced schools or other forms of support at their destinations stand the chance of performing well and thus progressing in their education.

2.10 Summary and conceptual framework

The foregoing discussion is summarised into a framework of concepts guiding the study (See Fig. 2.2). The framework outlines the motivations to migrate at the origin through perceptions, decision making, institutional/organisational environment and the process of migration. On the other hand, outcomes at the destination, remittances and decision making to stay at the destination, re-migrate to another destination or return are also illustrated.

Figure 2.2: Conceptual framework



Source: Own illustration, 2012

As shown in figure 2.2, children migrate because of shocks, economic, socio-cultural and educational motivations. Shocks in the form of wars, natural disasters, unfavourable climatic conditions (such as irregular and unreliable rainfall) occur and children, as well as adults, have little control over their occurrences. Also, children have no control over the economic conditions of their parents. As such, children born to poor and unemployed parents grow up in poverty and may not be able to break the cycle of poverty. In addition, the socio-cultural conditions prevailing

in areas where child live, also affect their ability to realise their dreams. For instance, the death of a parent in a family with weak social support and unfavourable inheritance systems, deprive children of the needed support for schooling and livelihood. Furthermore, the nature and conditions of schools where children grow up have a great bearing in their growth and development as well as how they are socialised to meet the challenges of modern societies. Children growing up in places with poor and ineffective schools have limited future employment prospects. Therefore, the combined effects of these unfavourable conditions at the places of origin, push children to pursue opportunities outside places of their origin where they can realise their dreams.

However, the motivations to migrate are mediated by perceptions children have about possible destinations, which include but not limited to: fosterage, access to good schools, access to apprenticeship, paid jobs, escape from poverty, urban lifestyles and the possibility of remitting their families when they migrate. The perceptions are fuelled by improvement in communication where children hear and also see on television, the positive sides of urban lifestyles. They therefore think they can access good schools, paid jobs or opportunities for apprenticeship and also opportunities to be fostered, thereby reinforcing the motivations and decision to migrate. However, the decision to migrate is not exclusively made by the children who are physically involved in the migration, but is influenced by their households and communities in which they live. The households or parents and communities either promote or prevent children from migrating depending on their experiences and perceptions of migration. Therefore the decision making takes the form of a triangle involving the individual child, the household and community which culminates in the movement of the child.

The process of migration takes various forms with some moving direct to the destination or through intervening destinations. However, the entire process is influenced by the institutional and organisational environment within which the migration takes place. Institutions governing migration include laws, policies, cultural practices and norms, prevailing in the community and the movement of children. A favourable institutional environment promotes the movement of children while a restrictive environment prevents children from moving alone which has the tendency for children to disguise their migration intentions and practices. On the other hand, the effectiveness or otherwise of the institutions depends on the organisations that are responsible for their implementation. As laws, policies and cultural norms do not implement or enforce themselves. The bodies responsible for their implementation (referred to as organisations) need to be effective to ensure compliance.

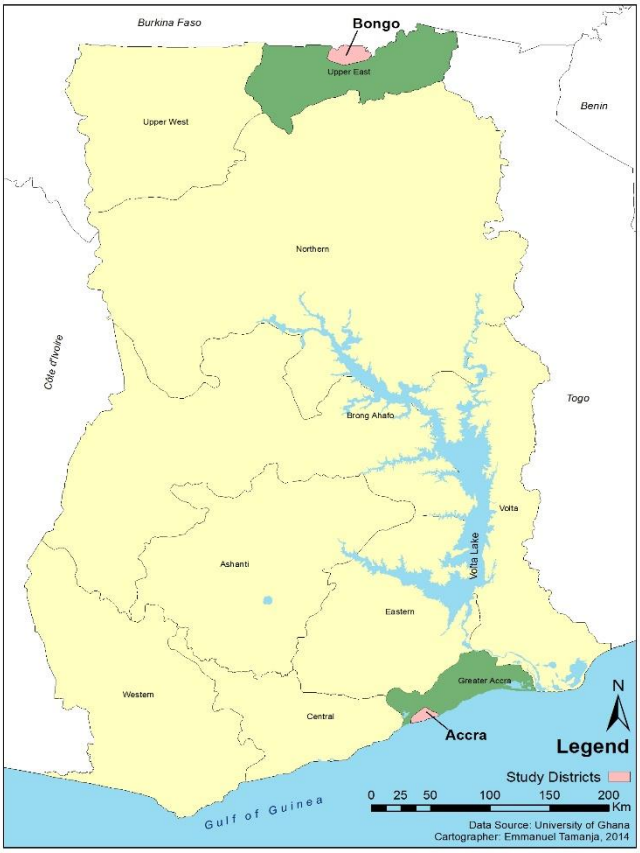
The outcomes of migration at the destinations vary with individual children and the circumstances in which they find themselves. Whereas some child migrants experience favourable conditions as they perceived before migrating, others encounter unfavourable conditions. Those who are able to get paid jobs, continue their schooling or are accepted into fosterage, consider their migration to be successful. This category, especially those engaged in paid work, are able to remit their families back home. On the other hand, those who are unable to get paid work, fosterage or continue with their education regard outcomes of their migration as negative. In either of the situations (whether positive or negative), migrant children engage in another process of decision making. This decision making revolves around the individual child migrant, as he/she is no longer with the parents but is influenced by circumstances at the destination. As such, the first option is to adapt to the conditions and stay at the destination, with the hope that conditions would improve in the future. On the other hand, the child may decide to migrate again to another destination if it perceives better conditions at the potential destination. This decision making of moving from one destination to another often results in step migration. The final decision scenario is that, if the child upon reflecting and assessing its condition realises low or no prospects in further migration or staying, a decision is made to return to the origin. The overall effect of migration on education depends to a large extent on the circumstances at the destination. Migrant children who are able to get support at the destinations are able to continue with their education while those who do not, are unable to progress in the pursuit of their education.

In conclusion, child migration is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon and seeking an understanding of it requires a combination of methods and approaches. Therefore, a good and careful blend of concepts (as done in this discourse and framework) as well as methods, helps in unravelling the complexity for deeper understanding and proposed action to resolving the problem of child migration.

CHAPTER THREE: STUDY CONTEXT

In this section, I highlight the locational context within which this study is conducted. As migration involves spatial mobility from one location to another, I discuss the origin and destination of child migration, focusing on Bongo District as the origin or sending area and Accra as the destination or receiving area. While Bongo district is located within the Savannah zone in the Upper East region, Accra (the national capital) is located at the coast, in the South-Eastern part of the country (see figure 3.1). The physical, demographic and socio-economic characteristics, poverty and other factors that predispose children to migrate are discussed. Furthermore, the discussion involves the conditions in Accra that attract and pull children (not only from Bongo district, but also all parts of Ghana), while contrasting it with the conditions in Bongo district that push children to migrate.

Figure 3.1: Map of Ghana showing study districts and regions



As shown in figure 3.1, Ghana is divided into 10 administrative regions. These regions are subdivided into 216 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) for ease of administration and in accordance with the decentralisation (the system of governance) practiced in the country. As such, Bongo district and Accra (the study areas) form part of the current total of 216 MMDAs in the country.

In Ghana, districts are spatial units where political authority at the sub-national level is exercised. They are politically constituted into District Assemblies with each Assembly headed by a District Chief Executive. The District Assemblies are responsible for the socio-economic development of their respective districts. As such, districts in Ghana have become sites of development intervention and research. It is worth noting that the data used for this chapter are mainly from documents from the District and Metropolitan Assemblies of Bongo and Accra (the 2010 Medium-Term Development Plans and other documents) and the Population and Housing Census (PHC) conducted in 2010. It is complemented by direct observations as well as interviews with relevant stakeholders.

3.1 Bongo district

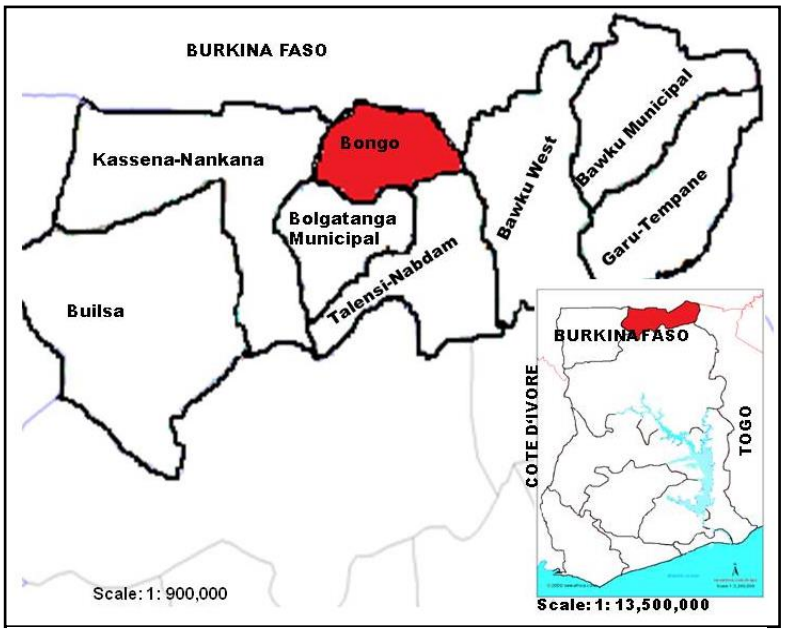
The origin and meaning of Bongo (capital of the district) is traced to the history of its establishment. The name metamorphosed from “Bohugu”, which literally means python, to Bongo. According to the oral history of the area, the name emanated from a “military strategy planning meeting” by the current inhabitants in a quest to acquire the place through conquest. This occurred during the time of internecine warfare in Ghana (interview with a traditional/local leader in Bongo). Accordingly, the meeting was disrupted temporally by a python which eventually lead to the discovery of water for the thirsty combatants. Subsequently, the

settlement (Bongo) was named Bohugu, in commemoration of the military strategic planning event and the python which eventually led to the conquest and occupancy of the area. However, mispronunciation and subsequent documentation by elite non-indigenes has resulted in its current morphology as Bongo instead of Bohugu.

3.1.1 Location and physical characteristics

Bongo District is one of thirteen districts and municipalities in the Upper East Region of Ghana (see figure 3.2). The number of districts in the region were increased from 8 to 13 in 2012 (MLGRD, 2013) but are yet to be clearly demarcated, hence the map (figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Map of Bongo district in regional context



Source: Adapted from ghanadistricts.com

As shown in figure 3.2, the district shares boundaries with Burkina Faso to the North, Kassena-Nankana East and West Districts to the West, Bolgatanga Municipality and Talensi-Nabdam District to the South, and then Bawku west district to the east.

Bongo District (see figure 3.3) lies on longitude 0.45°W and between latitudes 10.50°N and 11.09°N, covering an area of 459.5 square kilometres (BDMTDP, 2010). It is the district with the least land size in the region although with a very large human population of 84,545 inhabitants (GSS, 2012).

The district is drained by a few rivers (Atankuidi, Yaragatan-Atanure and the Red Volta) which are mostly intermittent and overflow their banks in the main rainy season (April–October) while drying up soon after the season. During the rainy season the streams and rivers experience fluctuations in water levels, resulting in some amount of erosion during periods of heavy rainfall (see figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3: Signs of erosion during dry season

Source: Field data, 2012

Therefore, as a way of harnessing the rain water potential in the district, some portions of the rivers have been dammed to conserve the water for use during the dry season. The Vea dam (see figure 3.6) for instance, is the biggest in the district with other smaller dams and dug-outs located in Bongo, Zorko, Balungu, Adaboya, Akulmasa, Namoo and Soe-Yidongo (BDMTDP, 2010). It appears however, that these dams are inadequate as many inhabitants complain of idleness during the dry season. There is need to construct more dams in the district to enable more farmers (the youth in

particular) to engage in all year farming which could reduce out migration as it is a common practice by both adults and children in the district. Furthermore, these dams could collect excess water during the rainy season to reduce the occurrence of floods and erosion.

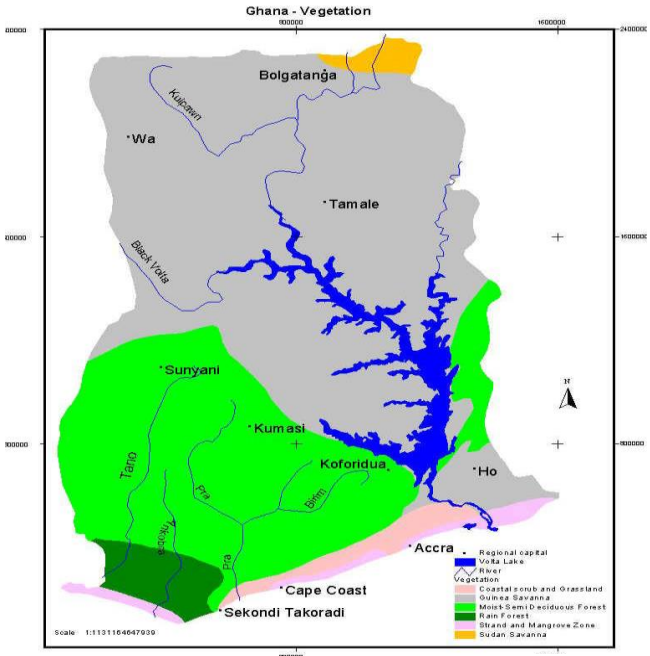
The topography and drainage of the district have serious implications for child migration in the district. This is mainly because rocks occupy almost forty percent (40%) of the land size (SEA, 2010), reducing land holdings for farming activities. Hence agricultural production in the district declines, resulting in idleness and poverty. For instance, farmers have to gather the rocks into heaps in order to access arable portions of the land to grow crops. So children as well as adults migrate to destinations where they can offer their labour for income as an alternative to living in the unfavourable conditions in the district. However, if the rocks are exploited for quarry, it will serve as a source of employment for the teeming youth. This could go a long way to increasing household income in the district and improve the general standard of living of the people and thus reduce the phenomenon of child migration.

Furthermore, the climatic conditions in Bongo district are not different from other districts in the Upper East Region and Northern Ghana in general, as they are located within similar latitudes. The district experiences a mean monthly temperature of about 21^{o}C, climaxing at about 40^{o}C in March, just before the onset of the single rainy season, and lowest of 12^{o}C in December, when desiccating winds from the Sahara Desert dry up the vegetation (BDMTDP, 2010). These conditions are further influenced by the prevailing winds in the region; the South-West Monsoon and the North-East Trade winds. The prevalence of either of these wind types, determines whether there will be rainfall or otherwise. During the months of March to September (when the northern hemisphere is under the influence of the sun) the area is under the influence of the moisture-laden South-West Monsoon wind with high possibility of rainfall. On the other hand, when the area is under the influence of the North-East Trade Winds (also known as the Harmattan), arid conditions are experienced.

Consequently, as the Harmattan blows over the Sahara desert, it imports the desert characteristics of aridity, dust and coldness into the district. Therefore, temperatures are lowest (12^{o}C) in December (during the Harmattan) and highest (40^{o}C) after the Harmattan in March (BDMTDP, 2010). The dry season creates favourable conditions for bush fires, which have become an annual phenomenon in the district. Consequently, the vegetative cover of a place is dependent on the prevailing climatic conditions. For instance, thick vegetation is associated with places with high rainfall while scatted vegetation occurs in places with less rainfall. Therefore, climatic and vegetative conditions have strong bearings on the lives of people and their economic activities. In places where these conditions are favourable, people are attracted and thus migrate into such places. On the other hand, places with harsh or less favourable conditions tend to have limited options of livelihood and therefore promote out migration. This in part, explains the north-south pattern of migration in Ghana and from Bongo district in particular. The amount of rainfall in the district is offset by the intense drought that precedes the rain and by the very high rate of evaporation that is estimated at 168 cm per annum (BDMTDP, 2010). The rainfall regimes in the district therefore results in a vegetative cover that is capable of withstanding the harsh conditions (long periods of dryness) in the climatic zone. The vegetation is that of the Guinea Savannah and consists of short deciduous trees often widely spaced and a ground flora composed of different species of shrubs of varying heights (see figure 3.4).

As shown in figure 3.4, the vegetation of Ghana is divided into six main types: from a high rainforest zone in the south-west to a Sudan Savanna type in the North-East. Whereas, the High Rainforest zone receives between 1700 – 2800mm of rainfall annually, the Sudan Savanna zone experiences 700-1040mm of rainfall with less vegetative cover.

Figure 3.4: Vegetation zones in Ghana



Source: Adopted from Oppong-Anane (2001)

In Bongo district (within the Sudan Savanna zone), very little of the vegetation exists in its original form, owing to population pressure and bush fires. The vegetation is similar to other districts in the UER and consists of degraded savannah with many of the trees resistant to fire. The few indigenous tree species are mainly those of economic value and include Adonsonia digitata (Baobab), shea and dawadawa trees (BDMTDP, 2010). These trees especially the shea and dawadawa have high nutritional values and could be managed to bring income to many, especially women with the potential of reducing child migration in the district.

A typical illustration of the vegetation in the district in the month of December is shown in figure 3.5 with scattered trees and dry grasses.

As can be seen in figure 3.5, the dry conditions do not only cause idleness of the farmers, but also animals as there is less fodder and water. For instance, the vegetation withers during the dry season, resulting in a halt on farming activities with little feed for livestock leading to severe loss of animal weight. Some inhabitants, including children, therefore take advantage of the fallow period to migrate to destinations (usually to the south) where they engage in more rewarding or paid economic activities.

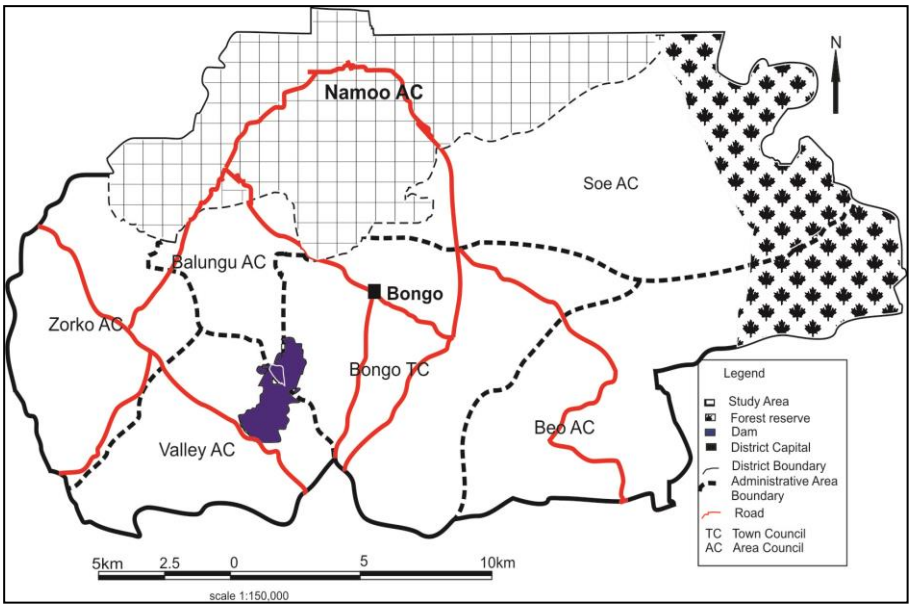
Figure 3.5: Typical vegetation of Bongo in December

Source: Field data, 2012

3.1.2 Political and administrative structure

The Bongo District Assembly (BONDA) is the highest political administrative body in the district. It was established in 1988 under the Legislative Instrument (LI 1446), as the highest decision making body charged with the responsibility of promoting political and socio-economic development in the area. It has a District Chief Executive as the political and overall head of the district and composed of fifty-four (54) Assembly members. In furtherance of the decentralisation programme, the District has been sub-divided into Town and Area Councils (see figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6: Administrative map of Bongo District



Source: Adopted from Tamanja, 2012

As shown in figure 3.6, there is one Town Council and six Area Councils for effective local government administration. The only town council also hosts the district capital (Bongo) while the Area Councils are predominantly rural in nature. There is a forest reserve to the east of the district and a dam in the south, with few roads, linking the settlements in the district.

However, the extent to which this forest reserve and dam serve the livelihood requirements of the people and thus prevent out migration in the district is suspect, as out migration remains high.

Furthermore, the district has fifty-one (51) Unit Committee members at the community level as part of efforts to promote participation in decision making, with a number of decentralised departments and agencies including; the District Agricultural Development Unit, the Ghana Education Service, the Department of Social Welfare, the Department of Community Development, the Department of Town and Country Planning, and the Information Services Department among others, which assist the Assembly to deliver its development agenda. Although these agencies have operated as line agencies for their parent ministries, efforts are being made under the new decentralisation policy to mainstream them into the District Assembly system.

Furthermore, the paramount chief of Bongo (Bonaba) is the head of the traditional political structure in the district. Under the paramount chief are eleven (11) divisional chiefs and thirty-one sub-chiefs. This group of actors perform traditional political functions including the settlement of disputes and the organisation of festivals. These chiefs serve as custodians of the culture and traditions of the people as well as nuclei for unity in their communities. Although chieftaincy as an organization, appears parallel to the formal governance structure, it has been carefully incorporated under the current decentralization process to optimize the synergies of both systems. As such chiefs in the district are represented at the District Assembly as well as mobilizing their subjects in the communities for the development of their communities, while preserving their cultural identity. Chiefs therefore have a huge (though latent) potential to the enhancement of children and the phenomenon of migration in their communities. There are also earth priests (called Tindaanas) who offer sacrifices on behalf of the chiefs and people to the 'gods'. In recent times, efforts are being made by the District Assembly to collaborate effectively with the traditional authorities in development decision making in various ways, including participation in community fora.

3.1.3 Demography and settlement

The population of Bongo District is 84,545, representing 8.1% of the population of the Upper East Region (GSS, 2013). This constitutes 40,044 males and 44,461 females with about half (42,044) of the population being children (less than 18 years old). The district is predominantly

rural (93.9%) with the inhabitants averaging 5.5 persons per household and living in about 15,188 households. Although the average household size in the district is smaller than the average for the region (5.8), it is nonetheless higher than the national average of 4.4 per household. Furthermore, the population is mostly youthful with 54% less than 20 years old and an age dependency ratio of 99 to 100. These figures have implications for economic activities, poverty and migration because with the large household sizes in a predominantly rural area, with agriculture as the main economic activity, the implication is high pressure on the land for livelihood due to high density. Table 3.1 shows a distribution of population density at the national, Upper East region and Bongo district for the period of 1970 to 2010.

Table 3.1: Trend in population density

Area	1970	1984	1995	2000	2010
National	36	51	69	79	103.4
Upper East Region	63	87	117	104	118.4
Bongo District	61	146	194	169	184

Source: EPA-Upper East Regional Profile, GSS (2013)

As shown in table 3.1, the population density of Bongo district is higher than both the national and regional densities and has been increasing steadily from 61 persons per square kilometre in 1970 to 184 in 2010. This is further exacerbated by the fact that about 40% of land in the district is covered by rocks (BDMTDP, 2010). Therefore, the actual density of arable land in the district is much higher (about 307 persons per square kilometre), making it the highest in the three northern regions. In other words, each person in the district can occupy only 0.003 km^2 (3 square metres) of cultivable land, which is a huge challenge to subsistence compound farming and household poverty with very high likelihood of out-migration as a strategy for livelihood.

Furthermore, Bongo district has a high population growth rate of 2.8% (BDMTDP, 2010) with high birth rate being the main factor for the growth in population, as in-migration is very minimal. Although, there is inadequate data to estimate economic dependency ratio, the age dependency ratio was 107% in 2000 but reduced to 99.05% in 2010 (GSS, 2013). The ratio of 99.05 indicates that every group of active 100 persons (age 15 – 65) has almost 100 persons (dependant) to take care of. However, with low access to land and unreliable rainfall, the active population is over-burdened, resulting in parents' inability to meet their obligations. This has significant implications for care giving, poverty and development planning. For instance, the caregivers of these dependents can be over-burdened and therefore slide into the vicious cycle of poverty with its concomitant neglect and possible out-migration of children to places they perceive to hold more prospects for their livelihoods.

Moreover, although the district is small in land size, the road network which is the main conduit for interaction in the district is generally poor. The total length of roads in the district is approximately 248 km with only 15 km tarred. The only tarred portion of the network is the main road linking Bongo to Bolgatanga. The rest of the roads are in deplorable states, especially during the rainy season, rendering many portions not only unmotorable but dangerous to use (see Figure 3.7). The bad conditions of the roads do not only result in high transport fares, but also cause so much inconvenience to road users in the district.

Although the district is linked to Burkina Faso by road at Namoo, which is highly patronised, its deplorable condition has adverse effects on economic activities in the district. Farmers in the district also find it difficult carting foodstuffs from the farm gates to the market centres. As 93 per cent of the inhabitants are subsistent farmers and thus depend maily on their farm produce for livelihood, the condition and network of roads play crucial roles in the value chain process. Consequently, less effficient means of transport are employed to convey farm produce to market centres and renders the practice of agriculture, which is the main economic activity, arduous and less rewarding in the disctrict with effects incomes.

Figure 3.7: Poor condition of road in Bongo district

Source: Field data, 2014

Therefore, bicycles, donkey carts and head portage are the main mode of transport for the people in the interior and inaccessible communities. Many of the inaccessible communities are linked by footpaths which can only be used by bicycles and walking. It therefore follows naturally, that transportation remains a huge challenge to market accessibility with attendant impacts on incomes. Therefore, many of the inhabitants, including children migrate at the least opportunity.

3.1.4 Social services

Since the creation of the district in 1988, the provision of infrastructure and services has been of great concern with education and health attracting the most attention of the Assembly. Although the District Assembly is the main organisation under the local government system with oversight responsibility of ensuring development within its area of jurisdiction, it discharges those responsibilities in collaboration with other organisations in and outside the district.

Educational facilities in Bongo District are limited to pre-tertiary level with the highest educational institutions in the district being Senior High/Vocational schools. The Assembly has through the central government and in conjunction with other organisations (in particular, the catholic church and World Vision International) and private individuals been able to put up a couple of basic schools in the district. There are thus 71 kindergarten, 72 primary, 48 junior and 5 senior high Schools, and a vocational institute (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Educational Institutions in Bongo District

School	Public	Private	Total
Kindergarten	68	3	71
Primary	69	3	72
Junior High School	46	2	48
Senior High School	4	1	5
Vocational/Technical School	1	-	1
Total	188	9	197

Source: GES/EMIS Data for Bongo district, 2013

It appears from table 3.2 that a lot has been done to improve education of children in the district, however the district is still far from attaining universal access to education for all children of school going age. Nevertheless, education in the district has received some considerable

amount of support from World Vision International (an international non-governmental organisation) through the provision of infrastructure. This is mainly in the form of building classroom blocks in many of the communities. However, the education sector in the district is still bedevilled with serious challenges, including inadequacy of teachers, furniture, teaching and learning materials, resulting in poor outcomes. Although issues of education are discussed further in chapter 5, the performance of students in Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) has seen a consistent decline between 2006 and 2009 as 45.9% of the candidates passed in 2006, 39.4% in 2007, 35.9% in 2008, and then to 30.1% in 2009 (BONDA, 2010). It is therefore plausible to observe that improving educational outcomes in the district requires more comprehensive and holistic approaches than the provision of infrastructure.

On the other hand, health facilities in Bongo district include a hospital in Bongo, 4 health centres, 2 clinics and 12 Community-based Health Planning and Services (CHIPS) compounds with 63 health outreach centres. Despite these efforts, the facilities are inadequate at serving the health needs of the people in the district. For instance, the only hospital in the district is often overcrowded with patients. Data from the district health directorate (see table 3.3) on reported cases of malaria (also the major cause of mortality) suggest the need for more efforts at improving health delivery in the district.

Table 3.3: Reported cases of Malaria in Bongo District from 2007 to 2009

Incidence/Year	2007	2008	2009
Total Out Patient Attendance	38,553	58,118	70,827
OPD Attendance due to Malaria	20,027(52%)	28,197(48.5%)	35,751(50.5%)
Total Admissions	3,638	3,815	3,961
Malaria Admissions	1,300 (35.7%)	2,045(54.6%)	2,215 (56%)
Total Deaths	61	115	136
Malaria	30 (49%)	59 (51.3%)	64 (47%)

Source: BONDA, 2010

As shown in table 3.3, malaria accounted for 50.5% of out-patients attendance, 56% of total admissions and 47% of deaths recorded in the hospital in 2009. Despite these efforts, access to health facilities in the district is still a big challenge due mainly to the deplorable conditions and network of roads in the district and coupled with the dispersed settlement pattern. These makes it difficult for patients to arrive at the health facility on time to access health care. It is therefore imperative for the provision of more CHIPS compounds to cover all of the 36 health zones, in order to make access to health facilities possible. This is laudable not only because the CHPS compounds are easy to establish as compared to the clinics and health centres, they also encourage community participation in health delivery at the community level, as the compounds are intended to improve access to health services and health care at the community level.

The water and sanitation situation in the district is not very different from those of education and health. Nevertheless, the surest way to prevent diseases such as malaria (which from table 3.3 accounted for 50.5% of OPD attendance in 2009), diarrhoea and other water borne diseases is to improve access to safe drinking water and sanitation. However, a survey carried out in the district in 2008 revealed that, almost one third of safe water points in the district were not functioning while a significant proportion of people in the district still use unimproved sources of water such as dams, lakes, rivers, streams, ponds and canals. Furthermore, some of the water points (mostly boreholes) contain high fluoride in the water which makes the water from such sources unsafe.

On the other hand, about 80% of the population in the district practice open defecation although there are few public places of convenience. The open defecation is due to absence of household toilets in almost all communities in the district. For instance, a survey carried out in 2008 indicates that only 4% of households said they own household latrines while public toilets in the district serve only 8% of the total population.

It is therefore plausible to observe that the overall effects of inadequate social services in the district serve as a disincentive to the youth who migrate to other places where they can

enjoy those services and facilities.

3.1.5 Socio-economic conditions

The socio-economic characteristics of Bongo district are based mainly on agriculture, which is the dominant economic activity, employing close to 90% of the population who are engaged in crop farming and animal rearing (BONDA, 2012). Therefore, most households get their incomes from the sale of foodstuffs and small ruminants as well as poultry. However, earnings from agriculture are generally low for various reasons. Although land in the district is communally owned, some portions remain under the custody of the Tindaanas (the religious heads who serve as original custodians of the land in the settlements).

Nevertheless, ownership of land is vested in the lineages and no one can dispossess a landholder or his family of the land. Land is generally regarded as sacred and use rights are conferred on patrilineal bases. Therefore, individual family heads and families own about 95% of farmlands which they depend on for their livelihoods. The land holding is very small due to scarcity and increase in family sizes. As the sizes of families increase through births, the sizes of the family lands remain fixed. Therefore, the average farmland per head diminishes with increase in population, resulting in current average farm sizes of 1.9 hectares per head and found around dwellings of compound houses. This, coupled with inappropriate land management practices, have led to low crop yields with some environmental consequences.

Although chiefs are influential and play very crucial roles in the communities, they do not have absolute control over family lands. This arrangement is the direct opposite of what pertains in the southern part of the country, where chiefs are custodians of lands and have greater control over how they are used. However, some of the cultural practices in the area appear inimical to some segments of the population and need some consideration. For instance, women in the district as with other parts of northern Ghana which are predominantly patrilineal, have no access to land. They can have temporal and limited access only through allocations made to them by their husbands. This is done after considerations that there would be no shortage of farm land during the farming season when the woman is cropping her allocated portion of the land. Furthermore, widows with sons are usually permitted to keep the land their deceased husbands possessed and farm on it, until their sons are old enough to farm. Then after, the ownership passes automatically onto the male children. Therefore women are not able to actively participate in farming as they only serve as helping hands to their husbands on the farm. Meanwhile, women have closer relationships with their children than their husbands and could contribute more meaningfully to the upkeep of their children and thus stem out migration if they could be given the opportunity to engage in more meaningful farming.

Nonetheless, food crop production and livestock rearing are the major gainful activities with only a relative few percentage of the population engaged in formal and informal jobs such as teaching, nursing, small scale trading, vulcanizing, artefacts making and wood cutting. Other activities for livelihood, especially for women are *pito* (local alcoholic beverage) brewing, *sheabutter* processing, *dawadawa* processing and groundnut oil processing.

Small scale trading activities appear to be gaining grounds and has attracted the interest of the youth and children in the district. Not only is it lucrative, but also, most of the traders are people with backgrounds and experiences in migration. Bicycles serve the transport needs of majority of the people, especially the youth in the district and northern Ghana in general. Figure 3.8 shows a truck load of bicycles from Accra with many of the onlookers being school children in school uniforms and on their bicycles.

The use of bicycles in the district is not only due to bad roads and poverty, but partly because of the dispersed pattern of human settlements in the district. As such social amenities including schools, hospitals, bore holes, markets, among others are sited at central locations for ease of accessibility. The use of bicycles is therefore very popular in the communities and among school children. There is thus ready market for bicycles and other daily essential items (such as sugar, milk, etc) which are emerging to rival the popularity of agriculture as the main economic activity in the district.

Figure 3.8: Truck load of bicycles from Accra

Source: Field data, 2012

Many of the youth in the district are therefore motivated to migrate to accumulate capital in order to return and invest in such retail business activities.

As part of efforts to foster local economic development in the district, a 15 member "think tank" has been formed; comprising business groups in the district, the District Assembly, financial institutions, the Business Advisory Centre of the National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI) and some decentralized departments (BONDA, 2012). The think tank identified and categorised economic activities in the district as shown in table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Economic activities and their location in Bongo district

No	Economic Activity	Location
1	Sheanut picking & Sheabutter processing	Soe, Adaboya, Beo
2	Guinea fowl and ruminants rearing	district wide
3	Rope making Basket and hat weaving	Zorko-Goo, Goo, Nayire & Kabre
4	Malt processing and pito brewing	Namoo, Beo, Zorko & Beo
5	Rice parboiling	Gowrie Tingre
6	Crop farming	district wide
7	Petty trading	district wide
8	Hair dressing	district wide
9	Tailoring/dressmaking & Smock weaving	district wide
10	Selling alcohol & non-alcoholic drinks	district wide
11	Selling food items	Soe, Beo & Namoo
12	Leather work	district wide
13	Making batik, tie & dye	district wide

Source: Adapted from BONDA, 2012

As shown in table 3.4, there are many people in the district who are engaged in other ventures besides farming as livelihoods options. These activities are widespread in the district and offer viable alternatives to farming and especially to women who by virtue of the culture of the area, do not have land to farm. Activities such as sheanut picking and processing, rice parboiling, hairdressing, rope making and basket and hat weaving, malt processing and pito brewing are female dominated activities which have enormous potentials of alleviating household poverty, which results in neglect and child migration. Although the attempt by the District Assembly is laudable, poverty is a complex phenomenon and eradicating it requires concerted efforts by all stakeholders within and outside the district.

3.1.6 Situation of poverty in the district

Poverty is a complex and difficult phenomenon to conceptualise and deal with. It is multi-faceted and varies considerably in time and space (Dery and Dorway, 2007). Poor communities are characterised by low income, malnutrition, ill health, illiteracy and insecurity. There is also a sense of powerlessness and isolation when people are poor and are unable to contribute meaningfully to the socio-economic development of their localities.

Bongo District is among the poorest districts in the country and the nature of poverty can be described broadly as a situation in which individuals are unable to provide basic needs such as food, education, shelter and health. Through a decentralized poverty monitoring and evaluation exercise under the District Capacity Building Project (DISCAP), the district was described as "poverty-stricken", with the following responses (see table 3.5) emerging as the meaning of poverty among segments of the population in the district.

Table 3.5: Stakeholder understanding of poverty in Bongo district

Stakeholder	Understanding of Poverty
Men	· Inability to feed oneself · Inability to pay school fees of children · Absence of shelter · Inability to pay medical bills · Poverty is a sickness · A dirty looking person · Someone who borrows money
Women	· Lack of food · Lack of money · Somebody who is sick · An isolated person
Youth	· Inability to provide basic needs · Lack of food · Lack of shelter · An unemployed person · Inaccessibility to financial support to start business · Low farm output

Source: Poverty Profiling Report, Bongo District

Although the responses appear varied across the groups (men, women and youth), the issue of inability to meet one's basic needs is common and central to their concerns and consistent with the observation about the three northern regions of Ghana as being the poorest in the country (GSS, 2008). As such, the combined effects of inadequate food, shelter and inability to meet school cost (irrespective of the quantum) of children can only fuel the already serious phenomenon of child out migration in the district. Therefore, efforts at diversifying the livelihood options of people in the district as indicated in table 3.4 are in the right direction and one can only hope the needed support is offered to promote such ventures in the district.

3.1.7 Situation of migration

The phenomenon of migration in the district is very common, involving all categories of people. Although there are no official statistics on the phenomenon, it involves male and female adults, regardless of their marital status and children. Furthermore, the educated and uneducated are all involved in migration (BONDA, 2010). The Sixth Living Standards Survey report of Ghana (GLSS 6) in 2008 observed that in-migration in the Upper East Region (where Bongo District is located) is very low (GSS, 2008), indicating that majority of the people in the district migrate outside the region to destinations in the Northern, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti and Greater Accra Regions. For instance, the married women in the district are said to migrate mainly to the

Northern Region during the harvest season, where their labour is needed in the farms and receive payment in cash and kind (millet, corn, and guinea corn, etc) in return for their labour. On the other hand, most of the men migrate to the southern part of the country to engage in jobs as farm labourers. The youth, including Junior and Senior High School leavers on the other hand mostly migrate to big cities and towns where they work as potters, meat sellers, cleaners, and canteen assistants or seek educational opportunities. The well-educated citizens of the district also migrate mainly to the cities and big towns in search of 'white-collar' jobs. Migration among the married men and women is mainly temporal and seasonal as many of these people migrate almost at a specific time period every year. Except in cases where people in the district move out to pursue higher education, majority of the people in the district migrate for economic reasons – in search of jobs or income opportunities. It is therefore not surprising that children in the district are involved in migration, as it is a common and popular phenomenon among the people in the district to Accra which is a popular destination.

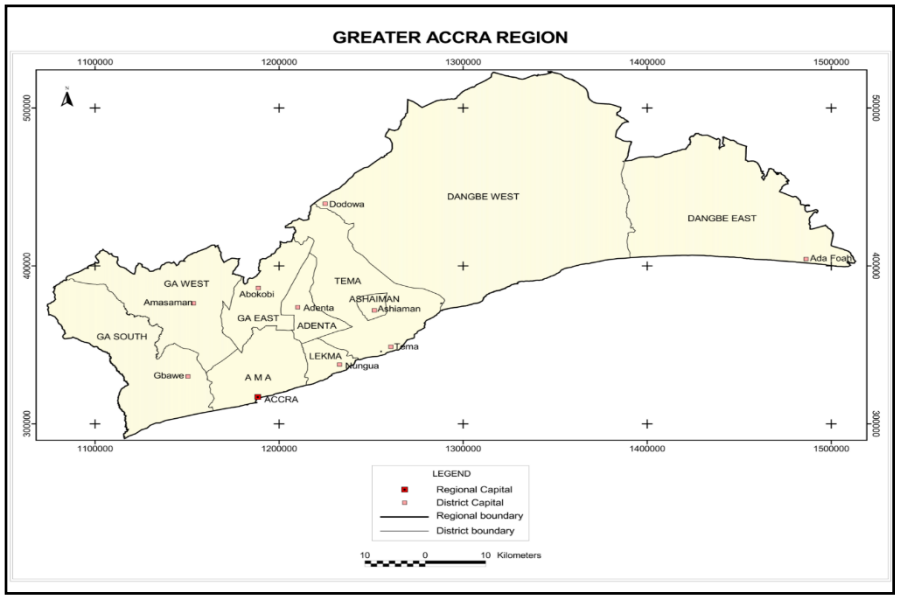
3.2 Accra

On the other hand, Accra is the capital city and largest urban settlement in the country. It is located on the south-east coastal plains of Ghana and linked to the rest of the country by road and to a limited extent, by rail. Its present site was occupied by villages of the *Ga* people when European merchants first visited the area in the late 15th century (Adu-Boahen, 1975). Three separate trading posts built by the Dutch (Usher Town), Danes (Christianborg) and English (James Town) which were all later acquired by the English in the 19th Century. These villages and trading posts grew and gradually coalesced to form Accra which later became the capital of the Gold Coast (Ghana's name before independence) and has since remained the capital city after political independence from British rule in 1957. The word *Accra* is believed to be derived from the Akan word *nkran*, to mean "ants", in reference to the numerous ways in which the natives of Accra kept re-appearing like army ants during a war with the Ashantis (Adu-Boahen, 1975).

3.2.1 Location and physical characteristics

The Metropolitan area of Accra forms part of 10 districts in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. The sprawling nature of Accra makes it difficult to adequately describe its location and boundary. Nevertheless, the Metropolitan area of Accra has a total land size of 200 km^2 and is made up of six sub metropolis namely; Okaikoi, Ashiedu Keteke, Ayawaso, Kpeshie, Osu Klotey and Ablekuma. It is bounded at the south by the Gulf of Guinea, the East by Lekma, the north-east by Adenta, the north by Ga East and to the west by Ga West and Ga South (see

Figure 3.9: Accra Metropolis in regional context



Source: GSS, 2013

Figure 3.9). Notwithstanding these boundaries, there are some contestations with adjoining districts which impede collaboration and thus the development of the area (AMA, 2010).

Accra lies in the Coastal Savannah Zone (see Figure 3.4) with two rainy seasons (May to July and August to October) and an average annual rainfall of 730mm. It experiences an annual temperature of 26.8°C with very little variation due to its location near the Equator. As such, the mean monthly temperature ranges from 24.7°C in August (the coolest) to 28°C in March (the hottest). The topography of the area is generally undulating and poorly drained by the Densu River, as well as the Sakumo, Korle-Chemu, Kpeshie and Songo-Mokwe lagoons. The low topography, coupled with poor drainage and disregard for planned land use results in flooding during rainy seasons with the segment of population worse affected being migrants who live in slums and other poorly developed areas of the city.

3.2.2 Demographic and socio-economic conditions

Result of the 2010 Population and Housing Census (PHC) indicates that the population of the Metropolitan area of Accra was 1,848,614 in 2010; consisting of 48% males and 52% females (GSS, 2013). This constitutes 46.1% of the 4,010,054 people living in the Greater Accra region and 7.5% of the total population of Ghana (24.6 million). This trend has been observed since the beginning of population censuses in Ghana. For instance, the regional (Greater Accra region) population increased from 491,817 in 1960, 851,614 in 1970, 1,431,099 in 1984, and 2,905,726 in 2000, and to the current 4,010,054 in 2010. Thus, the population of Greater Accra recorded an eight-fold increase within a period of 50 years (from 1960 to 2010). Furthermore, Greater Accra recorded a 3.1 percent annual population growth rate between 2000 and 2010 with the city of Accra having the largest share (46.1%) of the regional population in 2010. However, with a land size of 200km^2, the metropolis has the highest density of about 9,243 persons per square kilometre as against the national density of 103.4. This high density has implications for livelihoods as dependence on the land (as is the case with many rural areas) cannot sustain the population. It is therefore not surprising that sales and general work constitute the major occupations within the metropolitan area of Accra (GSS, 2013).

Furthermore, the total age dependency ratio is lowest in Accra (48.6) within the region and the country. In other words, every group of 100 people in the working age are responsible for 49 dependents (below 15 years and above 65 years old). The low dependency ratio (as against the national ratio of 76 to 100 and 99 to 100 for Bongo district) is positive since it means there are fewer people within the dependant age group being looked after by the working population in the city. This may be deceptive because it indicates the ratio of people within the age groups but not their economic engagements. Furthermore, a substantial proportion of migrants in Accra send remittances to relatives who live outside the metropolis (Anarfi et al., 2003) and caution should be taken in its interpretation (GSS, 2013).

Ghana embarked on rapid and ambitious infrastructural development (including the development of roads, government offices and accommodation, schools, health centres and recreational facilities) after it attained political independence. Since becoming the capital city, Accra has grown rapidly to engulf many surrounding rural settlements which now nest within the city as 'urban villages' (Songsore, 2011). According to the GSS (2013), the metropolitan area of Accra accounted for about 25 percent of the country's urban population while more than 90% of the Metropolitan Area of Accra is urban with an average household size of 3.5 and contributed approximately 20 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2010. Accra also employs about 10 percent of the national workforce and one-third of the national urban workforce (World Bank, 2007). The Accra metropolis houses the majority of Ghana's industries and is the headquarters of most financial institutions, government ministries, NGOs and multinational corporations in the country. It is a sprawling city and presents a varied appearance with buildings of modern, colonial, and traditional architecture. The city is much larger than any other in the country in terms of area, population, economy and other variables, thereby exercising primacy over Ghana's urban system (Songsore, 2011). The concentration of population, commercial and industrial activities in the Accra metropolis places mounting pressure on the

limited infrastructure and services including housing, transport, water supply, sanitation and waste disposal. While the city of Accra continues to grow rapidly, its boundaries are not clearly demarcated, a situation which poses problems for the planning and management of the city and results in the formation of slums. As such, many of the settlements that form part of the metropolis fall outside the original plan of the city which was developed in the 1920s (discussion with a schedule officer of the Town and Country Planning Department - T&CPD in Accra).

Commercial activities are organised in numerous business districts of the city, including the Central Business District, *Mokola, Kaneshie, Agbogbloshie, Madina*, *Circle* and *La*. These activities are conducted in large, crowded open-air markets, malls, supermarkets, kiosks and on the streets. Items traded in these areas include a wide variety of foodstuffs like fruits, vegetables, roots and tubers, cereals, fish and meat products. On the other hand, the supermarkets and malls trade in imported consumer goods including textile and leather products, white goods, household appliances, tools, toys, processed foods and stationery among others. These commercial centres offer ready employment for migrants, especially children from the northern part of the country who ply their trade in these centres. There is evidence of children as young as 7 years working in family enterprises (GSS, 2013) even though the Children's Act of 1998 prohibits children under 13 years old from doing any work for pay or profit. Many of these children who do 'any work for pay' or profit are found in the region, especially in the Accra metropolis and work as head porters, serving in food and drinking joints (popularly called chop bars) as well as house helps. Accra therefore serves as a magnet and attracts children from the northern Savannah region to migrate with the hope of achieving their life goals.

3.2.3 Situation of migration

The development of infrastructure, services and the availability of job opportunities in Accra has made the city attractive and induce the influx of the population from all parts of the country and beyond. Accra remains the most attractive destination for all categories of migrants for reasons of commerce, industrial activities and menial jobs. Furthermore, about 50% of households in Accra fell within the highest quintile, and a much lower proportion of households (about 5%) within the lowest quintile of income groups (GSS, 2008: 107). In other words, about 5% of the households in Accra had the least share of the national income, while about 95% were not among the least income earners. This is in sharp contrast with the situation in the hinterlands, especially the regions in the north, where majority of the households are poor. This inequality in income distribution fuels migration (mainly from the north) to Accra. As such, more than 50% of the residents of Accra indicated during the 2010 Population and Housing Census that their places of birth were outside Accra (GSS, 2013). Many of these residents are irregular migrants from the northern regions and are often accommodated at transport and retail trading points. This poses great challenges to the provision of infrastructural facilities and enforcing land use plans in the city, resulting in the development of slums. However, these migrants involve not only adults, but children who migrate from the northern regions to engage in menial jobs. As such the market centres at the Central Business District, Mokola, Kaneshie, Agbogbloshie, Madina, Circle and La become attractive and obvious destinations of such children. These migrant children benefit from kinship and hometown based networks which help reduce their vulnerabilities. These networks are often exploited by children to migrate and survive in the city of Accra.

According to the Finder Newspaper (posted on myjoyonline.com, 07/04/2014) there were about 90,000 street children in the Greater Accra Region in 2013. This figure is the results of a census of street children in the region and an increase over previous estimates of 61,492 in 2011, while additional 24,000 were estimated in 2012. The Metropolitan area of Accra accounted for 50,997 in the recent study, with many of the children within the age range of 10-18 years while a few are less than 10 years old. Consequently, respondent children for this study were selected in the market centres of Avenor-Circle, Agbogbolshie, Darkuman and Madina.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter the spatial context within which child migration takes place in Ghana are discussed. The differences in physical and socio-economic characteristics at both the origin and destination regions of child migrants are discussed. Although the population densities of Bongo district and the metropolitan area of Accra are high (184 and 9,243 persons per square kilometre respectively) relative to the national density of 103.4 in 2010, the direction of migration are in direct contrast. Whereas the main economic activity in Bongo district is agriculture with reducing available land for farming due to high and increasing population density, commerce is the main economic activity in Accra. Therefore, land size and population density are of less concern as the livelihoods of the inhabitants in Accra are less dependent on agriculture. As such Accra remains an attractive destination for migrant children from Bongo district who migrate to escape excruciating poverty and to accumulate wealth in Accra.

The popularity of Accra as a major destination is not limited to children, but include adults from other regions. For instance, more than 50% of the population of the Metropolis indicated their places of birth outside Accra during the population and housing census in 2010 (GSS, 2013). This is antecedent in the general spatial pattern of development in Ghana where Accra has received considerable development attention to the neglect of other regions. Consequently, Accra is host to the headquarters of national government orgnisations as well as financial, industrial and commercial activities, since independence. This makes Accra exercise primacy over the urban system (Songsore, 2011) and encourages in-migration from other settlements in the country. Although migrant children have no employable skills, they are absorbed by the informal sector of the urban economy. The informal sector offer a sanctuary for child migrants as they engage in paid menial jobs such as head portage and serving at food and beverage service joints for their livelihoods. Furthermore, the presence of family and hometown based networks in Accra reduces the risks involved in migration, thereby offering assistance in the form of accommodation and information on jobs to migrant children in the city.

The next chapter focuses on the methodology employed in carrying out this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

I discuss in this chapter, the detail procedure and sequence of activities that I carried out from beginning to the end of this research project. The general and underlying paradigms of research are first explained, leading to the study design and rationale for choosing the design. I also describe the process, the target population, the procedure for sampling and the sample that was used in the study. Furthermore, I discuss how data (both qualitative and quantitative) were collected: the instruments used and the types of data collected. Finally, I discuss how the data collected were screened, processed and analysed using both qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques and tools.

4.1 Philosophical and methodological orientations

The orientation of a researcher has strong bearing on the research and its outcomes. This orientation is manifest in the choice of theories and strategies that guide the research and are in turn influenced by the school of thought of the researcher (Glesne, 2011: 5). Although there are several combinations of strategies in generating knowledge through research, they are often underpinned by the ontological and epistemological orientations of the researcher.

The research methodology employed – such as the data collection methods, sources of data and its treatments - are all related to the ontological and epistemological assumptions the researcher holds about reality and knowledge generation (Grix, 2004). Ontology is referred to as one's view of reality and being, and has to do with whether the social world is regarded as something external to social actors or as something that people are in the process of fashioning (Bryman, 2012: 19). It is concerned with claims and assumptions made about the nature of social reality. For instance, claims about what exists, what it looks like, the units it is made up of and how the units interact with one another (Grix, 2004: 59). It further relates to knowledge as to whether objective knowledge exists independent of its social actors or it is constructed through social interactions.

On the other hand, epistemology is the process of knowledge acquisition that relates to what is regarded as appropriate knowledge about the social world or phenomena (Bryman, 2012: 19). It is concerned with the origin, nature, methods and limits of human knowledge and seeks to answer the question of "how we know what we know". Knowledge of these orientations - ontology and epistemology – is important in research because they influence the intentions, goals and philosophical assumptions of the researcher, which are inextricably linked to how the research is conducted. Therefore, it is important for researchers who want to do clear and precise research to understand the philosophical underpinnings that inform their choice of questions, methodology, methods of data collection and intentions (Grix (2004: 57). As such, researchers' views of the constructs of social reality and knowledge affect how they uncover and evaluate knowledge about social phenomena.

Social science research has been inspired by two main epistemological perspectives; positivism and interpretivism (Bryman, 2012 & 2001; Creswell, 2009, Grix, 2004). Positivism accepts reality to exist irrespective of knowledge of its existence (Grix, 2004) and regards the social world as something revealed rather than constructed through research. It therefore follows from the positivist ontology that 'objective knowledge' is possible, for there is a fixed and unchanging reality which research can accurately access and tap. Positivism, therefore, subscribes to the application of natural science methods and practice and to apply them to research in the social sciences (Denscombe, 2010:154). Thus, the fundamental characteristic of positivism is the contention that the methods, concepts and procedural rules of the natural sciences can, and should be applied to the study of social phenomena (Bryman, 2012), leading to what is often referred to as quantitative research.

On the other hand interpretivism posits that the subject matter of the social sciences (i.e. people and their institutions) is fundamentally different from that of the natural sciences.

Therefore transporting the philosophy of knowledge generation from the natural sciences into the social realm cannot unmask the existing complexities in social interactions. As such the study of the social world requires a different logic of research procedure; one that reflects the distinctiveness of humans as against the natural order (Bryman, 2012) and requires an understanding of the subjective meaning of any social action. This orientation sets the foundation of what is referred to as qualitative research.

In between positivism and interpretivism is what is referred to as pragmatism. Pragmatism arises out of actions, situations and consequences rather than antecedent conditions (Creswell, 2009). In other words, pragmatism is concerned with what works when finding solutions to a problem, instead of strict adherence to positions as with positivism and interpretivism. Consequently, emphasis is not solely on methods, but also on the research problem and employs all approaches available to understand the problem. Pragmatism therefore underpins the mixed methods approach to research and uses pluralistic approaches in acquiring knowledge.

4.1.1 Qualitative research approach

Qualitative research methodology is a means for exploring and understanding the meanings individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. It employs principles and strategies that are mostly non-quantitative and is associated with the use of diverse methods. The process of research adopted involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysed inductively, building from particulars to general themes and the researcher making interpretations or meaning of the data (Creswell, 2009). It assumes that the social world is always a human creation and not a discovery, consequently interpretive science tries to capture reality as it is. This methodology perceives the researcher and the participants in the research as two equally important elements of the same situation. As such, respondents are not reduced to variables, units or hypotheses but are seen as part of the whole (Sarantakos, 1993:44). Furthermore, Bryman (2012) summarises qualitative research as a strategy that usually emphasises words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data that:

- predominantly emphasises an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, in which the emphasis is placed on the generation of theories;
- has rejected the practices and norms of the natural scientific model and of positivism in preference to an emphasis on the ways in which individuals interpret their social world; and
- embodies a view of social reality as a constantly shifting emergent property of the individual's creation (p 36).

It is therefore plausible to opine that, qualitative research seeks the discovery of relationships between variables, enables comparisons, makes conclusions about the significance of certain factors for the relationships, establish integrated constructs and the testing of hypothesis (Agbesinyale, 2003:80). However, the qualitative method faces the challenges of representativeness and generalization of its findings, unlike the case of the quantitative approach. The objectivity and reliability of findings, using this approach, has also been a subject of debate and researchers using this methodology are supposed to put in measures to minimize subjectivity and partiality.

4.1.2 Quantitative approach

The quantitative approach to research on the other hand, refers to the type of research that is based on positivism and upholds the principles and assumptions of research in the natural sciences. Although at the very basic level, it is referred to as an approach involving the use of numbers, quantitative research is a means for testing theories by examining the relationships between and among variables (Creswell, 2009:4). These variables are usually measured on

instruments, so that numerical data can be analysed using statistical procedures. In the view of Bryman (2012), quantitative research can be construed as a research strategy that emphasises quantification in the collection and analysis of data and that which:

- entails a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, in which the accent is placed on the testing of theories;
- has incorporated the practices and norms of the natural scientific model and positivism in particular; and
- embodies a view of social reality as an external, objective reality (pp 35-36).

Quantitative approach to research therefore holds on to the standards of strict research design which is developed before the research begins and uses quantitative measurements and statistical analysis. This approach deploys several statistical tools that allow for easy aggregation, categorization and the comparison of research data. It provides relative ease for researchers to make broad generalizations out of the findings of the piece of work conducted, based on the characteristics of the sample scientifically drawn from its population (Agbesinyale, 2003:80). In other words, quantitative approach hold assumptions about testing theories deductively, building in protections against bias, controlling for alternative explanations, and being able to generalise and replicate the findings (Creswell, 2009). Quantitative researchers endeavour to achieve objectivity in their research as it is regarded as one of the most important pillars of generating knowledge through research.

Although quantitative and qualitative approaches to research represent different research strategies and each carries with it, striking differences in terms of the role of theory, epistemological issues and ontological concerns, they tend to complement each other as some of the elements of one are seen in the application of the other and in a scientific inquiry. A researcher can use any of these methodologies or a blend of some of them based on the issues being investigated, leading to what is often referred to as the “mixed method approach”.

4.1.3 Mixed methods approach

The mixed methods research approach refers to research that combines methods associated with both quantitative and qualitative research. It involves philosophical assumptions, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches, and the mixing of both approaches in a study (Creswell, 2009:4). In other words, a research project may not exactly fit into either quantitative or qualitative paradigms, but would perhaps require the use of a mix of methods to reap the benefits that are inherent to each method. However, the mixed methods approach is more than simply collecting and analysing both qualitative and quantitative data, but involves the tandem use of both approaches, so that, the overall strength of the study is greater than using either qualitative or quantitative approach in isolation.

Although the mixed methods approach is less known than the quantitative and qualitative approaches, it appears to be gaining more acceptability and form with several acronyms (such as Quan - qual, Qual - quan, Qual - quan - qual) relating to how the methods are mixed. However, Creswell (2009: 14-15) has recommended a formal mixing and categorised them into three main types: sequential, concurrent and transformative mixed methods.

He refers to the sequential mixed methods as a procedure whereby researchers seek to elaborate on or expand on the findings of one method with another method. For instance, researchers can begin a research project with a qualitative interview, for exploratory purposes and follow up with a quantitative (survey) involving a larger sample, in order to be able to generalise results to a population. Alternatively, the research project could begin with a quantitative method in which a theory or concept is tested and followed with a qualitative method, involving detailed exploration with few cases or individuals.

On the other hand concurrent mixed methods refers to procedures in which the researcher converges or merges both qualitative and quantitative data which are collected at the same time and then integrates the data in the interpretation of the overall result. In many situations, this may be done by embedding one smaller form of data (either qualitative or

quantitative) within another in order to help answer some specific research questions.

Finally, in transformative mixed methods research, the researcher uses a theoretical lens as an overarching perspective, within a design that contains both qualitative and quantitative data (Creswell, 2009:15). In this case, the lens provides a framework for topics of interest, methods for data collection, and anticipated outcomes or changes by the study. It is therefore possible to have a sequential or concurrent mix of approaches within the lens in a transformative mixed methods approach. It is important to admit that the mixing of methods depends on the nature of the issue being researched and the research questions to be answered as well as the positioality of the researcher.

Positionality

From the forgoing discussion, it is obvious that my personal position with regards to orientation in research is that of a Pragmatist. In other words, my disposition is not to take stringent stands regarding positivism or interpretivism, but to find ways by which the strengths of both orientations can be synergised, while minimising their weaknesses. As a pragmatist, I am open to what works, but not stereotyped to either a quantitative or qualitative approach to research. I am thus not solely committed to any one system of philosophy and reality, but open to the use of multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions as well as different forms of data collection and analysis. Therefore, the design for this study adopts a mixed methods approach to enable me adequately investigate the complex issue of child migration.

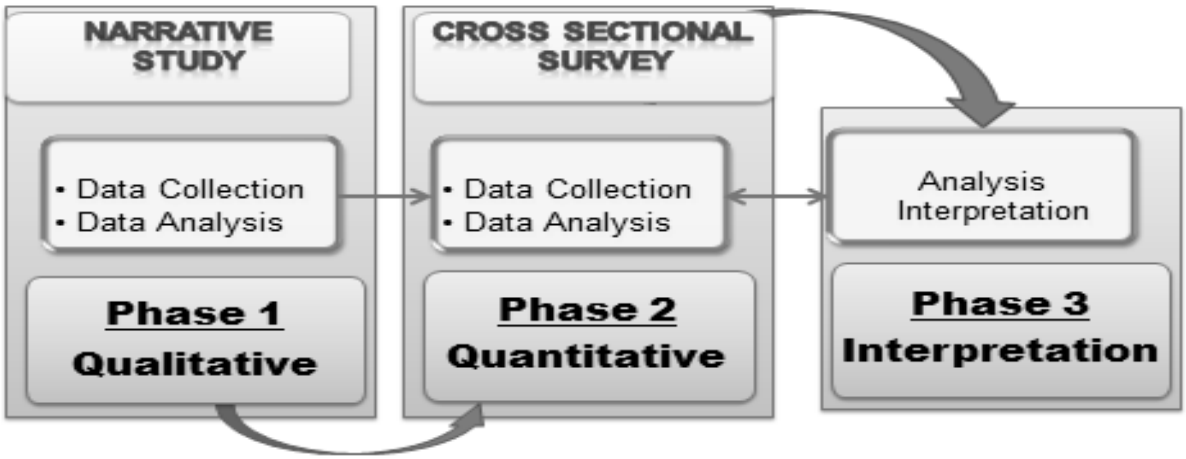
4.2 Research design and rationale

The issue of child migration and education is complex and any effective investigation of it needs to be carefully thought through. As such, the use of either quantitative or qualitative approaches by themselves will not be sufficient to unmask the complexities surrounding child migration, in order to ensure better understanding of the issue. This study therefore, utilised the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative research techniques, by employing a mixed methods research approach to circumvent the complexities, in order for a deeper understanding of the issue. The study was therefore conducted specifically within the framework of a sequential exploratory mixed methods design (Creswell, 2009).

The sequential exploratory mixed methods research design (explained earlier) is in two phases. It involves a first phase of qualitative data collection and analysis, followed by a second phase of quantitative data collection and analysis that builds on the results of the qualitative phase. This is then followed by an interpretation of both qualitative and quantitative data in order to build a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon being investigated (Creswell, 2009:211). Figure 4.1 shows the diagrammatic representation of the sequential exploratory mixed methods design used in the study.

As can be seen in figure 4.1, data collection was done in two phases. I first explored the interconnectivity and relationships between child migration and educational progression using a narrative study. Narrative studies refer to the elicitation of, and analysis of sensitive data from respondents as they provide accounts (usually in the form of stories) about themselves or events that affect them in their lives and surroundings (Bryman, 2012: 582). This was done through in-depth interviews with migrant children and other key stakeholders and actors involved in child migration, such as school and community gate keepers and individuals whose activities affect such children. Furthermore, migrant children were observed in their natural environments (places of abode, work and schools) to help deepen the contextual understanding of the issue of child migration.

Figure 4.1: Sequential Exploratory Mixed Methods Design



Source: Adopted from Creswell (2009: 209)

Following the findings from the exploration phase (qualitative phase) and in combination with findings of other studies (Hashim 2007; Anarfi and Kwankye, 2009) questionnaires (see Appendix 3) were developed and used to collect quantitative (numerical) data in a second (quantitative) phase as well as performance data on three core subjects (English Language, Mathematics and Integrated Science) of school children in Bongo district.

The quantitative phase involved a wider sample of children with and without experiences in migration, in a cross sectional survey. A cross sectional survey refers to a research technique within the ambit of the quantitative research approach, where data collection is done once, as if one was making a snapshot (Denscombe, 2010:12) of the phenomenon being investigated at the time of the study. In other words, it refers to a research design which entails the collection of data on several units at a single point in time in order to collect a body of quantifiable data in connection with variables and examined to determine patterns of association (Bryman, 2012: 58).

The use of the cross sectional survey was to investigate the interrelationships between and among variables that affect child migration and the ability of migrant children to progress or otherwise in education. Therefore, the respondent children in the quantitative phase include school children who attended schools under similar school conditions in the study area. Pupils in schools (both migrants and non-migrants) participated in the questionnaire survey while at the same time, their academic performance data from school based assessment records (end of term marks) were collected in order to compare for differences in performance between those who migrate and those who do not. Data collected during this phase was captured into the IBM Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software and analysed using the Mann-Whitney U test to test the study hypothesis of differences in academic performance between migrant and non-migrant school children. Furthermore, responses on motivations for migration were factor analysed and grouped into factors to complement similar responses from the qualitative data.

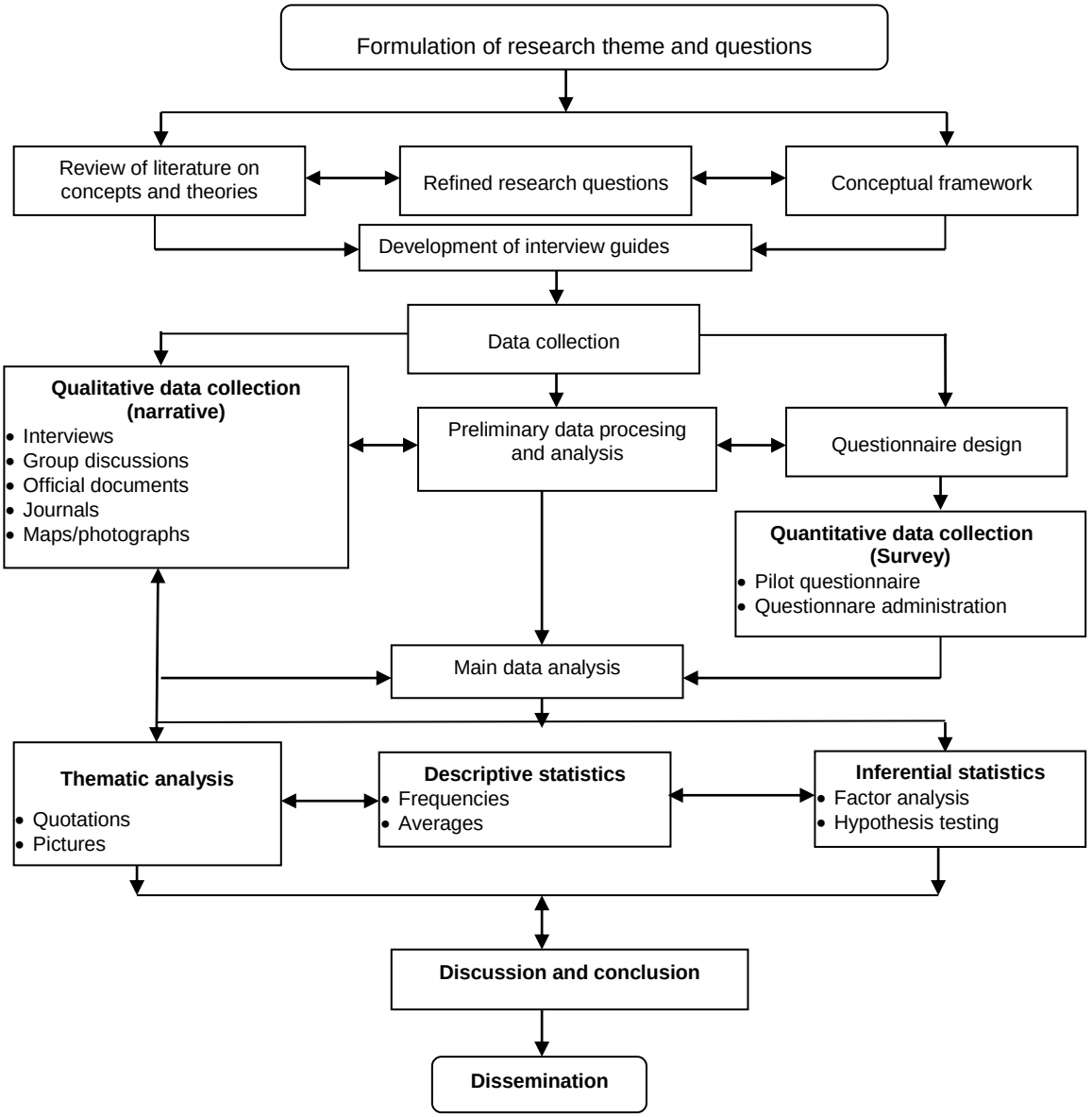
The final phase in the sequence involved an interpretation of both the qualitative and quantitative findings. It discussed how the findings from both phases either reinforce one another or otherwise and influence children's educational progression.

The sequential exploratory design was chosen because it enabled the research to explore the phenomenon of child migration and also allowed for an expansion on the qualitative findings as well as making inferences beyond the sample that was involved in the study. Hence, allowing for generalization of the findings beyond the sample to a wider population of children (see Krajcie and Morgan, 1998; and Creswell, 2009).

4. 3 Research process

This project is an articulation of a sequence of activities, beginning with a conception of the research theme, through to the production of a thesis report. The process and interconnectivity of the activities carried out are shown in figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Research process



Source: Own construct, 2013

As shown in figure 4.2, the project began with a conception of the research idea and theme. This led to the formulation of some questions in order to find answers to the issue of child migration in Ghana. I proceeded to review literature on concepts and theories of child migration, which positioned me to revise my initial research questions and to develop a framework of concepts and theories (see figure 2. 2) that guided the study. The revised questions were more focused, enabling me to identify and thus develop tables (See Appendix 1.1a and 1.1b) consisting of variables on which data was collected, the sources of data as well as the methods used in collecting data.

Furthermore, I developed interview guides (see appendix 2) which I used to collect

qualitative data during the first phase of data collection. An analysis of the qualitative data enabled me to design a questionnaire which I used to collect data during the second (quantitative) phase of the study. The questionnaire was piloted and revised to improve its validity and reliability and thereafter administered to school children in selected schools for the study.

Moreover, academic performance data of the children who participated in the questionnaire administration was collected from school-based (continuous) assessment records of the schools. The quantitative data was then inputted into the IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer software programme and analysed using factor analysis and the Mann-Whitney U Test to test the hypothesis that "there is difference in the academic performance between children who migrate and their colleagues who do not migrate". Nevertheless, both the qualitative and quantitative data complemented each other and also helped triangulate some of the issues that emerged during the analysis phase of the study, leading to the production and dissemination of this dissertation.

4.4 Study sites and justification

The phenomenon of migration takes place between two locations in space; an origin and a destination. Consequently, it is important to have good understanding of the locational context within which children migrate - both at the origin and destination. I was therefore careful not to limit the study to the destination (where the phenomenon is often seen as a menace) but to extend the interrogation to places where these children migrate from. It is however a worthwhile reminder, that the study areas (Accra and Bongo district) have been described in detail in chapter three, as such I do not intend to repeat here, except to reiterate that Accra and Bongo district are important settlements in understanding the phenomenon of child migration in Ghana. This became evident through reviewing literature on child migration in Ghana (Hashim, 2007; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011; Anarfi and Kwankye (eds), 2009; and Awumbila, 2006) and coupled with my personal experience in working on issues of basic education, that Accra is a major destination of child migrants who mostly migrant from settlements within the savannah ecological zones of Ghana. Accra therefore emerged as an obvious choice of destination for the study. Furthermore, the proximity of Accra from Winneba (a small town where I live and work which is 66 km from Accra) gave more impetus to my choice of it (Accra) as a destination against other settlements, such as Kumasi and other towns in the regions, where child migration is equally an issue worth investigating.

Having settled on Accra as the destination, my second concern was to get an area within the savannah regions in the northern part of Ghana, which does not only "supply" child migrants to Accra, but is also representative of other districts where migrant children originate. This concern was compounded by the paucity of reliable data on the phenomenon of child migration in Ghana. Consequently, a direct and immediate solution could not be found until the first phase of data collection, when I discussed it with experts in migration as well as people whose work relate to child migration in Ghana. Moreover, the first child migrant I contacted for interview originates from the Bongo district. This child introduced me to his colleagues through the snowball sampling technique, until I interviewed twelve (12) such children who all happen to come from the same (Bongo) district. I therefore decided to choose Bongo district as the origin of child migrants for the study and thus, traced and interviewed parents of the child migrants through the assistance of the children who gave me contact information about their parents in the district.

I was further motivated to focus on these two sites because whereas Accra is an urban settlement, Bongo district is predominantly rural. This dichotomy in locational characteristics, provided an opportunity to investigate the problem of child migration at two contrasting sites in terms of socio-economic development, which often predisposes children to migrate.

Another motivation for choosing these sites (Accra and Bongo district) was that they are located within different climatic and ecological zones: Accra in the dry south-east coastal plains

and Bongo in the Sahel savannah. These differences in climate and its associated ecological conditions were considered significant to the investigation and understanding of the phenomenon of child migration in Ghana. They were therefore carefully chosen to ensure representation from the origin and destination of the phenomenon of child migration in Ghana.

4.5 Population

Population is used in research to denote the universe of units or elements from which a sample is selected for an enquiry (Bryman, 2012). In this regard, the term population has a much broader meaning than the everyday use of the term, which refers to the number of people living in a geographically defined area. It is referred to as research population and includes both animate and inanimate objects that are being studied. For instance, in a study involving teachers in Ghana, the research population will include all teachers working in Ghana but not all the people who reside in the country.

The population for this study is difficult to define and estimate. This difficulty stems from the paucity of data on migration stock and flows in Ghana (IOM, 2009; Black et al, 2006; Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; and Reeds et al, 2010). Nonetheless, the population include child migrants (all persons, less than 18 years of age, who move from one place of residence to another for reasons other than recreation, holiday, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage) in Ghana. In other words, it involves all persons below the age of 18 years old and who are or have ever been involved in migration in Ghana. This age group was chosen because it is synonymous with the definition of a child, as contained in Ghana's Children's Act of 1998 (Act 560) as well as the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1998). This population is specified to include migrant children attending public basic schools as well as those not attending school, either for reasons of their involvement in migration or for other considerations, but originate from Bongo district in the Upper East Region. Also included in this category are migrant children who returned to their places of origin (Bongo district), after a period of involvement in migration.

In order to get a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of child migration (as it involves and affect a broad spectrum of actors), the study included adults whose activities either directly or indirectly affect child migrants. Such categories of people (adults) include: parents of child migrants, teachers and headteachers of schools with child migrants, as well as local community leaders. Furthermore, government and nongovernmental organisations and agencies whose work affects child migration were also included in the study. These categories of actors constitute the research population from which a sample was selected for this study.

4.6 Sampling and sample

A sample refers to part of a research population who are actually chosen to participate in a study. In other words, it is a segment or a subset of the research population that is selected to participate in a research (Bryman, 2012). The use of samples in research is necessitated by the fact that, it is often not possible and to some extent, not necessary, to involve all elements of the population in a research project. Therefore samples are often used in small scale research projects and are obtained through various selection procedures. These procedures (referred to as sampling) are of two broad categories; probability and non-probability sampling and are used to select samples that are representative of the research population. A representative sample, often used in cross-sectional quantitative surveys is obtained through a blend of ingredients, and relies on using a selection procedure that:

- includes all relevant factors/variables/events, and
- matches the proportions to the overall population (Denscombe, 2010: 24).

The need for representativeness in research is to enable the researcher draw valid conclusions about the research population through data gathered from the sample.

On the other hand, small-scale qualitative research projects tend to lend themselves to what is often referred to as exploratory samples. These are elements drawn from the research population and used to probe relatively, unexplored topics as well as discovering new ideas or theories (Denscombe, 2010). An exploratory sample needs not be an accurate cross-section of the research population, but based on the need to gain new insights on the topic of investigation and may include extreme or unusual examples of the phenomenon being studied (p. 24).

Due to the amorphous nature and lack of estimates of the population of child migrants in Ghana and the chosen research design of the study (sequential exploratory mixed methods design), a sample was carefully selected to be (as much as possible) representative of the population for exploratory (qualitative) and cross-sectional survey (quantitative) analysis. As such the choice of the sampling technique and the resultant sample was done in two phases; to first acquire the sample for the qualitative phase and followed by the one for the quantitative phase.

4.6.1 Qualitative sampling and sample

The sample for the qualitative stage of the study was obtained mainly through purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique in which the researcher aims to strategically select participants in a research such that, those selected are relevant to the research questions that the research seeks to answer (Bryman, 2012). Denscombe (2010) advises that purposive sampling operates on the principle that, the best information can be obtained through focusing on a relatively small number of instances, deliberately selected on the basis of relevance and knowledge on an issue under investigation (pp 34-35). It works well when the researcher has some appreciable knowledge of members of the population and deliberately selects particular members who can produce the most valuable data, based on the experience or expertise they have on the issue being studied. Furthermore, the use of purposive sampling ensures that a wide cross-section of the study population (as much as possible) are included in the sample.

Similarly, snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling technique, where the researcher makes initial contacts with an individual or a group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then use such initial contacts to further establish and expand to other members of the study population (Bryman, 2012). The snowball technique emerges through a process of reference from one person to the next, beginning with just one or a few people. Each person is then asked to nominate one or more people who would be relevant to the purpose of the research for possible inclusion. This process is continued until a reasonable or representative sample is obtained for the study. Denscombe (2010) admonishes that the snowball technique is effective in building up a reasonably-sized sample, especially when used as part of a small-scale research project. It also has an advantage of accumulating numbers, using the multiplier effect of one person nominating one, two or more potential members for recruitment into a study. Snowball sampling is particularly useful in small-scale exploratory studies and perfectly compatible with purposive sampling, where there is no sampling frame and allows the researcher to identify and establish contacts with appropriate participants.

In this study, respondents were purposely selected based on their knowledge, experience and how relevant such knowledge and experiences were to the understanding of the phenomenon of child migration in Ghana. Furthermore, the snowball technique was used to complement the purposive sampling. Therefore, teachers (Head and Classroom teachers) in schools with child migrants were key contact people (key informants) in identifying such children to be selected in their schools. Contacts with child migrants were exploited to help snowball further contacts with other children with migration experience in the schools and in the communities where they lived. The choice of this approach was informed by the thinking that child migrants have knowledge of one another, which was exploited to establish contacts with their colleagues with similar experience required for the study.

Besides, unplanned (accidental) contacts with children with the requisite migration experience were utilised to recruit such children for the study. Finally, children were selected for

the study at their convenience and verbal consent. Children identified as satisfying the selection criteria but who found it inconvenient to participate were not compelled to take part in the study.

Moreover, the number of children selected for the qualitative phase of the study was influenced by the number required for the attainment of theoretical saturation (Guest et al, 2006). Therefore, although a sample of between 6 and 12 is considered appropriate for qualitative research, this study interviewed 35 (see table 4.1) children with experience in migration to participate in the study. The choice of a sample size of 35 was intended to reduce the chances of discovery failure (DePaulo, 2000) by ensuring that as many divergent experiences, as it was possible, be captured from the sampled children. It also sought to optimise representativeness as a sample of 35 would not only be representative of the population of migrant children, but would also ensure for parsimony in the light of limited time and resources available for the study. However, other categories of respondents (besides migrant children) were involved in the study. Table 4.1 shows the sample of all the categories of respondents who participated in the qualitative phase of the study.

Table 4.1: Sample for qualitative phase

Category of sample	No of Males	No of Females	Total
Destination out-of-school child migrants	8	4	12
Destination In-school child migrants	6	2	8
Origin in-school child migrants	5	5	10
Return child migrants	3	2	5
Destination Headteachers	1	2	3
Origin Headteachers	3	0	3
Destination classroom teachers	2	3	5
Origin classroom teachers	6	1	7
Parents of child migrants	8	8	16
Community leaders	4	1	5
Schedule Officers of Government Agencies	5	2	7
Schedule Officers of NGOs	4	1	5
Expert in migration	-	1	1
Total	56	31	87
Group discussions			6

Source: Field data, 2014

As shown in table 4.1, seven other categories of respondents (besides child migrants) were also purposely sampled to participate in the study. They include teachers (both head and classroom teachers) of schools with child migrants, parents of child migrants, local community leaders, scheduled officers of government agencies and nongovernmental organisations and an expert in migration. Specifically, the Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU) and the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU) of the Ghana Police Service, the Department of Social Welfare, Traditional Leaders (chiefs), District Assemblies and Non/Governmental Orgsnisations (NGOs) were selected for the study. Furthermore, six (6) discussions were held (2 in Accra and 4 in Bongo district), involving four (4) separate groups of child migrants and two (2) with local community leaders.

The inclusion of the other categories of respondents, besides the child migrants, was to help deepen the understanding of child migration as these people either worked directly or close with child migrants, and thus had vital knowledge and experience to the understanding and appreciation of the phenomenon of child migration in Ghana.

4.6.2 Quantitative sampling and sample

The focus of this phase of data collection was to help find if there was difference in the academic performance of school children who migrate and their colleagues who do not migrate. These categories of children live and experience the same conditions in their schools (such as school environments, teachers, and textbooks, among others). However, some of these school

children migrate (especially during school holidays and mostly to urban areas in the southern part of the country) and return to join their colleagues when schools reopen. The population of this category of children was not known at the onset of the study. The qualitative phase was therefore used to identify the population and to also develop sampling frames (for migrant and non-migrant school children) from which samples of migrant and non-migrant school children were randomly selected. As the study required academic performance data in order to compare performance between migrant school children and their colleagues who do not migrate, it was not feasible to include children who were in their first year in Junior High Schools (JHS), as the schools in which they were enrolled did not have performance data on them. This was because the data collection was done during the first term of the school academic year, when pupils had had just been promoted to those classes. Therefore those who were in JHS 1 were promoted from their respective primary schools and the JHSs where they were enrolled did not have performance records on them. Besides, they were yet to write any assessment (end of term) examination in the schools. Therefore, children in JHS 2 and JHS 3 were sampled to participate in the questionnaire administration. The population of school children in JHS 2 and 3 in the study district and the estimated representative sample earmarked for selection during the preparatory phase is presented in table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Population and estimated sample for quantitative phase

	Population			Estimated sample			Actual sample		
	JHS 2	JHS 3	Total	JHS 2	JHS 3	Total	JHS 2	JHS 3	Total
Boys	1,146	1,1 65	2,311	83	84	167	127	97	224
Girls	1,276	1,347	2,623	92	97	189	146	120	266
Total	2,422	2,512	4,934	175	181	356	273	217	490

Source: GES Bongo District, 2011

As seen in table 4.2, there were 4,934 pupils in JHS 2 and 3 in the district. These figures were obtained from the district office of the Ghana Education Service (GES), but it also corresponded with the National Education Management Information System (EMIS) data on school enrolment in the district. Therefore, a sample of 356 school children was deemed representative of the population of 4,934 (see Krejcie and Morgan, 1970). The calculation of the sample size, using the formula by Krejcie and Morgan {$s= X^2 NP (1-P)/d^2(N-1)+X^2P(1-P)$} is shown below.

Calculation for the representative sample

$$s = X^2 NP (1-P)/d^2(N-1)+X^2P(1-P)$$

Where

s = required sample size.

X^2 = the table value of chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level (3.841).

N = the population size (4,934).

P = the population proportion (assumed to be .50 since this would provide the maximum sample size).

d = the degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion (.05).

Therefore,

s = (3.84)*4934*(0.5)(1-0.5) / {(0.05)2 (4934-1) + (3.84)(0.5)(1-0.5)}

= 4736.64 / (12.3325+0.96)

= 4736.64/13.2925

= 356

Although a sample of 356 was estimated to be representative of the population of school children in the chosen classes (JHS 2 & 3), the actual sample that participated was 490 school children. This was because, many children than estimated, wanted to participate in the exercise

(which I thought was good) since having a larger sample than estimated has no inimical effect on the representativeness of the population in a cross-sectional survey.

The sample was obtained through probability sampling; combining stratified and simple random sampling techniques. Stratified sampling involves the selection process in which elements of a research population are grouped into categories/strata (Bryman, 2012) so that individual elements are selected based on a determined criterion. The purpose for using stratified sampling is to ensure that important components of the research population are appropriately represented (Denscombe, 2010). This was possible in the case of this study because the subgroups within the population were homogenous. They were also easily identifiable into migrant and non-migrant school children and also relevant because I wanted to compare their academic performance. Therefore, after the stratification into migrant and non-migrants in each class, the simple random sampling technique was used to select the sample.

Simple random sampling (SRS) is a sampling technique where all elements in a research population have equal chance of being selected. In other words, each member in the population has a known and equal probability of inclusion in the sample (Bryman, 2012). It is regarded as the ideal technique for selecting a representative sample and limits the influence of the researcher in ways that could introduce bias (Denscombe, 2010). This was possible for me because I was able to establish the research population, sampling frame (a list of members of the population), subgroups (migrant non-migrant) and determined the criteria for selection during the qualitative data collection phase. However, I did not generate a table or list of random numbers for the actual selection. What I did was more practical and workable under the prevailing circumstance in the district and schools.

The actual sample selection process was preceded by the selection of schools from which the children were selected. This was done in the office of the District Directorate of Education, with the help of the Assistant Director of Education responsible for Personnel and Monitoring (Mr. John Bobi). We began with a list of Junior High Schools (JHSs) in the district (see appendix 5) and with the help of his knowledge of accessibility in the district, 3 schools located in inaccessible places were noted and removed from the sampling frame. This was because I had limited time and resources (especially means of transport) to be able to conduct the study in those inaccessible schools. Furthermore, only two (2) of the JHSs were private schools and were removed because the target population was public but not private JHSs. This was necessary because discussions with education officials in the district revealed that, children in the private schools do not migrate. Their parents have good control over them and do not permit them to migrate. The list was also stratified into educational circuits (appendix 5) from which 10 schools were sampled out of the remaining 38 (43-3-2) accessible public schools to ensure even spatial distribution and representation across the district. This also represent 26.3% of the accessible population of schools in the district.

The selection of children in the classrooms was done by first determining the categories (migrant and non-migrant) and then selecting those less than 18 years old. This was done by asking children of their ages and cross checking with school records, to ensure that, only children with the right ages were selected. Furthermore, numbers (1, 2, 3,…., n) were written on small pieces of paper, folded and then mixed with blank equivalent pieces, for the children to pick at random. Those who picked the pieces with numbers were selected while those who picked blank pieces were not included. For instance, if 10 migrant children were to be selected in a class with 20 child migrants, I got 20 pieces of paper and numbered 10 of them (from 1 to 10) leaving the other 10 pieces blank. All 20 (numbered and blank) pieces were folded and mixed in a container from which all the 20 children picked a piece of paper each, in turns. In the end, those who picked the numbered pieces formed part of the sample while those who picked blank pieces were not selected. The same process was repeated for non-migrant children to get the sample, consisting of both subgroups (migrants and non-migrants) for the classes in all the 10 selected schools. Table 4.3 shows the sampled schools and basic chaacteristics of the sampled children according to category (migrant and non-migrant), sex (male and female), class (JHS 1 and JHS 2) and age.

Table 4. 3: Distribution of category, age, sex, class and schools of sampled children

Name of School	Class		Sex		Age (in years)			Category		Total
	JHS 2	JHS 3	M	F	10-12	13-15	16-18	Migrant	Non migrant	
Namoo JHS A	13	4	8	9	0	8	9	9	8	17
Namoo JHS B	22	18	16	24	0	13	27	19	21	40
Boku JHS	11	18	18	11	0	9	20	14	15	29
Feo DA JHS	59	27	37	49	0	42	44	45	41	86
Feo Awiisi JHS	25	32	27	30	0	20	37	33	24	57
Sambolgo JHS	42	14	29	27	0	20	36	28	28	56
Balungu JHS	18	27	19	26	0	14	31	22	23	45
Soe R/C JHS	15	41	21	35	1	22	33	26	30	56
Anafobiisi JHS	30	24	26	28	0	15	39	24	30	54
Kanga JHS	38	12	23	27	0	14	36	30	20	50
Total	273	217	224	266	1	177	312	250	240	490

Source: Field data, 2012

The selected schools as shown in table 4.3 include: Kanga, Anafobiisi, Soe R/C, Balungu, Sambolgo D/A, Feo Awiisi, Feo D/A, Boku, Namoo “A” and Namoo “B” Junior High schools. As shown in table 4.3, the number of children sampled was dependant on how many they were in each school and class. Furthermore, the actual sample, based on class and sex is also presented in table 4.4.

Table 4. 4: Sample based on class and sex

Sex	JHS 2	JHS 3	Total
Boys	127(26%)	97(20%)	224(46%)
Girls	146(30%)	120(24%)	266(54%)
Total	273(56%)	217(44%)	490

Source: Field data, 2012

As shown in table 4.4, the sample comprised of 46% boys and 54% girls. These statistics are consistent with the sex distribution of JHS children in the district (52.4% girls) although the national and regional percentage shares were 47% and 48.8% respectively for girls (EMIS, 2011). On the other hand, majority of the sample (56%) were in JHS 2 while 44% were in JHS 3. Furthermore, migrant school children constituted 51% while non-migrant school children were 49% of the sample.

4.7 Data collection approach

Data for the study was collected sequentially in two phases (see Fig 4.1). The first phase of the sequence involved qualitative data collection using interview guides, while quantitative data was collected during the second phase, using questionnaires.

4.7.1 Instruments for data collection

The main instruments used to collect data for the study were interview guides and questionnaires. Whereas interview guides were used to collect data during the qualitative phase, questionnaires were used during the quantitative phase.

Interview guides

Interview guides refer to a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered in a research

project (Bryman, 2012: 471). Interview guides are usually employed in qualitative research and can be structured or semi-structured. They are flexible in use but serve to keep the researcher focused, to cover all relevant issues during interviews.

In this study, semi-structured interview guides (see appendix 2) were designed to measure constructs on the main themes and concepts (see figure 2. 2: Conceptual framework) driving the study. They include motivations for child migration, migration decision making, processes involved in migration and outcomes of child migration. Furthermore, other concepts such as the institutional and organisational environments within which child migration takes place, remittances and return migration were also covered. These concepts guided the development of the interview guides as questions were asked to help solicit information on them. However, as the respondents in this phase of the study comprised of different stakeholders (migrant children, teachers, parents, community leaders, schedule officers of government agencies and NGOs, and experts in migration), the interview guides were designed to reflect the interest and experiences of each category of stakeholders. Therefore, a total of 10 interview guides were designed (1 for each category of stakeholders) and used to collect the qualitative data. It is worth admitting that, these guides were very flexible in use. I listened more to the respondents as they narrated their experiences on migration, but the interview guides helped to ensure that all relevant themes were covered during the interviews.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires are a collection of questions administered to respondents in a study. They are often associated with quantitative research and are widely used for collecting quantitative data in survey research. Questionnaires are the cheapest and quickest means of obtaining data as it does not necessarily require the presence of an interviewer, giving respondents ample time to complete them at their convenience. When respondents complete the questionnaire by themselves, they are referred to as self-completed questionnaires. Furthermore, the questionnaire also enables one to collect standardised information in respect of the same variables for everyone in the sample selected, making it an indispensable tool in gathering primary data about people, their behaviour, attitudes, opinions and awareness on specific issues (Bryman, 2012:715).

In this study, two sets of questionnaires were developed (see appendices 3a & 3b): one for migrant and the other for non-migrant school children. This was necessary because the non-migrant school children had not been involved in migration and could thus not share any experience on migration as was with their migrant counterparts. Therefore, the questionnaire for migrant children consisted of 53 items while that of non-migrant children was 24 items. The questionnaire for migrant children (appendix 3a) comprised of five main sections with 53 items. The first section (consisting of 17 items) sought to collect biographic data on the respondent children and their families while the second section had 14 items on the reasons for child migration. This section was followed by 6 items on child migration decision making and 9 items seeking information on the modes or means through which children migrate. Finally, 7 items solicited responses on the effects of migration on the schooling of children.

Besides the items on characteristics and the process of migration, the items measuring concepts on motivation, decision making and effects of migration on schooling were designed on a 5-point Likert Scale. The responses ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree, with strongly disagree assigned a value of 1 through to 5, for strongly agree (strongly disagree=1, disagree = 2, Not sure = 3, Agree = 4, and Strongly agree = 5).

On the other hand, although the questionnaire for non-migrant children (appendix 3b) was similar in structure to that of the migrants, it had fewer items. This was because the non-migrant children did not have experience on migration, since they had not been involved in the process. Therefore, their questionnaire had 24 items consisting of 17 items that sought information on their personal and household characteristics as well as 7 items on the conditions pertaining to learning in their schools.

4.7.2 Ensuring validity and reliability of data collection instruments

Validity and reliability are important issues in collecting data in research. Reliability is the degree to which a measure of a concept is stable. In other words, it refers to the extent to which a research instrument (questionnaire or interview guide) yields similar results whenever it is employed to elicit data under constant conditions. On the other hand, validity is concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a research and refers to the extent to which the research instrument records what it is intended to record (Bryman, 2012). It is therefore imperative to explain how issues of validity and reliability of the instruments of data collection were addressed.

Data collected during the first (qualitative) phase of this study was done through interviews and discussions using interview guides (see appendix 2) which were developed through reviewing literature, research questions and with inputs from fellow Ph.D colleague students and supervisors. The World Café technique was employed to further improve the validity and reliability of the interview guides.

The World Café technique is a simple, effective and flexible format for hosting large group dialogue or discussion where participants sit around tables in small groups (Brown, 2005). The technique begins with a presentation on the issue for discussion to a larger group, setting the stage for members to understand the issue in context. This is followed by participants breaking into smaller groups (usually four in a group) and sitting around tables to discuss various components of the issue. A member within each small group or table is selected as the Table Host (secretary), after which the discussion begins on each table. After an agreed period of discussion, members on the table (except the table hosts) move to other tables for another round of discussion. The table hosts then explain the tasks on the table to the new members, after which the discussion proceeds. This process is repeated until all participants (except the table hosts) discuss the various components of the issue on all the tables. Subsequently, the table hosts present the discussion on each table in a plenary. The discussions and suggestions are then collated and the necessary changes made for a final position on the issue being discussed.

In the case of this study, the World Café involved 16 participants (colleague Ph.D students and supervisors). I first made a 20 minutes presentation, giving an overview of the research and the interview guides. This was followed by members breaking into four groups (tables), consisting of four discussants to discuss the interview guides for 10 minutes in each group on a table. At the end of the 10 minutes of discussion, 3 members on each table rotated to other tables while the fourth person remained as the table host. This process continued until all the participants (except the table hosts) discussed the interview guides on each of the four tables for 10 minutes. In other words, all the discussants had the opportunity to discuss the interview guides for 40 minutes. Afterwards, the discussions on each table were presented in a plenary by the table hosts. The comments and inputs emanating from the discussions were used to revise the interview guides, thus improving their validity and reliability for use on the field.

The validity and reliability of the questionnaires on the other hand, were improved through piloting. The initial questionnaires that I developed were piloted in three schools in the study district. The schools in which the piloting was done were not included in the main questionnaire administration. This was because, the children who were involved would have become familiar with the questionnaires, which could influence their responses if they were included in the main administration. A total of 120 school children, consisting of 70 migrants and 50 non-migrants took part in the pilot survey. The data was inputted into IBM SPSS templates I developed based on the questionnaires (a template each for the migrant and non-migrant children) and factor analysed. I set a criterion to remove or modify items with Chronbach's alpha values of less than 0.5 and maintain those with the alpha values of 0.5 or greater and also items that cross loaded on factors. This was because the sample was small (see Ofori and Dampson, 2011), so I needed high Chronbach's alpha values to improve the reliability of the questionnaires. The Chronbach's method (most widely used method for assessing the reliability

of questionnaires) was developed in 1951 and used for assessing the reliability of questionnaires. Its computation is based on the average of several different ways in which a data set can be split into two (p. 280). As such, 5 items (3 from motivation and 2 from effects constructs) were removed from the questionnaire for migrant children, reducing the number of items from a previous number of 58 to 53 items (appendix 3a). Similarly, the questionnaire for non-migrant children was revised from 32 items to 24 (see appendix 3b) after the factor analysis.

4.7.3 Qualitative data collection

Qualitative data was collected mainly through interviews and observations from the period of October to December, 2011. Respondent children were engaged in single face-to-face in-depth interviews to elicit their migration experiences and how their education is influenced by their involvement in migration. The use of in-depth interviews was appropriate because it enabled me to ask respondents key questions about facts on the phenomenon of child migration in Ghana, as well as seek their opinions on the phenomenon (Yin, 2009: 107).

In addition to the in-depth interviews, four group (six children in a group) discussions were held with in-school child migrants (1 in Accra and 3 in Bongo district) to gather their experiences in smaller groups. Furthermore, two discussions were held with local community leaders (chiefs and their elders) in Bongo and Namoo to complement as well as triangulate the responses from children. These discussions encouraged the participants to share their experiences with other members in the groups leading to further understanding on the issue of child migration.

Moreover, observation of how and what children do in their schools and work places was done to help contextualize some of the experiences children shared during the interviews. Such observation on events and happenings in the communities were recorded in a field diary and this helped in the contextual understanding of acts and behaviours of respondents.

Other categories of respondents (see table 4.1) including parents or guardians of selected child migrants, classroom teachers who tought the selected respondent child migrants, Headteachers of the schools in which child migrants were attending, scheduled officers of agencies and NGOs whose work relate to child migration, as well as community leaders were also interviewed on a face-to-face in-depth basis. This helped to capture the school and community level perspectives on the issue of child migration and educational progression as it pertained in the selected schools and communities.

It is important to observe that, although the interviews were basically in-depth, they incorporated elements of focused interviews in them as they followed a pattern of questions listed on the interview guides (Yin, 2009). This was necessary because it enabled me to corroborate or triangulate certain facts and issues on child migration across the different categories of respondents. For instance, the issue of knowledge about laws governing the movement of children was asked to all respondents, and these generated amazing responses. Whereas the regulations governing the movement of children was well articulated among law enforcement and other officers working on child migration, child migrants and parents in the origin communities did not know that there were such regulations.

On the other hand, interviews were conducted at locations and time convenient to the respondents. The group discussions with the children were done during break time, in their schools while the individual interviews were done at their work places, homes and in schools, depending on where and when it was convenient to the children. With regard to the schedule officers, teachers and experts, all the interviews were done in their offices (places of work) on appointment while parents were interviewed in their homes and chiefs in their palaces.

Interviews were conducted in three main languages (English, Twi and Guruni) depending on the ability and preference of the respondents. Although Guruni is the local language of the Bongo traditional area, many of the respondents preferred and were interviewed in English. For instance, the Paramount Chief of the Traditional Area who worked and retired as a Civic Educationist, was interviewed in English while most of the children also preferred English (albeit

pigeon). Few parents and the members in the community discussion in Namoo opted for Guruni where I had to rely on interpreters, as I do not speak Guruni. Three parents opted to be interviewed in Twi. The interviews in Guruni and Twi were first interpreted and transcribed in English with the help of two interpreters. Although the interpreters were not academic researchers, they had good knowledge and understanding of the area and the context of migration. For instance Mr Anthony Atanga who also accommodated me in his house represented the people of Namoo at the District Assembly for twelve (12) years while David Atanga (the other interpreter) was acting on behalf of his elder brother as the Assemblyman at the time of the study. They both had good skills in community animation and mobilisation and the local language. All the respondents were duly briefed on the objectives of the study, after which appointments were made for the interviews and discussions. I did not encounter instances of people not willing to participate.

4.7.4 Quantitative data collection

Quantitative data was collected during the second phase of the study in November, 2012. This involved a cross-sectional survey through questionnaire administration to a larger sample of 490 randomly selected school children, with and without experiences in migration. As such, there were two sets of questionnaires; one for migrant (see appendix 3a) and the other for non-migrant (see appendix 3b) school children. The questionnaires were developed based on the themes that emerged from analysing the qualitative data and the review of related literature as already described in section 4.7.1.

4.8 Data management and analysis

Data management and analysis constitute very important components in any research project. As such it is of great help to highlight how data for a research project would be managed and stored at an early stage of a research project in order to ensure data is managed in a way that is consistent with the requirements of the research objectives as well as the general requirements for conducting scientific research. Therefore, data management involves checking data to ensure there are no flaws (Bryman, 2012) with the collection, storage and use of the data. This requires a plan involving the following:

- the need for access to existing data sources
- the data to be produced by the research project
- the planned quality assurance and back-up procedures for data
- the plans for management and archiving of collected data
- any expected difficulties in making data available for secondary research (through data archiving) and measures to overcome such difficulties, etc (Abazaami, 2013).

In the case of this research project, I made a data management plan (see appendix 4) which illustrates how the various data (qualitative and quantitative) were collected in sequence, processed and stored for use during the phase of writing the thesis. Both data sets (qualitative and quantitative) were thoroughly screened after collection and securely stored in order to protect and preserve it for use in the subsequent phases. Therefore secondary data in the form of hard copies were photocopied and securely put in files while soft copies were uploaded and stored in my mail box on the World Wide Web. These copies were also stored in different computers as a back-up measure in addition to having data copied into external data storage devices and USB sticks. Daily memoires on key issues from the field were also typed out and saved with back-ups on different computers. This therefore set the stage for analysis and writing of the thesis report.

Analysis of data for the study followed the sequence of the phases of the study (see Fig 2.2). Qualitative data was first collected and analysed and then followed by quantitative data. Nonetheless, the process was iterative, so some qualitative data which could not be collected during the first phase of data collection was done during the second phase.

4.8.1 Management of qualitative data

Qualitative data which was collected in the first phase was thoroughly checked for completeness. These checks were done immediately after every interview session and later when I was in my room. As most interviews were tape recorded, the recordings were transcribed to make it easier for storage and reference. Identified gaps (things that were not clear to me) with the data and ambiguities were addressed by seeking further appointments with such respondent(s) who provided the needed information and also clarified such ambiguities. The data was then grouped into themes as they emerged and discussed under the emerging themes. Furthermore, the data was presented in the form of quotations to convey the originality of the findings. The quotations were complemented with tables, pictures, maps and charts/figures to pictorially depict the findings. Moreover, 12 specimen of the transcripts of interviews are presented in appendix 6.

4.8.2 Management of quantitative data

Data collected in the second phase (quantitative data) was also screened for completeness and imputed into a Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software. The SPSS enabled the data to be screened for completeness and normality or otherwise, of the distribution. In the situation where data on some items were found not to be normally distributed, it was screened for outliers and the sources traced, to the questionnaires for correct entry. However, entries with outliers whose sources could not be traced were deleted. Since the data was parametric and continuous, it satisfied the conditions for using parametric data analysis techniques. Therefore, data of migrant children was factor analysed to see if it agreed with some of the factors that emerged from analysing the qualitative data. Data from this phase is also presented in the form of tables and figures to facilitate pictorial understanding and appreciation of the findings.

On the other hand, outliers from performance data were not deleted. This was due to the fact that, the performance data was official data and as such, obtained from official (continuous assessment) records in schools. It was thus considered not prudent to alter or delete such data as a way of ensuring normality of distribution. Besides, the choice of the mixed methods research design is to build on the weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative methods to ensure better understanding of the phenomenon. The performance data of children in three subjects (English, Mathematics and Integrated Science) was thus non parametric as they did not distribute normally around their arithmetic means. Hence, a non-parametric technique (Mann-Whitney U test) was employed to analyse the differences in performance between migrant and non-migrant school children.

4.9 Ethical issues

Issues of ethics in research border on informed consent, access and acceptance, confidentiality and anonymity, and are important in conducting good research. According to Robson (1993) “whenever possible, the investigator should inform all participants of the objectives of the investigation and all aspects of the research or intervention that might reasonably be expected to influence willingness to participate”. The investigator is further required to “explain all other aspects of the research or intervention about which the participants require” (p. 471).

As most children and parents were not familiar with academic research (in the case of this study), written consent was not sought during the qualitative phase of data collection, as they did not find it convenient appending their signatures to documents. Furthermore, many of them could not read and write. Instead ethical clearance was obtained by explaining the research aims and individual exercises on an on-going basis to the children, parents, the village authorities and other stakeholders and securing their verbal consent (Berlan, 2005) before the interviews were conducted. Besides confidentiality, children were also assured of anonymity of their responses. Therefore, pseudonames have been used in the report, instead of the real names of child respondents. However, the identity of adult respondents is not concealed.

In the case of the quantitative phase of data collection and interviews in schools, the purpose of the research was explained to education and school authorities before interacting with the school children. I had an introductory letter from my supervisor, which I showed to officials (as and when it was necessary) at the District Education Office in the course of introducing myself and explaining the objectives of my study. The introductory letter was then endorsed with a memo, introducing me to the Headteachers of the selected schools in the district and asking them to give me the necessary assistance while I was in their schools. Furthermore, there was a consent statement in the top portion of the questionnaires (appendices 3a & 3b) which explained the purpose of the exercise to children and assured them of confidentiality and anonymity of their responses, before it was administered. The consent statement is as follows:

> Dear pupil, this questionnaire **is not a school test or examination,** but a research exercise. All I want from you is that, please be **truthful** with your answers. I promise you that the information you give here will be **treated in confidence** and will only be used for research purposes.

This statement was read to all the children (in the presence of their teachers) before they commenced to fill out the questionnaires. The completion of the questionnaires was done at the convenience of the respondent children. While some completed it in school and returned them to me, others took their questionnaires home where they completed at their convenience and returned to their teachers for me to collect later. This was convenient for me because it afforded me the chance to extract the performance data of the selected children from the pool of official data in the offices of the headteachers, where those records are kept.

The observance of protocol in schools appears to have been very effective and many children (than I expected) were willing and participated in the research. For instance, I initially estimated 356 (see table 4.2) but in the end, 490 (see table 4.3) children were willing and actually participated in the survey in the ten schools.

4.10 Scope of the study

The scope of this study is defined in terms of the concepts and theories underlying the study, the actors in child migration, education of child migrants and the spatial coverage in line with the places of origin and destination.

The Concepts and theories underlying the Study

Although theories on child migration are scant, this study nonetheless, hinges on three main theories, mostly from adult migration. These include the push-pull, social network and multi locational household theories of migration. Nevertheless, a number of relevant concepts have been combined in a framework that guided the study. These include concepts on motivation (emanating from shocks, economic, socio-cultural and migration for education), child migration decision making (involving the individual children, their households and communities in which they live), organisational and institutional environments within which children live and migrate, remittance and return migration. Furthermore, the nexus between child migration and education as well as issues of academic performance of children have also been explored.

Actors

The issue of child migration is a complex one and inevitably involves a wide range of stakeholders at their places of origin and destination. Nonetheless, the actors involved in this study include child migrants, their parents/households, members of communities in which they live as well as their destination communities. As the study involves the educational progression of migrant children, educational authorities; including the Ministry of Education, the Ghana Education Service, the Bongo District Assembly, Headteachers and classroom teachers in whose schools and jurisdictions the study was conducted, were crucial actors. Other government agencies such as the Department of Social Welfare, the Ghana Police Service and

the Centre for Migration Studies at the University of Ghana-Legon, constituted important actors in the study. Further actors included agencies and NGOs whose work had a bearing on the phenomenon of child migration. As such country offices of UNICEF, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and local NGOs such as AfriKids in Bolgatanga, were involved in the study.

4.11 Limitations of the study

Although the objective of this study has been largely attained, expanding the target sample beyond children could have yielded deeper experiences and insights. For instance, some of the migrants I met, with rich experiences on the phenomenon of migration and migrated when they were children, were above the age of 18 years and could thus not be included in the sample. Broadening the sample to include young adults who migrated when they were children, could have solicited such valuable experiences and enhanced the understanding of the phenomenon of child migration. Perhaps, a longitudinal study involving young adults could have been more appropraite at soliciting such rich experiences for the study.

Furthermore, as information gathering is a crucial process in any research, I was very careful and meticulous during the process, especially during interviews for qualitative data. This is because the study involved seven main categories of stakeholders (see table 4.2) with many, especially the scheduled officers of government agencies and NGOs, having very busy schedules. Appointments for interviews made with some of these officials had to be postponed to other dates due to intervening activities that required them to travel out of their work places. In a particular case, it was not possible to gather primary data from one NGO (the Assemblies of God Relief and Development Services - AGREDS). This was because after meetings with programme officers and submitting two letters (one during the first and another during the second phases of the field work) with an attached copy of the interview guide, it was still not possible to grant me audience for reasons of busy schedules. I could therefore not obtain primary data through interviews from them. I therefore had to rely on secondary data from their website and other documents I obtained from their office and website. Notwithstanding all the above limitations, information gathered within the limited time frame represent, to a large measure, the true situation of child migration on the ground.

The study employed methods of data collection (purposive, snowball, stratified and simple random sampling) which have in-built biases and weaknesses in them, which could inadvertently influence the outcomes and conclusions arrived at. This challenge was minimised to its barest by being meticulous and systematic in the application of the methods in the course of sampling, data collection, analysis and interpretation.

Moreover, notwithstanding the advantages of using the questionnaire as a tool to collect data, it is inherent with some limitations with the propensity to negatively affect the research if not carefully handled. For instance, because in most cases questionnaires are filled by the respondents, in the absence of the researcher, it is difficult to ascertain if respondent children who have been carefully selected for the purpose of the survey are those who actually fill the questionnaires (Bryman, 2012). This problem was, however, circumvented in this study as the items on the questionnaires were well explained to the children. Therefore, it was easy for them to fill out at their convenient time. The teachers in the schools were very helpful in selecting as well as retrieving the questionnaires from the school children after they had finished filling them. This retrieval also helped address the limitation of questionnaires as having low response rate, especially of mailed questionnaire (Bryman, 2012). However, children who were absent from schools on the days when the questionnaires were administered could not be part of the exercise.

4.12 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the philosophical orientations in conducting research by contrasting interpretivism and positivism, while making the case for pragmatism as an orientation that builds on the strengths of both positivism and interpretivism in generating knowledge. Furthermore, the justification for the choice of a mixed method is discussed and the process involved in the study, clearly explained. The study population, sampling and sample, data collection and management are all discussed while issues of ethical concerns have been addressed. Finally, the likely limitations and how they were circumvented have also been duly explained.

CHAPTER FIVE: MOTIVATION AND DECISION MAKING IN CHILD MIGRATION

In this chapter, I present the findings from interviews, discussions, observations and questionnaire on motivations and decision making in child migration. The main issues presented are the things that motivate children to migrate and how decisions to migration are made in order for children to move from the north to the south of Ghana. These findings are mainly through both qualitative and quantitative analysis, using emerging themes from the qualitative data and grouping responses on the questionnaire, through factor analysis, with the quantitative data.

Children in Bongo district are motivated by a combination of circuitous and proximate conditions which positively or negatively influence them to migrate. The negative circuitous motivations include unfavourable climatic or environmental conditions, increasing population density, unfavourable land tenure arrangement, rudimentary practice of farming as a means of livelihood and poor quality of schools in the district. On the other hand, perceived job and educational opportunities in urban settlements, hometown based networks and good infrastructural facilities serve to attract children to migrate out of the district to urban destinations. Whereas these circuitous conditions serve to remotely motivate children to migrate, household or parental poverty, poor school conditions, death of parent (s) and peer influence negatively as well as proximately push children to migrate. Furthermore, the lifestyles of returnees, ease of communication and perceived availability of paid jobs in urban areas, combine to proximately pull children to migrate to Accra.

The process of child migration decision making is influenced by a combination of actors and conditions. Although children are eventually seen to be moving, the decision to migrate emanate from a complex mix of influences by individual migrant children, the parents or households of children and the communities in which children live. The degree of involvement of the actors in the decision making process, determines (to a large extent) whether it was unilateral, consultative or an imposition on children to migrate.

5.1 Motivations

In general terms, motivation refers to a driving force that compels or reinforces an action toward a desired goal. It is the main driving force for human action or inaction and therefore plays a crucial role in the process of migration. Children are motivated to migrate through a complex mix of factors (intrinsic and external to the individual children) prevailing, both at their places of origin and destination. Whereas intrinsic motivational factors are within the remits of children, external motivational factors are circuitous and affect broader segments of the community, which (in the long run) remotely affect children. These external and circuitous factors range from environmental conditions, cultural practices, to differences in the spatio-socio-economic developments of different regions in Ghana. For instance, unpredictable rainfall, reduction in soil fertility and increasing population have been identified to predispose people in northern Ghana to migrate (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011:25; Mitchell, 2011:2; Dietz and Millar, 1999; and Awumbila, 1997). Furthermore, parental poverty (Kwankye et al, 2007; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011, Hashim, 2007; Mohammed and Apusigah, 2005), unfavourable cultural practices (Beauchamin, 1999) and the pursuit of education or the lack of it, have all contributed to motivate people from northern Ghana to migrate.

Data collected during fieldwork, through interviews with child migrants and other stakeholders in Bongo district, show that children are motivated to migrate by a complex mix of circuitous and proximate conditions. These conditions in turn exert negative and positive influences on children in the district and motivate them to migrate. The responses of child migrants, parents and other stakeholders on motivations for child migration during in-depth interviews are summarised in table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Motivations of child migration

Motivations	Negative/Push	Positive/Pull
Circuitous	. Unfavourable climatic conditions . Reducing rainfall amount . Untimely rainfall distribution .Reducing land holding due to increase in family size . Unfavourable land tenure arrangement . Rudimentary farming practices . Poor school quality	. Urban opportunities . Available non agricultural paid jobs . Modern lifestyles . Language skills . Good infrastructure facilities . Roads, water and sanitation, electricity* . Home town based networks . Good quality schools
Proximate	. Household/Parental poverty . Lean season . Inadequate disposable / pocket money . Poor academic performance . Death of parent (s) . Peer influence	. Lifestyle of returnees . Clothing . Appearance . Manners . Additional language skills . Investments . Testimonies/stories about life in the city . Ease in communication Perceptions on . Availability of paid jobs . Abundance of food

Source: Field data, 2013

As seen in table 5.1, children are motivated by both circuitous and proximate reasons, which either push or pull them to migrate from Bongo district to Accra.

5.1.1 Circuitous motivations

Circuitous motivations include conditions that are remote but which act to either push or pull children to migrate from their localities. These conditions are external and remote from the personal realms of children who have little or no influence on such conditions. In a study on how farmers in the Upper East Region of Ghana cope with threats of desertification, Owusu (2012) observed soil depletion, erosion, declining soil yield, use of marginal lands, reduction of fallow period, shortage and rising food prices, and out-migration as dominant features of the region. Similarly, Mohammed and Apusiga (2005), in a baseline study on human trafficking and forced labour in three districts in northern Ghana (including Bongo district), identified harsh weather and other environmental conditions, among the reasons why people in Bongo district migrate (p.45). This study, likewise identifies circuitous motivations as conditions prevailing in the origin communities of children, which push or compel them as well as conditions in potential destinations that attract or pull children to migrate.

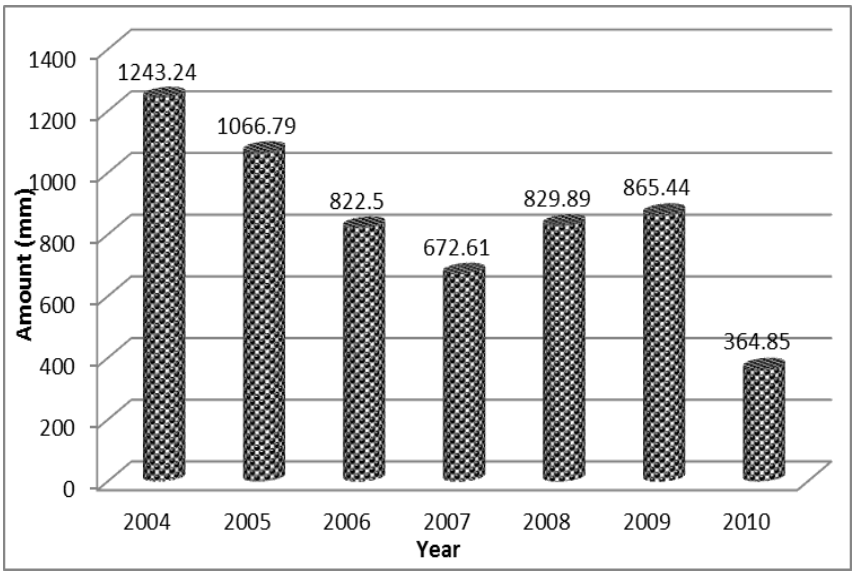
5.1.1.1 Circuitous push motivations

The circuitous push/negative factors (see table 5.1) include: unfavourable climatic conditions, reducing land holdings and unfavourable land tenure arrangement. It however, did not identify shocks, in the form of natural disasters and conflicts as envisioned in the conceptual framework, to motivate children to migrate. Although these identified circuitous factors do not affect children directly, they pose serious livelihood challenges (especially to their parents and guardians) and thus make the home conditions unattractive and difficult for children, which eventually lead to migration.

Unfavourable climatic conditions

Although reliable rainfall data in the district is scant, trend in rainfall amount in the three northern regions of Ghana (of which Bongo district is part) has been reducing. For instance, the annual average amount of rainfall in the three regions reduced by 878.39mm (from 1,243.24mm to *364.*85mm*)* within a period of 6 years (Ziem, 2012). This trend in rainfall is presented in figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Rainfall trend in Northern Ghana

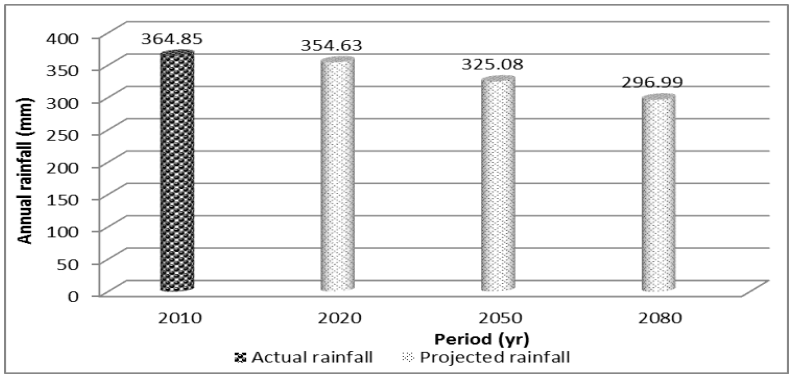


Source: Own illustration from Ziem, 2012

As shown in figure 5.1, annual rainfall in northern Ghana, decreased steadily between 2004 and 2007. However, it increased in 2008 and 2009, and dived further thereafter, to 364.85mm in 2010. Although this trend seem convincing, care must be taken not to generalise as the period (2004 to 2010) is rather too short for any meso or macro level confirmation in climate change. More data needs to be obtained (although currently unavailable) to confirm this assertion. Nevertheless, this consistent reduction in rainfall amount is of great concern as 93% of the population in Bongo district practice rain fed agriculture. Consequently, the reduction could lead to out-migration of not only adults, but also children, as a concomitant livelihood strategy.

This downward trend in rainfall has been predicted by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to decrease on average by 2.8%, 10.9% and 18.6% by 2020, 2050 and 2080 respectively, in all agro-ecological zones in Ghana (EPA, 2007:7–8; citied in Brown and Crawford, 2008:23). Following these projections, rainfall in Northern Ghana is expected to reduce to 297mm by 2080 (see figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Projected rainfall trend in Northern Ghana



Source: Own illustration from EPA (2007:7)

As shown in figure 5.2, annual rainfall in Bongo distrct (located within the region) is likely to decrease consistently from from 365mm in 2010, 355mm in 2020 to 297mm in 2080, which has enormous implications for rain fed agriculture in the district.

In addition, with a mean monthly temperature of about 21^0C, which sometimes climaxes at 40^0C in March (see section 3.1.1), evapotranspiration is very favourable, resulting in short duration for farming, which is the main economic and livelihood activity of the people. Evapotranspiration is a combination of evaporation (usually from land and water bodies) and transpiration (mainly from plants). Evaporation alone is estimated to be 168mm per annum in the district (BDMTDP, 2010), implying great loss of water for farming and other purposes.

Besides reduction in the amount of rainfall, high temperature and evapotranspiration, the timing and distribution of the rainfall is increasingly of great concern for socio-economic activities

in the district. The following concern was raised in a community discussion:

> When we were young, the rains were starting in March or early April, but this time, it is no longer like that. These days it begins to rain from April. Sometimes late April or even in May, and that is not good at all for us (Community discussion, November 30, 2011).

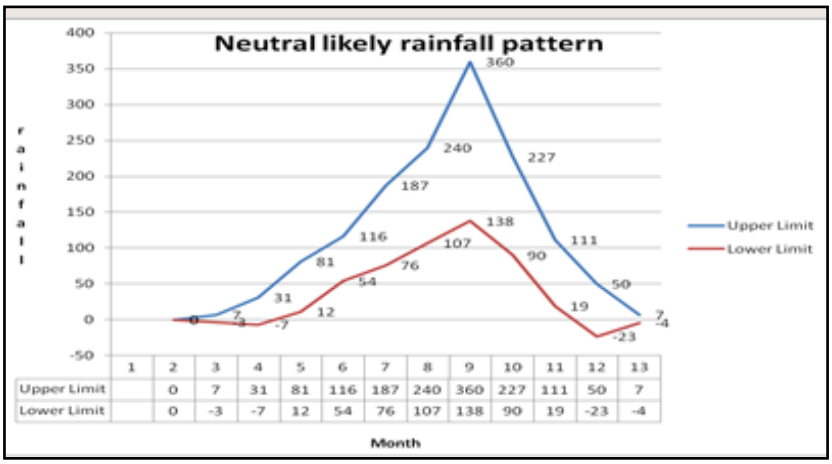
Similar lamentation was made by a parent of a child migrant in the following:

> These days, the rains are failing us. It does not come early (it comes late April or May) so we cannot do much. Our farming depends on the rain, so if it does not come early, we can't do anything. We only have to wait and be praying. It is affecting our work very seriously (Interview with Anthony Atanga, parent, November 10, 2011).

It is evident from the concerns raised during the interview and community discussion, that the issue of rainfall does not only boarder on the amount, but also on how it is distributed. This seems to confirm the observation of Owusu (2012:320), that rainfall in the Upper East region is erratic and thus encourages out migration. When rainfall is distributed fairly within the year, farmers are able to make good use of the rain water for farming. On the other hand, when the amount is rained within few months, only crops with short maturity can be cultivated, especially as the rain water is not adequately harvested and stored for use during the dry season. It is worth acknowledging however, that although an irrigation scheme at Vea (see section 3.1.1) is serving a very good purpose of harnessing the rain water for dry season farming, it is still not enough to serve all the farming communities and farm lands in the district.

Furthermore, available data from the directorate of the Meteorological Department of the Upper East Region show the distribution of rainfall for Bongo district, alongside Bolgatanga Municipality and Tongo district in figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: Natural year likely rainfall pattern for Bolgatanga, Bongo and Tongo

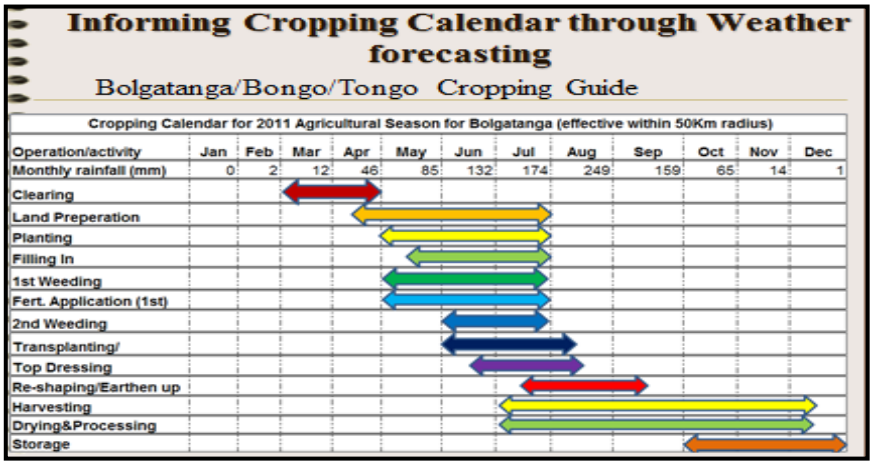


Source: Eledi (2009)

As shown in figure 5.3, although the natural likely pattern of rainfall in the district appears to cover many months than expressed by respondents in the interview and discussion, it is still nonetheless, synonymous with the timing of the on-set of rains in the district. For instance, the lower limit of the likely onset of rain is in May, with 12mm while the period from January to April is likely not to experience rainfall. September is the month with the highest likely amount of rainfall of 360mm, which is also consistent with the EPA value of 364.86mm (see figure 5.2). It appears therefore, that the late onset of rain, as asserted by respondents, is consistent with the data from the Meteorological agency and impacts unfavourably on farming in the district.

Moreover, available statistics from the Plan Co-ordinating Unit and the Department of Agriculture at the District Assembly, estimates 70 - rainy days with rainfall, ranging between 600mm and 1400mm in a year. In other words, the rains fall heavily within short periods of time which sometimes results in flooding of farmlands, but dries up soon after the short rainy season. This implies that, farming is possible and organised within the short period when there is rain with the cultivation of early maturing varieties of crops. Therefore, farmers spend the nine months of dry season, when there is no rainfall, to prepare the land for the next rains and farming season (see figure 5.4), resulting in idleness and consumption of the harvest from the previous season.

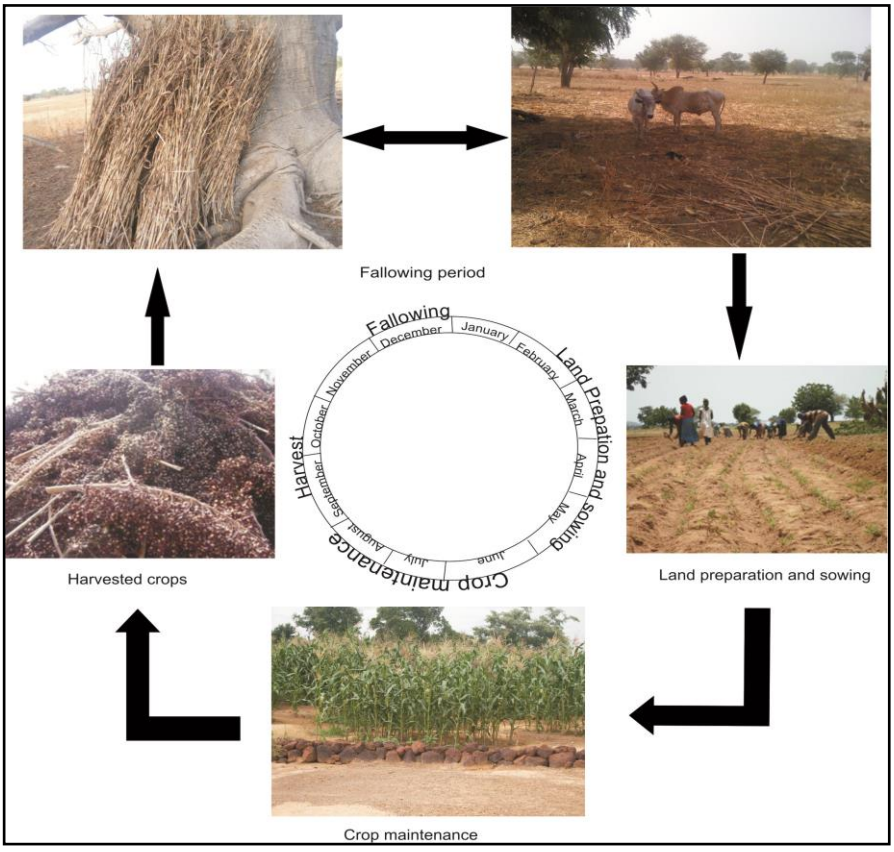
Figure 5.4: Proposed cropping calendar for Bolgatanga, Bongo and Tongo



Source: Eledi (2009)

As can be seen in figure 5.4, the main farming activities of planting, weeding and fertilizer application are done within the period from May to July while harvesting, drying, processing and storage are done from July to December. This suggests that effective farming is done within the three months of rainfall while the remaining months are used for other activities. Furthermore, discussions with the communities resulted in the cycle of cropping in the district is shown in figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5: Crop cycle in Bongo



Source: Adapted from Tamanja, 2012

As shown in figure 5.5, cropping begins with land preparation, sowing, crop maintenance and harvesting. In between the period of harvesting and preparation of the land is a period of inactivity, also known as the fallow period. The fallow period ranges from October to March when there is no rainfall and farmers wait for the onset of rain. This is followed with a period of land preparation, although with overlaps, and sowing of crops. Moreover, crops are maintained through weeding, fertilizer application and protection from animals and pests. This phase leads to a period where the crops are harvested, depending on the period and nature of maturity of the crops. Most of the crops (maize, millet, beans, peas, etc) mature within three months and are harvested from August to October, depending on when they were sowed. This period feeds into the dry season where farmers wait until the onset of rain in April or May. However, the period between crop maintenance and harvest, coincides with a period of food shortage, known as the lean season.

The lean or hunger season refers to a period within the crop cycle when harvest is not yet due but food stocks of households have been exhausted (Tamanja, 2012:16), subjecting the people to great difficulty in taking care of their children. The following concerns emerged during a discussion with community leaders on the lean season.

> We have the 'lean' or 'hunger' season here. During that time many families cannot get food to eat and feed their children, so some of the children will go wherever they can get food. The lean season may even begin next month (January, as the discussion was in December), but it is usually serious from June-July to August-September. This is the period when the seeds have been sowed but the crops are not yet ready or matured for harvest. It is really a difficult period for us in this area (Discussion with community leaders in Namoo, December 5, 2011).

Although the months of June and July were mentioned as the onset of the lean season, it appears not fixed and can begin in April through to September (Decker, 2008), compelling families to innovate means of coping and survival. The challenges during the lean season undoubtedly, serve to catalyse child migration from the district to other places where they can get food.

Besides crop farming, animals are reared to supplement incomes and food requirements of families. The following response during a community discussion elucidates the nature and importance of rearing animals in the area.

> The people here rear animals to supplement the crops that we farm. The animals include cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, fowls and guinea fowls. These animals are often not confined. It is only during the cropping season that we confine them, to prevent them from destroying the crops. We sell these animals to supplement our income, especially during the lean season, when foodstuffs are low or when we run out of foodstuffs (Local leader, in a discussion, November 30, 2011).

Rearing of animals is an integral part of farming and livelihood among the people in the district and as explained during the discussion, these animals are often not confined, except during the cropping and maintenance periods, when they are confined as a preventive measure against destruction of crops. Besides supplementing household income and the incomes of adults, animals are sold to raise money for fare by children who want to migrate but do not have the required fare

Population and family size

Population is an important factor in determining the amount of land that is accessible for farming in the district. This stems from the fact that, land is fixed and changes in the population influences the density and thus amount of cultivable land, since 93% of the population in the district are farmers. As discussed in section 3.1.3 of chapter 3, the district is predominantly rural (93.9%) with the inhabitants, living in about 15,188 households and an average of 5.5 persons per household. Although the household size is smaller than the average for the region (5.8), it is nonetheless higher than the national average of 4.4 per household. However, a combination of observation and discussions during data collection reveal that, the actual household size in the district is more than the 5.5 persons, as contained in the 2010 PHC report. For instance a survey by the Plan Co-ordinating Unit of the District Assembly in 2008 established an average household size of 9.1 persons per household, with some households numbering as many as 10.7 members (see table 5.2).

Table 5. 2: Household size in Bongo district

No	Area Council	Household Size
1	Bongo Town Council	8.1
2.	Balungu Area Council	8.7
3.	Soe Area Council	7.8
4.	Beo Area Council	10.3
5.	Valley Zone Area Council	10.7
6.	Zorko Area Council	9.4
7.	Namoo Area Council	8.5

Source: BDMTDP (2010 – 2013)

As seen in table 5.2, households in the district are generally large, especially in Valley Zone Area Council, with the least being in Bongo Town Council. The figures in table 5.2 corroborate responses during a community discussion in the following narration.

> Generally, the sizes of our households here are large, about 9 or 10 people. Many people [men] here have between 1 and 3 wives. So, the family sizes are large but now, because conditions of living are hard and everything is difficult these days, people are looking again at themselves and some are now having one or two wives. If you give birth to the children, these days, it is difficult to take care of them and the animals are not also there as before, to use as dowry (Community discussion, November 30, 2011).

It is obvious from the statement, that households are large with polygamous families, with some men married to more than one wife. Nevertheless, difficult economic circumstances seem to compel people (particularly men) to reduce the number of wives and thus the household size. This observation is consistent with the relative small household size for Bongo Town Council, since Bongo is the capital of the district, and is relatively more urban than other settlements in the district.

The large household sizes have implications for economic activities, poverty and migration because with the large sizes in a predominantly rural area, where agriculture is the main economic activity, there is pressure on the land and the amount of land available for individuals and households for farming (see chapter 3.1.3).

Land tenure and livelihood

The high population density, coupled with the large household sizes in the district, have strong bearing on the amount of access to land for farming and other activities. However, land acquisition is organised within the context of cultural practices in the area. Although land is owned by Tindaanas (local leaders who commune with the spirits of the land), access and usage of land is through families and households and this is usually, the piece of land surrounding the compounds in which the families live. Therefore, farming is organised around the house. The farther away a family resides from other families, the more land it controls and can farm on. This practice results in the dispersed pattern of settlement, where houses are scattered and separated by farmlands. The following response in a community discussion explains the nature of land tenure and farming practice in the district.

> Here, we farm on the plots of land surrounding our compounds. This means that the sizes of the farms depend on the sizes of the compounds. Families with large compounds have large farms while those with small compounds have small farms. The average size of a farm is between one and three acres of land, depending on where the family lives. If you live close to others, then your plot will be small, but if you live far away from other families, then you can make a large farm because the size of the land for you is also big…The people here cultivate mainly maize, millet, rice, guinea corn, pepper, okro and beans. The techniques we use depend on the ability of the individual farmers. Because our farm lands are small and we don't have money. Many of us use 'manpower' - the hoe and cutlass. Others use bullocks to plough, but those who can afford use tractors to plough, which is faster than the 'manpower'. But because of poverty, many of us use the 'manpower' which is making us grow old early (A community leader in a discussion, November 30, 2011).

It is clear from this response, that farming is organised around the compounds of families, using mainly, rudimentary tools of hoes and cutlasses. Although farmers are aware of the advantages of using the tractor to plough instead of the hoe and cutlass, they are constrained by the cost implications, mainly because of their levels of poverty. Further experience of a parent during an in-depth interview corroborates the observations in the community discussion as follows.

> I do not use tractor in farming because it is expensive, but I use bullocks. We do 'around the house' farming. We don't go to the bush and farm. So at times, even to get the land to do enough farming, you wouldn't get the land. You are limited to the plot of land that is around your house. In the past, it was about 5 acres but now it is just about 3 acres because as the family is growing, the land for farming reduces (Interview with Anthony Atanga - parent, December 10, 2011). See appendix 6h for transript of this interview.

The rudimentary farming practice, small and reducing farm sizes as explained in these quotations, have serious implications and thus household poverty. This is further compounded by unfavourable climatic conditions of erratic and reducing rainfall, thereby reducing crop yield and the ability of parents to provide the needs of their children.

Furthermore, the district - as with many other districts in the region - is predominantly patrilineal in inheritance. This implies, women have no title to land, but serve as farm labour in support to their husbands on the farms. As such, in the event of the demise of a husband, the land is inherited in turn by the surviving brothers of the deceased until the last brother, before getting to the turn of the sons (Nabila, 1974: cited in Anarfi and Appiah, 2009:55). Therefore, with the gradual permeation of urbanisation and weakening of traditional values and support systems, the death of a father fractures (Gurung, 2000) the existing relations in the family and impoverishes the widow as well as the orphans, compelling children to migrate. A widow (Apaglabero), who has the sole responsibility of taking care of her seven children after the death of her husband, shared her experience in the following narration.

> I have travelled to Bawku before. I went there to work in a chop bar. I spent three months there and used the money to buy food for my children. They were under the care of my first daughter - Mary. I had to travel because after the death of my husband, there was nothing at that particular time of the year for me to use in feeding the children, and I could not also be sitting with them and seeing them die of hunger. There was some small food in the house, so I asked Mary who was a little grown, to use that in feeding her sisters and then I went to get something to add [supplement the foodstuffs]. Whilst there, I was visiting them and bringing small, small food to them and waiting for the harvest of our crops here. I came back after the three months and by then it was time for us to harvest our crops. I am lucky my late husband's people have not collected the land from me and my children. They say I should use it to farm and feed the children because they also have their plots around their compounds and they cannot take care of me and the children…Apart from the farming, I also sell yam at Yelwongu (a across border village in Burkina Faso) market. I just returned from there this afternoon after selling some few tubers of yam. It is not my own business but I help someone to sell. The person only gives me small, small money for helping her. She also comes from my home village (Daboye). It is around Kongo. She goes to Techiman to bring the yam for us to sell. When I help her to sell on a market day, she gives me 50,000.00 cedis (GH¢5). Attis (my first born) travelled about five years ago to Accra. He travelled because there was no one to take care of him here. He stopped school in P5 and travelled because the father died and he didn't have anybody to take care of him. He has been sending money to me, when I don't have anything on me and I tell him (Interview with Apaglabero Avuo – Mother of a child migrant - on November 9, 2011). See appendix 6i for transript of this interview.

From this narration, Apaglabero appears fortunate to be allowed by her deceased husband's brothers to cultivate the land in order to take care of herself and her children. Nevertheless, she had to migrate to Bawku (a town in the UER) at the initial stages of her widowhood, to work in order to earn money to supplement the food requirement of the family. Besides farming, she also engages her time and efforts at helping to sell yam in a market located in a nearby village across the border in Burkina Faso, for a commission. The periodic cycle of market days in the UER is three days. In other words, every three days is a market day in settlements with markets in the district. Therefore, with a commission of GH¢5 per market day, she is able to end GH¢50 in a month, which she uses to supplement the family income. Furthermore, her first born son (17 years old Attis) who had to drop out of school when he was in class five (P 5) to migrate to Accra after the death of his father, also helps her through remittances to supplement her income for the upkeep of the family.

Although Apaglabero considers herself lucky to be allowed to cultivate the land of her deceased husband, Attis had to migrate because of the circumstances of the family. Several children in the district are motivated by similar culture related reasons and death of a parent to migrate. This finding is similar to that of Hashim (2007) on the reasons for migration of Kusasi children to Kumasi and other forest areas in the Ashanti region.

Poor school conditions

School conditions have a strong influence, not only on pupils and teachers but also, on parents and the entire community in which the school is located. Schools with good conditions, facilities and favourable environments promote effective teaching and learning while those without favourable conditions result in poor learning outcomes.

Conditions of schools in Bongo district, as with deprived rural districts in Ghana, are generally poor (Hashim, 2009). Although, almost all the 46 public JHSs in the district have classroom blocks for teaching and learning, it was observed that furniture in the form of writing desks for pupils in remote schools was inadequate, resulting in two to three children pairing a desk meant for one child. A headteacher admitted in an interview with the following.

> When I came here, there were no dual desks. We were using those in the primary school which were too small for the students. So I wrote to the District Assembly and they supplied us with 25 pieces of dual desks and then this year too, another 25. The furniture situation is very bad. Because we are using some of their furniture, P1 to P3 and some P4 children are sitting on the floor. No furniture for them, so it is really very bad. Another problem is that, some of the children are very careless and break the desks we give to them, and when the furniture breaks, we don't have carpenters to repair and fix them. So it reduces the number that we have and makes the situation worse (Interview with Headteacher of Boku D/A JHS, December 1, 2011).

Notwithstanding efforts to ensure adequate supply of writing desks in all schools by the government through the District Assembly, a combined effect of frequent breakdown and poor maintenance, results in the inadequacy and thus "crowding" of pupils on desks. This is evident in the narration above, where the Headteacher blames school children for carelessness. This is unfortunately interesting, because the JHS system is aimed at equipping children with technical skills. Therefore, schools are given tools for demonstration lessons, and those tools and expertise should have been used to maintain the furniture. However, it appears to be otherwise and thus perpetuates the problem in schools. An official each at the Directorate of Education and the Plan Coordinating Unit of the District Assembly, admitted the inadequacy of furniture but assured that efforts were being made to ensure that, all schools in the district are provided with adequate furniture for effective teaching and learning.

Furthermore, the issue of conducive learning environment goes beyond adequacy of furniture to include textbooks and other teaching and learning materials. In almost all 10 schools involved in the study, inadequacy of teaching and learning materials was a major challenge to effective teaching and learning. Responses from all the headteachers and classroom teachers were unanimous on inadequacy of teaching and learning materials in their schools. For instance, a headteacher lamented with the following; *here, we don't even have our own books but have to rely on other schools for textbooks (interview with the Headteacher of Boku D/A JHS)*. Although students have access to textbooks, which they use in pairs during lessons, they are collected after lessons by teachers for safe keeping. The following narration by a teacher explicates the predicaments of teachers and how they manage with the situation of inadequate teaching and learning materials in the classroom.

> Because the textbooks (English Language Textbooks for JHS 3) are not enough for all of them, I put them in groups (sometimes 3 or 4 in a group) and give each group one textbook for them to read and do exercises in class. At the end of the lesson, I collect all the textbooks and lock them in the cupboard for safe keeping. If you don't do that, they will all get lost or be destroyed within a short time. For instance, the English Language Textbooks for JHS 3 are only 34 copies, but the students are 60, so what do you do? You have to find a way to ensure that they can all use them, but do not take them away or destroy them. It is not easy for us here (Interview with English Language teacher in Namoo D/A JHS, December 4, 2011).

This narration explains the difficulty teachers go through in managing large class sizes (60 in this instance) with inadequate teaching and learning materials, mostly textbooks.

Besides the inadequacy, teachers are very mindful of the possibility of textbooks getting destroyed or stolen by unscrupulous pupils. Therefore, restricted use and locking teaching and learning materials in cupboards is an effective strategy employed by teachers in schools to preserve and ensure their availability for future use. It is worth noting, that although inadequacy of teaching and learning materials is a widespread phenomenon, it was more acute in schools located in remote and rural areas than in schools near the district capital. This is probably due to laxity in supervision and attention in general, to schools in remote rural areas.

However, official statistics from the national level on the district, obtained at the directorate of education (see table 5.3), presents a contrasting picture of the situation of textbooks, seating and writing places in schools in the district.

Table 5. 3: Pedagogical tools in primary and JHS in Bongo district

School	No./Ratio	Textbooks		Seating Places	Writing places
		Core*	Other		
Primary	No.	25,268	40,686	13,016	13,242
	(Per Pupil)	(1.2)	(2.0)	(0.6)	(0.6)
JHS	No.	4,731	9,308	6,042	6,159
	(Per Pupil)	(0.7)	(1.4)	(0.9)	(0.9)
Total	No.	29,999	49,994	19,058	19,398
	(Per Pupil)	(1.1)	(1.8)	(0.7)	(0.7)

Source: Adapted from MOE/EMIS, 2010/2011

* Core subjects are Mathematics, English and Integrated/General Science

As shown in table 5.3, there appears to be adequate textbooks for pupils in primary and JHS schools in Bongo district, from the perspective of official national data. For instance, every pupil at the primary level of education in the district, has access to more than a textbook (1:1.2) while in the JHSs, the ratio is a pupil to 0.7 (1:0.7) core subject textbook. In other words, every group of 10 pupils have access to 12 textbooks in core subjects in primary schools while 10 pupils have access to 7 core subject textbooks in the JHSs. The ratio is higher with regards to none core subjects, of 1:2 and 1:1.4 for Primary and JHS respectively. Similar, ratios are observed with regards to seating and writing places as 1:0.6 in primary schools and 1:0.9 in the JHSs. In other words, 10 pupils in primary schools share 6 seating and writing places while 10 pupils share 9 seating and writing places in JHSs in the district.

However, comparing the official data with observations and responses from interviews reveals a contrast between the conditions in schools in the district. Official figures appear comforting and suggest favourable conditions in terms of furniture and textbooks, while the school level observations and interviews appear otherwise. The issue of concern then is the source of such disparities, since the national data is obtained by collating school and district level data. This could probably be due to imperfections in the distribution system and process, or misrepresentation of official data and ineffective supervision.

Teacher adequacy and supervision

A major but contentious issue regarding teaching and learning in schools in the district is the

issue of teachers and supervision. Teaching and learning is effective when teachers are adequate, trained and dedicated to their work in schools, and are in turn internally and externally regularly supervised. Official national data on teaching staff of schools in Bongo district, obtained from the Directorate of Education in the district (see table 5.4) is not bleak, but one of hope.

Table 5. 4: Table of enrolment and Pupil to Teacher Ratios in JHSs in Bongo district

S/NO.	NAME OF CIRCUIT	ENROLMENT	NO. OF TRAINED TRS	NO. OF UNTRAINEDTRS	TOTAL TEACHERS	PTTR	PTR
1	Central	1232	35	11	46	35: I	27: I
2	Central East	677	23	5	28	29: I	24: I
3	East	534	16	3	19	33: I	28: I
4	North	709	19	7	26	37: I	27: I
5	North East	430	11	3	14	39: I	31: I
6	North-North East	512	11	3	14	47: I	37: I
7	North-West	879	26	5	31	34: I	28: I
8	South	952	36	5	41	26: I	23: I
9	South East	689	22	7	29	31: I	24: I
10	West	925	26	6	32	36: I	29: I
	TOTAL	7539	225	55	280	34: I	27: I

PTR Pupil to Teacher Ratio PTTR Pupil to Trained Teacher Ratio
Source: GES/EMIS (2012/13), obtained from District Education Office

As can be seen in table 5.4, there are 7,539 pupils in all JHSs with 280 teachers in Bongo district. This means that, on the average, one teacher is assigned to 27 pupils in JHSs in the district. This ratio is higher than the national standard of 35 pupils to 1 teacher (ESP, 2010 – 2020). However, 19.6% of the 280 teachers in the JHSs are untrained, implying a Pupil to Trained Teacher Ratio (PTTR) of 34, instead of the 27. This ratio is still higher than the national standard of 35 pupils to 1 teacher in JHSs. Nevertheless, the ratios in four circuits are less than the national average. These circuits include the North, North-East, North-North-East and West circuits with ratios of 37:1, 39:1, 47:1 and 36:1 respectively.

Similarly, interviews with headteachers in schools in the district revealed adequacy of teachers and higher PTR and PTTR than the national standard ratio. The following are responses from interviews, on enrolment and staffing in some schools in the district.

> We have about 172 students in this school. The third year students are 60, second years 67 and the first years are 45. (JHS3=60, JHS 2= 67, JHS 1=45)…Currently, we are seven (7) teachers; six (6) trained, one (1) technical instructor and one (1) untrained who has just been employed (given his appointment letter just this month). So we are 8 now paid by the Government and we also have a volunteer teacher, then we have 2 youth employment teachers too. So we are 11 in all. If we were to run the double stream, we will need not less than 7 teachers but with the single stream we need 8 teachers, because we have introduced French. So the current staffing is ok for us (Headteacher, Namoo D/A JHS "A", December 1, 2011).
>
> In this school we have a total of 60 students in JHS. Therefore, on average there are 20 pupils in a class. On the aspect of teachers, we have four (4) trained teachers and three (3) untrained teachers with one (1) volunteer teacher (Headteacher, Boku D/A JHS, December 1, 2011).
>
> Enrolment in the JHS is 180. So the class size is 60 students in JHS 1, 60 in JHS 2 and then 60 in JHS 3. We have only 6 teachers. We are doing 8 subjects and so we should have been 8 teachers with each teacher teaching one (1) subject, but we are only 6, including me [the Headteacher]. All the teachers here are trained teachers (Headteacher, Namoo D/A JHS "B", December 1, 2011).

From these narrations of the Headteachers, there appears to be adequate teachers in the schools, although there are still some who are untrained (see table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Enrolment and pupil to teacher ratios

School	Enrolment	Teachers		PTR	PTTR
		Trained	Untrained		
Namoo D/A JHS "A"	172	6	5	16	29
Namoo D/A JHS "B"	180	6	-	30	30
Boku D/A JHS	60	4	4	8	15
Total	412	16	9	16:1	26:1

Source: Field data, 2012

As can be seen in table 5.5, all three schools have higher PTTR and PTR than the standard ratio of 35 pupils to 1 teacher. Nevertheless there are still as many as 9 untrained teachers, some of who are not paid. It is expected with this favourable ratio, that performance in the schools would have been very good, as each teacher has fewer than required number of pupils. However, this is not the case as pupils still perform below average. For instance, none of the candidates presented for the BECE in Namoo D/A JHS A, in 2009 and 2010 qualified to progress to SHS. Although various reasons have been suggested for the abysmal performance, low commitment and ineffective supervision appear to be the more likely explanatory reasons.

Supervision

Supervision is an essential component for ensuring good outcomes in any learning situation. For instance, effective supervision of instructors has been found to improve the quality of teaching and learning of pupils (Neagley and Evans, 1970). Not only is supervision a check on teachers, but it also reinforces learning through regular feedback from both teachers and learners. Supervision is done in the classroom, school, district, regional and national levels in the education system in Ghana. In a study of academic performance in some privately owned JHSs in Accra, Okyerefo et al (2011) found supervision of teachers as an essential factor for good academic performance. They found that pupils were supervised by teachers while the teachers themselves were supervised by their respective heads of departments, who were in turn supervised by proprietors of schools (p. 282). However, supervision in public schools is not as effective as required, although there are clear structures and processes of supervision.

In Ghana, basic schools within a district are grouped into smaller units, called educational circuits and assigned a supervisor who advices, supports and evaluates teaching and learning in the schools (MOE, 2002). Specifically, the Circuit Supervisor examines headteachers and teachers' records, examine pupils' exercise books, observe teachers teach, interpret educational policies to teachers, promote healthy school-community relations, organize in service training for the professional development of teachers, appraise the performance of headteachers and teachers, and recommend them for promotion, collate statistics on the schools in the circuit, and liaise between the school and the education directorate (p. 37). Circuit supervisors are provided with motor bikes to enhance mobility and effective supervision. Besides the Circuit Supervisor, Headteachers, Parent/Teacher Associations (PTA) and School Management Committees (SMC) at community and school levels are important actors in ensuring effective management and supervision of teaching and learning in schools. Furthermore, the Circuit Supervisors report and are coordinated by an Assistant/Deputy Director of Education at the District Education Office who is responsible for monitoring and supervision. Eventually the District Education Oversight Committee is the apex body with the responsibility of managing all issues of education in a district.

Bongo district is divided into ten (10) educational circuits (see appendix 5) with each circuit assigned a supervisor, who is provided a motor bike for ease of mobility, to visit schools in the circuit. Furthermore, the structure for monitoring and supervision as outlined in the preceding explanation, exist in the district. Although interaction with circuit supervisors indicate supervision is effective in schools, responses from parents point to the contrary. The following narration epitomises the views parents and community members have about delivery and management of education in the district.

> I have been the chairman of the PTA for three years .Our time was good. The teachers then were grown ups and were teaching, so the children here were doing well. But now as I am telling you, some of the boys are students and at the same time traders, so they don't respect the teachers. And the teachers too conduct themselves in such a way that, if you 'booze' and you go and you are teaching, how will the children respect you. I am no longer the PTA Chairman, but I see some of the problems. For example a student and a teacher chasing one girl. I didn't experience those things, but now those things are happening. The children don't have time to learn and the teachers too do not respect themselves. You can go to the school and if there are five teachers, maybe only one or 2 will not be boozed. The rest will all be boozed and it is always, not once (Interview with Dramani - parent, November 13, 2011).

It can be realised from this narration that misconduct in the form of alcoholism and amorous relationships between teachers and female pupils is a concern to parents, mainly because it breeds mistrust and loss of control over pupils in schools. Parents are of the opinion that the prevalence of such conditions is an indication of ineffective or laxity of supervision in schools. Other concerns were raised in the following narration.

> We have that problem all over, not only here (in this village). They are not teaching well but what can you do. There may be enough teachers in the schools, but the commitment of the teachers in the schools is not like before. They are not committed to their work. They will come to school but leave the children in the classrooms and be roaming in town. Others too will come and before you realise, I am going here to come back. That is what they do. It looks like they are not committed to their work. When we were attending school it wasn't like that… Children here don't pass because of the way they are brought up from the elementary school. They are not taught properly. Before they get to the JSS, what they are supposed to know and catch up, they don't know and that is the most problem that is causing the failure… I will say the teachers don't teach, and we have that problem all over. I have never seen a teacher being sanctioned because he doesn't teach. During our time, it wasn't so. When you are caught one day, your pay is deducted, but this time they don't do that, so they are free. I know we had a teacher here, he went down south, stayed for the whole term before he came and when they were questioning him he was rather giving the education officer tough time. You see, what did they do? They only said, ok, regional transfer, ok go. If it was our time, you will lose your pay, so the educational headquarters, the division there, the way they are handling the teachers now, they are encouraging them to do their own loose work. They don't sanction them. I remember when I completed middle school, I was a pupil teacher, but who are you. Even that time pupil teachers were teaching children and they were passing. I have most of my children [children I taught when I was a pupil teacher] who have graduated. At times they come to me, at times they even ask me. Why is it that the time we were teaching, the children were passing and they felt we didn't know anything, but now teachers from the colleges are teaching the children and they are not passing. I say it is the commitment, look they are not committed, so they wouldn't teach. You see, if they are really committed to their work and they are teaching, they will pass, but they won't do it. Most of the teachers are traders. How can a teacher be a trader? Today is a market day, they will leave school and go to the market. Now on market days if you are not in schools, are you teaching? So it is a big problem (Interview with Anthony Atanga - Parent, November 10, 2011). See appendix 6h for transcript of this interview

As expressed in the narration, parents attribute unfavourable learning conditions in schools in the district to teachers and ineffective monitoring and supervision. They blame lack of commitment of teachers and the laxity with educational authorities to sanction teachers as the causes of poor conditions of learning in schools in the district.

These concerns are not only akin to parents but to other individuals and organisations. A Ghana News Agency (GNA) report of Tuesday April 26, 2011 captured the concern by the Manager of an NGO, Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC) as complaining that, weak supervision of teachers in public schools has been identified as one of the major causes of fallen standards of education in northern Ghana. Accordingly, "most teachers knowing that they were not strictly supervised, do not either attend school regularly to teach or render poor teaching to the school children. That is affecting educational standards" (GNA, April 26, 2011).

These unfavourable conditions in schools therefore motivate children to migrate out of the district since they have no control of such conditions and are only victims of those circumstances.

5.1.1.2 Circuitous pull motivations

Generally, conditions of schools in Accra and other urban areas in Ghana are more conducive for leaning than those in rural and deprived areas. However, the ratio between teachers and pupils in Accra appears very similar to that prevailing in Bongo district. Available data on enrolment for JHSs in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly for 2011/12 academic year was 53,771 with 2,777 teachers. These figures give a PTR of 19 pupils to 1 teacher and 20 pupils to 1 trained teacher (MOE/EMIS, 2012). Although, the teacher to pupil ratios are similar to those in Bongo district, the same cannot be said about other conditions and performance. The following by a headmaster and a headmistress of JHSs in Accra summarise the conditions of schools and performance which attract children to want to migrate to schools in Accra.

> Children want to come here because we have adequate and dedicated teachers. Conditions of learning here are very conducive, so children want to come to this school, mainly because of good academic performance. They know that if they come here, they will perform well. In addition, they want to come because they know that they will get good and sound education (Interview with Headmistress of Our Lady of Assumption (OLAS) in Accra, November 7, 2011).
>
> On the average we have 40 to 45 pupils in a class, but when you go to some classes it is 50. But in other classes it is 39 or 40. On the average we take it at 45 pupils per class. Initially, there were 8 child migrants brought here, but they are now 6 because one has completed and one too has stopped coming to school. For the staffing, we don't have a problem. As at now, because of the high enrolment in the school. At first we were running shift with the JHS but it came to a time that there were 70 pupils in a class, but with the help of the Municipal Assembly, they have built a new block for the JSS. This is the only public school in the community [Medie]. TLMs are prepared by the teachers themselves. When we get the Capitation Grant, we use some of it to buy materials which the teachers need to prepare the TLMs, but for those [TLMs] that they cannot prepare by themselves; like the Mathematical sets, we buy them from the market (Interview with Headmaster of Medie Presbyterian School, Accra, November 8, 2011).

These narrations suggest that conditions of learning are relatively more conducive in schools in Accra. Therefore, children want to attend such schools where they stand better chance of doing well at the BECE and to progress to SHSs. Although the PTR in Medie JHS for instance, is lower (45:1) than the national average of 35:1 and that observed in Bongo district (27:1), teachers are managing well with the situation and children are performing well. TLMs are prepared by teachers with the help of the Capitation Grant (money given to all basic schools for miscellaneous cost) while those they are unable to prepare are purchased for use in schools.

Furthermore, dedication and commitments of teachers, as narrated by the Headmistress of OLAS, seem to play an important role at ensuring effective teaching and learning in schools. Commitments by teachers, suggest they are regular and punctual in school as well as in their classes and honour their lessons. This is in contrast with the responses of in-school origin child migrants (see table 5.) that teachers in their schools in Bongo district are not regular in school and in their classes.

Moreover, narrations from migrant children studying in schools in Accra, attest to the differences in conditions of learning in schools in Accra and those of their places of origin.

> This school is bigger than where I was before and the teachers are also teaching us well (Interview with 12 year old Julepoku in Accra, November 8, 2011).
>
> The school in our hometown was a small one, with a small compound. But here the school is big with a very big compound and there are more teachers here. They also teach us well (Interview with 15 year old JHS 3 Enesarfo in Accra, November 8, 2011).

These narrations from children appear consistent and corroborate those given by the heads of the schools about conditions of schools in Accra. Julepoku and Enesarfo respectively hail from Eastern and Ashanti regions of Ghana and admit that conditions of schools in Accra are better than those in their hometowns. These narrations were not different from those of migrant children from Bongo district who were studying in schools in Accra.

> There are few schools in our home town, but they are small small schools. I left there when I was in JHS 1. There were few teachers. I don't remember the total number, but they were not many. One teacher was teaching about 2 or more subjects. I have been here about 3 years. I came here in July 2009. Here, there are good facilities to learn, so it is better than our place. They have facilities like computers. There were no computers at our place. There are also more teachers here than our place. We have more textbooks here than there. The teachers here also teach more than there. Here they give us more assignments than at home. They give us many assignments on Fridays for the weekend but for the other days, two assignments a day (Interview with 17 year old Anabiisi in Accra, October 12, 2012). See appendix 6c for transcript of this interview.

From this narration, Anabiisi who comes from Bongo district admits that, besides adequacy of teachers, computers and textbooks are available and used in schools in Accra. He further admits being given more learning assignments than when he was in JHS in Bongo. These acts of giving assignments and ensuring that children understand and accomplish leaning tasks could perhaps be attributable to commitments and possible supervision of teachers in schools in Accra.

Besides schooling, children have high hopes of getting paid work when they migrate to Accra. This is mainly due to the general perceptions people, especially in Bongo district, have about Accra. During an informal discussion with a local community leader in the district, comments such as "*Accra is Ghana*" and "*one can make it big, only when you are in Accra*" were recurrent and seem to represent the thinking of many people in the area about Accra. Furthermore, responses from children that, there is nothing or no work to do here (as would be explained later) seem to confirm the perceptions people in the area (including children) have about job availability in Accra. Therefore, children have very positive perceptions about getting work to do in Accra.

In addition to these remote motivations, other conditions, proximate to children in the district are very essential in motivating them to migrate.

5.1.2 Proximate motivations

Motivations to migrate are not only external to the children involved in the movement, but a combination of circuitous and proximate motivations serve to push or pull children to migrate. Unlike circuitous motivations, proximate motivations are conditions that are immediate and directly push or pull children to migrate.

Proximate push motivations

Several factors act to directly and immediately push children to migrate from their homes and communities of origin. Studies on adult migration (Mohammed and Apusiga, 2005) and child migration (Hashim, 2009; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011; Beauchamin, 1999) have identified poverty, death of parents, and peer influence among others as factors pushing children to migrate. Similar conditions were identified from responses of child migrants through interviews to include, but not limited to, household/parental poverty, poor schooling outcomes, death of parent (s), perceptions and peer influence (see table 5.6).

As shown in table 5.6, parental poverty emerged as the dominant motivation for child migration. This was subsequently followed by peer influence, death of a parent, poor schooling outcomes and perceptions. It is worth noting however, that the motivations were not ordered by respondents as they appear in the table, but were extracted from responses from interviews with

migrant children.

Table 5.6: Proximate push motivations for child migration

	Proximate push motivations					
Respondents	Parental poverty	Peer influence	Death of parent	Poor schooling outcomes	Perceptions	Total
Child migrants	19	3	6	4	3	35
Head & Classroom teachers	7	5	2	1	3	18
Parents of child migrants	5	4	2	3	2	16
Community leaders	3	1	-	1	-	5
Expert/Official interviews	6	3	1	1	2	13
Total	40	16	11	10	10	87

Source: Own illustration from field data, 2014

Household/parental poverty

Although several factors act concurrently to push children to migrate, poverty (of parents and/or households) was identified as the main motivation for the migration of children in Bongo district. As such, it is difficult to isolate poverty from the other factors, because it is intricately linked to, and seem to underlie almost every other factor that motivates children to migrate. It emerged overwhelmingly, in every interview and discussion with all the categories of respondents in the study. As seen in table 5.6, poverty accounts for about half (40 out of the 87) of the responses. Furthermore, excerpts from responses on the motivations for child migration from interviews with different categories of respondents are presented in the following.

> The shortest answer is poverty. People cannot make ends meet, so the children are not fed properly. Because of that, they will like to travel outside, to see if they can get whatever they will get. Apart from poverty, there is no other reason why children travel out of this place. To me, it is because of the poverty, because apart from that what do the children do? They don't do anything (Interview with Anthony Atanga – parent in Namoo, November 10, 2011).
>
> The main reason why children migrate is poverty. The parents are not able to take care of them. That is why they travel. As you are sitting here, will you allow your children to travel to a place where they don't know? So it is poverty. If we don't have to give to them but they need the money, what will they do? They will go, even if it is difficult for them (Community discussion, November 30, 2011).
>
> I left because I wanted to get work that I will be able to do and get money. I was only helping my mother small, small in Boku and I wasn't getting any money from the compound farming. I wanted to be able to do work, get some money and help my mother back in the village (Child migrant - Lamisi in Accra, November 22, 2011).
>
> I would just say the underlying factor is poverty. I think that is a broad term, though. Many people always say it is poverty but there are other reasons (Programme Officer of AfriKids, NGO in Bolgatanga, November 29, 2011).
>
> If you know the trend of the north, we have a farming season and the off season. So after the farming season, virtually there is no economic activity that goes on and poverty is at its peak at that time. So most are just doing whatever they can, to survive. So it gets to a point that the child thinks he/she can take up the responsibility of taking care of the family and they can only do that when they travel down south to do menial jobs (Social Welfare Officer in Bongo, December 6, 2011).

It is obvious from these excerpts, that poverty is the overarching motivation of child migration in Bongo district. The nature of poverty described, refers to inability to meet the basic needs of

individuals and families. It focuses more on lack of money and food to feed one's family, as well as meeting the needs of children in school. This is consistent with the description of the district as "poverty stricken" by DISCAP (see 3.1.6). As indicated in the excerpts of the parent, community discussion and child migrant, getting food to feed the family throughout the year is a daunting task for parents. Parents during the community discussion, appear to justify the migration of children as they explained that "if we (parents) don't have to give to them, but they need the money, what will they do? They will go, even if it is difficult for them". Thus, children migrate as a copping strategy to survive the difficult conditions, often intensified during the lean season, as indicated by the Social Welfare Officer.

The lean season, although not fixed, begins in April through to September (Decker, 2008). It is a period within the crop cycle when harvest is not yet due but food stocks of households have been exhausted (Tamanja, 2012:16). This situation subjects the people in the area to severe hardship and difficulty in taking care of their children, which then push children to migrate. Although the influence of poverty on the motivation of children to migrate is overwhelming, other factors such as the influence of peers on motivation of children to migrate cannot be understated.

Peer influence

Influence of peers has strong bearing on the behaviour of children and motivations to migrate. In a baseline study on human trafficking and forced labour, Mohammed and Apusiga (2005:52) report of migration as a ritual in Bongo and its environs, where potential migrants are influenced and persuaded by friends to travel through seemingly palpable stories of returnees. Migration is therefore regarded as a way to acquire and taste good life as told by their peers.

In this study, peer influence (see table 5.6) was second to poverty (16 out of 87 responses) as motivating children to migrate. The following excerpts give further credence to the influence of peers as motivation for child migration.

> It is true that some children migrate because their friends have gone and come back with things to wear and so they also want to go and get those things. When they come to visit us (like during Christmas) they will be wearing nice clothing, so their colleagues will also want to go and get those things. If they stay here, they will not get money to buy such things (Community discussion in Namoo, November 30, 2011).
>
> I did not know Accra before, but the way I saw those people who returned from Accra behave, that made me think that Accra has everything. They had more money to spend anytime they came home, than those who did not travel and were living more like town guys and not villagers (Interview with Akobinire- Child Migrant in Accra, November 1, 2011).
>
> Some of them have seen their peers who have gone and they have come back, wearing Jeans and holding mobile phones and what not. So they see it to be all rosy. They all think that it is easy, and you will be able to get all those things when you go. I was once talking to the queen mother of this area, who said her daughter was persuading her to give her money to go down south but she sat her down and advised her not to go. But she (daughter) still went behind her and talked to her auntie who gave her money to go. When she went she was asked to be washing public toilet. She had not even seen this water closet (WC) in her life. So it was the friend who encouraged her to go. She saw it and thought it was a normal thing, until the friend explained to her what it was, and when she realized that it was toilet, she said no, she will not come and wash somebody's toilet. So she left and came back. So with such an example, I think is good for the others to learn (Interview with Social Welfare Officer in Bongo, December 6, 2011).

The narration of Akobinire, indicates that he was motivated by the manner in which returnees had more money than non-migrants, any time they visited home. This is not limited to Akobinire but akin to other children in the area. This was expressed in a community discussion and narration of the Social Welfare Officer, that when child migrants visit home, especially during Christmas, they wear nice clothing and hold mobile phones, which their non-migrant colleagues do not have. So they are motivated to also migrate in order to acquire such clothing as they will

be unable to acquire them if they do not migrate. They think everything is rosy and therefore are motivated to migrate in order to acquire such things.

Besides clothing and money, migrant children are able to acquire additional language skills and appear relatively more refined than their non-migrant counterparts. Especially, being able to speak Twi and Ga (the main Ghanaian languages spoken in Accra). For instance, in a discussion with in-school migrant children in a school, a term "*anti pui"*, was teasingly used to describe a non-migrant school child who impersonated as a migrant, to participate in the discussion. When I enquired the meaning, I was told it is a term used among the school children, to mean someone who understands only Guruni (the local language of the area) but does not understand or speak any other language. In other words, someone who has not travelled out of his/her origin community and does not speak any other language besides Guruni. This finding is similar to what Tacoli (2002:20) observed in a study on changing rural-urban interactions in sub-Saharan Africa, that young people in northeastern Nigeria who do not migrate at certain periods in their life, can be subjected to ridicule by their peers. Children are therefore motivated to migrate to experience and acquire modern lifestyles (including additional language skills), so that, they are not called or tagged villagers. Closely related to peer influence, is the perception children have about potential destinations.

Perceptions and misconceptions about destinations

The perceptions children have about potential destinations have a lot of influence on their motivations to migrate. Although such opinions may turn out to be unrealistic when they migrate, they nonetheless have significant influence on their motivations. As indicated in the narration of the Social Welfare Officer in the preceding discussion (insert), the queen mother's daughter returned after realising that, what she conceived of the destination was different from the reality, as she was confronted with cleaning a water closet (WC) toilet facility. In other words, she misconceived everything "*to be all rosy*" with migration, but her encounter with the reality compelled her to embark on a premature return to Bongo.

Nevertheless, 3 out of the 35 migrant children, and 10 out of the total (87) respondents in table 5.7, indicate that their migration was motivated by the perceptions they had about their destinations and urban life in general. These perceptions were however on two main issues; to be able to do menial jobs for pay to earn money, and have access to food as a way of escaping the unbearable conditions at home.

> When I stopped schooling, I was helping to load goats and sheep into Accra-bound trucks for a fee, but the money that I got from that work was small. I could make between 50 Pesewas and GH¢1.00 per day. That was difficult and not rewarding but those who came from Accra to buy those goats could buy as many as 15 goats. So I thought that if I travelled to Accra, I will be able to get a job, make some money and then also be able to go back to the village and buy goats and sheep on my own to sell here in Accra (Interview with 17 year old Akobinire in Accra, November 1, 2011).

The narration of Akobinire, indicates that he was earning up to GH¢1 at home, but seeing how traders from Accra could buy many goats, he thought he could also get a paid job in Accra to be able to trade in the animals to earn more money. Similar motivation was narrated by Lamisi that "*Because I wasn't doing anything at home, I thought that I will be able to get work in Accra. I heard it was better and one could easily get a job to do so that was why I came to Accra".* Furthermore, 16 year old Dakomasore who was in JHS in his home village but had travelled to Accra narrated that: *"This place is just a dry place. There is no money here and no work to do. So if you are, here you are just wasting your time".* However, as these children have no employable skills, they could only find themselves engaged in menial jobs with high likelihoods of exploitation and abuse.

Closely related to paid menial job is the perception of abundance of food in Accra and other urban destinations. Dakomasore narrated further that "*this place is not only dry but you can't even get food to eat, but there (Accra) you will always get something to eat".* This narration is consistent with those of a parent and in a community discussion (presented earlier) that children from the district migrate because their parents are unable to feed them. This situation

is further compounded with the death of a parent.

Death of parent(s)

Parenting or the lack of it, can be a motivating factor for child migration. Studies on child migration in Ghana (Beauchemin, 1999; Hashim, 2007; Whitehead et al, 2007 and Hashim & Thorsen, 2011) have found a relationship between family related challenges and child migration. Hashim and Thorsen (2011) for instance, found seven (7) Kusasi children who migrated from the Upper East of Ghana to the south for reasons of family neglect and/or not being cared for properly. Accordingly, many of these children were orphans or had lost their fathers (p.56).

In this study, 6 out of 35 migrant children interviewed (see table 5.6) admitted that their migration was motivated by the death of a parent. Furthermore, 11 out of the entire 87 respondents (table 5.6) interviewed identified death of a parent as a motivation for child migration. The following narrations typify the motivation to migrate emanating from the death of a parent.

> I am about 17 years old now. I was 11 years old when my father died. I left Namoo Boku when I was 13 years. That was after the death of my father. I was motivated to move because I could not get money to pay for cultural and sports fees in school, and I was sitting at home doing nothing. Like I said earlier, I needed help (I need money) to start my own work to support myself and my family. As the first born boy of the family and with the death of our father, I had no choice but to help my mother and my younger brother and sisters, so I had to move. Anytime I saw people from my village return from Accra with many items to sell and also give their parents and relatives money and things (items), I told myself why should I sit here at home and suffer and my mother, brothers and sisters also suffering? I should also go to Accra so that I can get some work (any work) to do, get money for myself and send some to my mother to take care of my brother and sisters. I left there [Namoo Boku] because I wanted to be able to take care of the family. The younger brothers and sisters are all attending school, so if I alone stop school and support the others, it is good for me (Interview with Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).
>
> Loss of parents is also a reason. I have some cases like that, a number of orphans. Especially if they are child headed families, it gets to a point that they can no longer take care of the brothers and sisters. So what they will do is just to leave and go, hoping that they will come back and better the lot of their younger brothers and sisters (Social Welfare Officer in Bongo, December 6, 2011). See appendix 6j for transcript of this interview

At a young age of 13 years, Attis knew he had the obligation to assume the role of a bread winner of the family, after his father died when he was only 11 years old. Although, the death of his father motivated him to migrate, it is clear from the narration that, seeing migrants return on visits with money and items for their families spurred him on to migrate as he had no choice but to help his mother and younger siblings. This is corroborated in the narration of the Social Welfare Officer that first born male children migrate in order to support in taking care of the brothers and sisters. This clearly elucidates the plight of children, especially first born male children, and how they react to such responsibilities by migrating. Attis was however optimistic of the education of his siblings and was prepared to do whatever was possible within his means, to support them. Although he was no longer hopeful of continuing his schooling because of the circumstances of the family, he was focused on supporting the education of his siblings and hopes they will perform well in school.

Educational motivations

Although poverty is often cited as the reason for child migration, educational reasons feature reasonably prominent in child migration literature as well as interactions with migrant children. The quest for education or lack of it, motivates both parents and children to migrate. Hashim and Thorsen (2011) consider paucity of learning opportunity as an often presented explanatory factor for children dropping out of school and migrating (p. 49). Furthermore in a study involving the migration of Kusasi children in the Upper East Region, Hashim (2007) reports that, almost one quarter (16 out of 70) of the children specifically moved for educational reasons (p. 919). In

this study, educational related motivations have been grouped into poor schooling outcome, accessing well-resourced schools and migration for money to meet the cost of education.

Poor schooling outcomes

Good performance in class and performing well at the end of the JHS (i.e. Basic Education Certificate Examination - BECE) is a motivation for children as well as support from their parents to stay in school or progress to the next level of education. However, children who are unable to perform well often migrate to seek alternative means of livelihood. Responses from interviews with 35 migrant children indicate that, 4 of them were motivated to migrate by poor schooling outcomes (see table 5.7). The following excerpts highlight the responses of children during the interviews.

> I have been here for seven months. I completed JHS 3 in 2009, but my results were not good for me to continue to the SHS level. I registered and wrote again in 2010, but I was still not able to pass. So I decided to come here to see if I can get some work to do, because I don't think I can continue schooling any longer (Interview with Abudu in Accra, November 7, 2011).
>
> I completed JHS 3 last year (2010) but my results were not good for me to continue to the SHS level. I got aggregate 42 which could not enable me go to the SHS. I did not register to write the exams again although other people wrote again, but I could not register. When I was in school we use to play football a lot. They could send us to Bolgatanga [the regional capital] and camp us for many days and then send us to Tamale and Wa to play football. So I did not have much interest in learning but rather in playing football (Interview with Mumuni in Accra, October 12, 2012).

As shown in the excerpts, Abudu and Mumuni both migrated because they completed JHS but could not pass the BECE that will enable them to progress to the SHS. Although Abudu wrote the examination again in 2010, after his failed attempt in 2009, he was still unable to get the required qualifying grades to progress. On the other hand, Mumuni did not try his luck after the first attempt in 2010. He admits he was not capable of passing, even if he tried again, because his interest was in playing football and explains how he use to represent the school, district and region (UER) in football competitions.

Besides football and involvement in other co-curricular activities, some children just do not have interest in schooling. I interviewed a 14 year old boy (Jaafa) in Accra, who admitted he did not find schooling interesting and wanted to taste life in Accra. Although Jaafa's parents could afford to meet the cost of his education, he appeared not to be interested in schooling. The following is the narration of his (Jaafa's) parents, when I traced to his village in Namoo, about their son's dislike for schooling.

> I first sent him to a private school in Bongo [I initially thought the school here was not effective] but the teachers were complaining [about the boy's attitude to learning]. That he was not regular in school. So I brought him here (when he finished P6) to continue at JSS here. So he came and joined JSS here, but the JSS was the worst. He will not attend school, you will see him roaming about, I will use my motor bike to chase him to school with a stick [cane] but it was the same complain from the teachers. So one day he just left. I don't know how he got his lorry fare or how he managed to get to Accra (Interview with Dramani, Father of Jaafa in Namoo, November 28, 2011)

Furthermore, an interview with the mother of Jaafa yielded the following response.

> I think Jaafa left this place without telling us because, as he didn't like going to school, we were not in very good terms with him. It was the same thing he did (when he was in P2) that made us send him to Bongo, with the hope that he will change. We even bought a bicycle for him, but we were getting many reports that he was always riding the bicycle carelessly and spoiling it. Then we will repair it and then he will spoil it again. We forced him until he got to P6. As for his father, he got fed up and wouldn't mind him again. The father became so angry and beat the child so much that he had to be advised to stop beating him, because the boy's behavior was not changing, and the beatings will not solve the situation either. I could also deny him food, oh, and people will come and plead with me to stop treating him that way. Anytime I denied him food, he would look very pitiful and remorseful and then change to behave like a good boy. When he behaves like that, then I will begin to give him food again (Interview with Mma Memuna - Mother of Jaafa in Namoo, November 28, 2011).

From these narrations, it is evident that Jaafa migrated because of dislike for schooling. The signs of dislike for schooling showed when he was 8 years and in Primary 2. The parents changed his school environment by sending him to a privately owned school in Bongo (the district capital) and buying a bicycle for him, but that did not change his interest for schooling. Other measures, such as beating and denial of food were only temporal but did not change his dislike for schooling. Although Jaafa told me in Accra that he had no interest in schooling, his father admitted in an interview in the village that, his (Jaafa's) behaviour got worst when he returned to attend JHS in the village. He (father) had to force him (sometimes with a cane) to go to school, until he migrated to Accra.

Conversely and desirous of education, other children migrate to Accra where they think they can access well-resourced schools.

Access well-resourced schools

Resourcefulness and teaching conditions in schools have strong bearing on the willingness or otherwise of learners to stay and learn. Generally, schools in rural areas can be under-resourced and teaching conditions poor, which may lead young people to migrate to access better-resourced schools (Bey, 2003; cited in Hashim and Thorsen, 2011: 50). In Ghana, conditions of learning in schools in urban areas are generally considered to be better than those in rural areas. Therefore, children in rural deprived areas are motivated to migrate in order to take advantage of such conditions in urban schools. Excerpts of narrations of two children on how they were motivated to migrate from Bongo district to Accra because of conditions in their schools are shown below.

> I think that, since here (Accra) is a big town, one can learn many things here than at home. There are good schools here with better facilities and accommodation than at home. I came here in July 2009 when I was 14 years old. Now I am 17 years and have completed JHS. I want to be able to continue with my education here. The schools there are not good, so I was happy to come here to get good schools to attend and to be able to continue my education (Interview with Anabiisi in Accra, October 24, 2012).
>
> I was thinking that I will come and attend school here. My auntie told me that she wanted to bring me here (Accra) to attend school. That was why I followed her and came here. I was happy because I will be able to come and stay with her and attend school. When I was there (at home - Tarongo), I was going to school but not every day. I was going to the farm and also helping my mother with her sewing work (Interview with Adalooro in Accra, October 24, 2012). See appendix 6d for transcript of this interview.

As shown in the excerpts, Anabiisi was motivated to migrate because of better resourced schools in Accra than his hometown in Bongo. He was therefore happy to have migrated to Accra to be able to continue with his education. Similarly, 16 year-old girl (Adalooro) who was in JHS 2 at the time of the interview, was happy to be schooling in Accra at the invitation of her Auntie, to live with her after the death of her mother. Adalooro narrates she was combining schooling in her home village of Tarongo with helping her mother in sewing as well as farm

work. These engagements prevented her from attending school every day. However, she had more time in Accra, because her Auntie did not engage her in any kind of work besides attending school.

Money for cost of education

Migration for money in order to meet the cost of education is not a new phenomenon in northern Ghana and Bongo district in particular. Whereas children who complete JHS migrate to work and raise money to buy prospective school items, miscellaneous and related costs at the SHS level (Hashim, 2009), others migrate while still in JHS to get money which they use as pocket money and also buy items they need to stay in school (Tamanja, 2012). Although basic education in Ghana is free, payment for miscellaneous items and pocket money to buy food during break time are borne by parents. While the cost is not much, at the level of basic education, it increases steadily as one progresses on the ladder of education. This phenomenon is necessitated because parents are unable to meet such cost, and children have to support themselves or supplement family resources to enable them stay and complete or progress to the next stage of education. The following narrations elucidate such motivation of in-school child migrants and those preparing to progress to SHS.

> I completed JHS 3 this year and got Aggregate 29. I qualify to go to SHS but could not get the money needed. That is why I am here to do work and get enough money, so that I can return to our village and go to SHS. There is nothing to do and no money at home. I was also expecting that I will be able to enjoy town life. I do not support my family back home now. I wanted to send some money to them but my father said I should save it for my school. I am saving everything that I get here. I think if I get GH¢ 1,000, that will be enough for me to go back home to continue schooling. I have GH¢210 now (Interview with Erambire in Accra, October 25, 2012).
>
> I am in JHS 2. I travelled because I wanted to get money and buy my school items like exercise books, pens, school bag, sandals, and school uniform (interview with 16 year old girl – Dinabire in Boku, December 1, 2011).
>
> I am in JHS 2. I was not doing anything and I didn't also know where I will be able to get money when school reopens. But I heard from my auntie and some of my colleagues in school, that you could work and get money in Kumasi. So I wanted to go there and also work and get the money to buy the things I need in school. When you are in school, other people will be having money to buy food during break time and also have nice bags and uniforms and you will not have anything (Interview with 17 year old girl- Badabatu, in Namoo, December 1, 2011). See appendix 6e for transcript of this interview.

As contained in the narrations, Erambire completed JHS and obtained aggregate 29, which could enable him progress to the SHS, but he had to migrate to raise money to meet the admission fees and miscellaneous costs. He had a target of GH¢1000.00, but was able to save GH¢210.00 at the time of the interview. He was however hopeful of raising the target amount before the beginning of the academic year, in order to enrol into a SHS. Although he understands the plight of the family and wanted to remit, his father encouraged him to save all his earnings. This suggests a cordial relationship between Erambire and his parents and their resolve to use migration as a means to raise money to meet the cost of his SHS education.

Similarly, Dinabire and Badabatu who were all still in JHS but migrated during end of year vacation, were motivated to earn money to use in school. The items children often need in school include exercise books, pens, school bags, sandals, and school uniform (narration of Danibire). Besides these items, children also need pocket money to buy food during break time. As narrated by Badabatu, the desire for descent appearance and money to buy food during break time in school is therefore the motivation for most of these children who are attending school in the district.

On the other hand, factor analysis of the responses on motivations from the questionnaire data, collected during a survey of in-school origin child migrants, reveal the

following in table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Rotated Component Matrix[a] on Motivations in child migration

Questionnaire items on motivation to migrate	Component		
	1	2	3
Migrated because of few teachers in the school	.673		
Migrated because teachers were not regular in school	.805		
Migrated because teachers in my school are not regular in class	.834		
I could not understand what I was taught in class	.794		
I fear being punished	.755		
I did not find schooling interesting	.769		
I could not get pocket money to buy food during break time			.703
I could not get money to buy items I need in schooling			.689
I could not get money to pay my school fees			.614
I could not get food to eat at home		.805	
My parents were beating me at home		.696	
My parents were forcing me to marry		.631	
My parent(s) died		.706	
Life in my village was boring		.570	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Equamax with Kaiser Normalization. a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

As shown in the table, the responses were extracted from principal components and rotated to converge on five (5) iterations. In other words, factor loadings of 0.5 or less, were not considered as they often cross loaded on the factors (components). Eventually, the items loaded on three components (1, 2 & 3) as motivating in-school origin child migration. A careful examination of the items that loaded on component 1 (I migrated because of few teachers, teachers not regular in school and in class, could not understand what I was taught in class, I fear being punished, and did not find schooling interesting), suggest that component 1 is school level factor. Likewise, items on home condition/factor loaded on component 2, while those on poverty loaded on component 3.

In other words, conditions in schools in the district were the main motivating factor, followed by home conditions and poverty, respectively for in-school child migration. This order is not consistent with the responses during the qualitative interviews (see table 5.6) where poverty was mentioned by 51% (40 out of 87) of all respondents during the qualitative phase, and 54% (19 out of 35) of child migrants, as the motivation for their migration.

This difference is to be expected, because the children who participated in the questionnaire survey were all in-school child migrants and therefore presented a more homogeneous sample than those who participated in the interviews. As such, it appears school and home level conditions were more perceptible to such children than poverty. For instance, irregular attendance of teachers in school and in the classroom affect teaching and learning which could then lead to children not finding schooling interesting. Furthermore, the use of cane to discipline children in school, combine with the other factors and motivate children to migrate. Nevertheless, the three factors in table 5.7 were also mentioned in table 5.6. However, whereas poverty was the overarching motivation during the interviews, school level conditions were more prominent in motivating in-school children in the district to migrate.

Motivation to migrate leads to decision making. The following section presents the findings on child migration decision making in Bongo district.

5.2 Decision making in child migration

Child migration decision making is a complex and continuous process and can only be well understood within the context in which it is made. This complexity stems from the interplay of conditions, actors and the roles they play in arriving at the decision to migrate. There are various theoretical dispositions, regarding who makes decisions for the individual or group of persons involved in migration. Whereas, there is strong argument for responsibility of decisions by the individuals embarking on migration (Camacho, 2006; Hashim, 20007; Frempong-Ainguah et al, 2009; Anarfi and Agyei, 2009; and Hashim and Thorsen, 2011), the role of households (Adepujo, 1977; Mincer, 1978; Stark, 1991) and communities (Harttgen and Klasen, 2009) at arriving at such decisions cannot be overlooked. Although this process involves a lot and tactful negotiation (Camacho, 2006; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011), the extent of influence of the actors in this tripartite relationship, determines the ownership of responsibility for the decision. Nevertheless, child migration decisions are made before, in the process and while at the destination, as to whether to adapt and stay, re-migrate or return.

In this section, the findings on the processes of decision making are presented in a continuum; regarding the involvement of individual children, households and the communities in which they live. The continuum ranges from unilateral decisions by children, through consultation or informing their parents, to imposition of decisions on children (see table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Decision making continuum

Actor	Unilateral		Informative/Consultative		Imposition		Total
	M	f	m	F	m	f	
Child	12	-	-	-	-	-	12(34%)
Parent/Household	-	-	2	10	-	3	15 (43%)
Community	-	-	8	-	-	-	8(23%)
Total	12(34%)	-	10 (28.6%)	10 (28.6%)	-	3 (9%)	35

Source: Own illustration from field data, 2012

As can be seen in table 5.8, child migration decision making was more informative than imposition on the children by parents. As many as 57% of the 35 child migrants interviewed, admitted they informed or consulted their parents in the course of deciding to migrate, while 34% said they made their own decisions without the involvement of their parents. Only 9% said their decisions to migrate were imposed on them. Furthermore, 43% admitted their decisions were underpinned by parental or household considerations, while 23 % attributed their migration decisions to their communities.

5.2.1 The individual child

Children play active roles in their involvement in migration and the process of making decisions to migrate. Though this process involves negotiation between children and their parents, a survey of independent migrant children in Ghana observed that 64% of the sample of 450 children, made their own decisions to migrate to Accra and Kumasi (Frempong-Ainguah et al, 2009:90).

The involvement of children in migration decision making (in this study) appears to depend on the category and circumstances under which migration is made. Among children whose migration was motivated by the death of a parent, the decision to migrate was made by the children in consultation and approval by the surviving parent. Consequently, 57% of child migrants interviewed (see table 5.9) admitted they informed or consulted their parents in making their decisions to migrate. Nonetheless, 34% admitted they took the decision to migrate unilaterally. In other words, they made their own decisions, without informing or consulting their parents. The following narration by a 14 year old boy (Jaafa), who migrated without the notice of his parents, epitomises how children make unilateral decisions to migrate. *I didn't tell anyone*

that I was travelling. If I had told my mother or father, they will say no, I should not travel, or even beat me. So I didn't tell them anything. Jaafa, had to shield his decision from his parents in order to execute his plan because they will not approve of it. His father confirmed this in the following.

> One day he (Jaafa) just left. I don't know how he got his lorry fare or how he managed to get to Accra. It was from there (Accra) that he collected one of he's friend's phone and said that he can no longer attend the school. At that time I was confused. I didn't know what to do. So my wife's elder sister who is married there [Accra] to a Police Inspector went and took him from "Foyer" [at Avenor, near Nkrumah Circle in Accra] and sent him to their house (Interview with Dramani, father of Jaafa in Namoo, November 13, 2011).

It is obvious from this narration, that Jaafa's parents will not have permitted him to migrate if he had divulged his intention to them. So he had to keep it to himself until it was successfully executed. He then called the father from Accra to inform him that he was safe at the destination. The father then became confused and didn't know what to do.

Similar narrations emerged during community discussions and appear to support unilateral decision making by child migrants. The following is an excerpt from one such discussions.

> They don't tell us (parents) when they are travelling. They just run away to where they want to go. So we don't know where and how they make their decisions to migrate. They hide from us (parents) and travel. So we don't know exactly how they migrate, but they travel with their friends who have travelled there before. When those who have migrated before come back and want to go again, they go and tell them that they want to go with them, and they also allow them to go with them. You will only not find your child and then you will realize that he or she has travelled. They mostly don't tell the parents because they know that if you hear you will not agree for them to go, but they may tell their friends in other houses. They don't tell their mothers because they will not agree. They [mothers] are those who cry or weep the most when the children travel. So the children will not tell their mothers too, because they will not let them go if they are aware. When you don't find them and you later realize that they have migrated, what can you do again? You will only be praying for them that they don't fall into bad and wicked people's hands (Community discussion in Namoo, November 30, 2011).

This narration in the excerpt supports unilateral decision making by children, which appears to be of concern, not only to parents of child migrants, but the entire community. For instance parents appear perplexed with the situation as they lament, "they don't tell us ….they just run away". However, the assertion that children do not tell their mothers of their migration intentions, appear contradictory to the summary of narrations of children, presented in table 5.8. About 34% of the children said they either informed or consulted their parents. Many (10) of these children were girls, suggesting they might have confided in their mothers. Besides, interviews with the mothers of Attis and Lamisi suggest they duly informed and secured the support of their mothers. On the other hand, a reduction of responses of in-school origin child migrants through factor analysis, grouped their decision making into two main components (table 5.9).

Table 5. 9: Rotated Component Matrix[a] of child migration decision making

	Component	
Decision to migrate	1	2
I decided on my own to travel		.945
It was my parents who asked me to travel	.691	
My brothers/sisters asked me to travel	.824	
Some relatives asked me to travel	.883	
It was my friends who asked me to travel	.842	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

As shown in table 5. 9, the components relate to children and community or household decision making. A distinction could not be made between household and community. This is probably, because of the similarities between both categories. Distinguishing between household and community in northern Ghana is a difficult task because of the extended family system, where almost everyone in a village is related (in one way or the other) to everyone else. I was expecting the responses to group on three components (children, households and community) but it grouped on two. For instance "*I decided on my own to travel*" loaded strongly (0.945 on a scale of 0 to 1) on component 2, which is the child decision making factor/component.

Similarly, I was expecting the items "*it was my friends who asked me to travel*" and "*some relatives asked me to travel*" to load on a different component from "*it was my parents who asked me to travel*" and "*my brother/sister who asked me to travel*". However, they all loaded on the same factor (component 1), suggesting a distinction could not be made between household and community by the respondents. This is not out of place, because the usage of *brother/sister, uncle/auntie, father/mother* are sometimes not in their strict and narrow meanings, when interacting with migrant children at their destinations. Therefore, households and community were lumped as one and grouped as such.

5.2.2 Household decision making

Households play very active roles in children's migration decision making. As shown in table 5.8, majority (43%) of the 35 child migrants interviewed, admitted their decisions to migrate were made by their parents or households. The process of parental or household involvement was largely consultative or informative, accounting for 57% on the continuum. The following narrations are examples of how children consult or inform their parents when making decisions to migrate.

> I discussed with my mother that I wanted to come to Accra to look for job to help her take care of the family. She was not happy. She said I was too small to be on my own, but I told her that nothing will happen to me. I didn't want to stay there and be suffering and she too will be suffering alone to take care of all of us. So my mother agreed and advised me to behave well (Interview with Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).
>
> I was staying with my mother alone in Boku, but life in Boku is difficult and I was not doing anything. Only small, small farm work on our compound. So I told myself that why don't I come to Accra, where I can get some work to do. Then I told my mother that I wanted to go to Accra so that I can find some work to do there. When I told her, she first agreed that it is true because I was not doing anything in Boku. But when I told her the evening that I will be leaving the following day, she wept the whole night. She said I am her only daughter and she loves me and she didn't want anything bad to happen to me. I was also weeping when my mother was weeping. I felt sad and sorry that my mother was weeping, but I wasn't doing anything and didn't have money too in the village. Finally, I gathered courage and begged her to stop crying and then I promised her that I will take care of myself and nothing will happen to me. So she stopped crying and then she prayed for me that God will take care of me. Even now, she is still praying for me (Interview with Lamisi in Accra, November 22, 2011). See appendix 6b for transcript of this interview.

These excerpts suggest how children initiate the idea to migrate, but inform or consult and try as much as they can, to convince their parents for approval. The decisions are often motivated by poverty and family circumstances, which present difficult choices for parents to make or disapprove of such suggestions. Nevertheless, the repeated use of not doing anything at home and not having money, seem compelling and convincing for parents to accept the proposed decisions from children. Although approvals were given in both cases, they were very circumstantial and emotional, as the parents approved amidst weeping. These were corroborated during interviews with the mothers of Atiis and Lamisi in the following extracts.

I hear Accra is far from this place, but I had to allow him to go because I didn't have anything to use in taking care of him and his brothers and sisters. I was just sitting; I couldn't do anything about it. I cried for a long time because I didn't know what was happening to him. I was only praying and crying to God to take care of him for me. I stopped crying when he called through one of our neighbour's phone and spoke to me. He told me he was fine and nothing was wrong with him. I have still been praying that God should give him work. He only told me that he is now in Accra and working there, but I don't know the kind of work he is doing there (Interview with Attis's mother at Namoo Boku, November 9, 2011). See appendix 6i for transcript of this interview.

I prayed for them, that God should be with them and guide them and also in the place where they will get work to do. I advised them to take good care of themselves. I don't want to hear that they have involved themselves in stealing or doing what is not good. So they should be very careful and handle themselves well. I was very particular about Lamisi because she is a girl and men can do bad things to her. I asked her to be very careful and take good care of herself. I didn't go to any church or mosque to pray for them. I prayed here, in the house, to God through our ancestors. That is how we pray here and I have still been praying because I want God and our ancestors to protect them there (Interview with Lamisi's mother in Boku, November 29, 2011).

It is evident from these excerpts, that allowing children to migrate is a painful and emotional decision which parents make. This is mainly because the children are young and their (parent's) knowledge about Accra and situations in which children could find themselves, are limited. Both mothers admitted they did not know Accra and were uncertain about what could happen to the children if they migrated. Although, they approved of the decisions of their children, they had strong words of advice for them, to be of good behaviour and avoid deviant acts; such as stealing. Lamisi's mother was particularly worried about her, because though Lamisi is not her only child to migrate, she is her only daughter and could be abused by unscrupulous men. The mother therefore advised her to be careful and take good care of herself at the destination.

Furthermore, the faith people profess in God is clearly demonstrated in the narrations of both parents. Although there were uncertainties regarding what could happen to the children as they ventured into unknown destinations, both children and parents placed their faith in God. Both parents prayed for the protection of God for their children and are faithful that God will avail opportunities for their children to get work to do in Accra. Their faith is however not one of Islamic or Christian but that in the Supreme God, through their ancestors. Lamisi's mother narrated praying in her house to God through their ancestors, for the protection of her children who have migrated out of the village.

Nevertheless, 9% of the 35 migrant children interviewed (see table 5.8) said their decisions were imposed on them by their parents. These were all girls who lived and worked with distant family relations. The lamentation of a 15 year old girl (Lariba) who was born to migrant parents in southern Ghana but came to Namoo after the death of her father at the south, and was living with her uncle at the time of the interview complained that "*I didn't want to come here. It was my mother and my uncle who asked me to come. I will go back after my BECE or when I grow older and get my own money to use as lorry fare*". It appears from this quote that, Lariba had to migrate from the south to Bongo district to attend school after the death of her father in the south. This is because, although basic education in northern Ghana has been free since independence, the same cannot be said about schools in the south. Besides, ancillary costs of education are generally higher in the south than in the north. Therefore, her widowed mother could not bear the burden alone for her education in the south. So she (Lariba) had to migrate to the north, to take advantage of the free basic and secondary education while living with her uncles.

5.2.3 Community decision making

Communities in which children live play very important roles in their migration decision making. As shown in table 5.8, 23% of the 35 child migrants interviewed, admitted their decisions to

migrate were influenced by some members of their communities, who they informed or consulted. These influences were in the form of providing information about prospective destinations, lifestyles of visiting migrants during home visits and providing financial and other forms of support to children.

> Anytime people from my village came back to the village with bicycles and other items which they acquired from Accra and Kumasi, I felt like I should also go there. That my late uncle who was a khebab seller in Accra encouraged me to come to Accra. He told me I will be able to get a job here in Accra and also make my own money (Interview Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).
>
> When I was at home, my friend (also from our village but living here in Accra) was calling me and asking me to come to Accra but now he has travelled to South Africa. His younger brother, who is now here, was also always inviting me to come and help him to sell Khebab, especially during Christmas. So I decided to come here and work to get my own money (Interview with Mumuni in Accra, November 12, 2012).

It is evident from the narrations of Attis, that the lifestyles of migrants from the village during home visits with items such as bicycles, influenced his decision to migrate. Besides lifestyles and material possessions, both Attis and Mumuni were informed and persuaded to migrate by migrants from their home villages, who were residing in Accra. According to Attis, his late Uncle who was selling roasted meat (Khebab) in Accra, encouraged him by saying he will be able to get a job to do in Accra and earn his own money. Similarly, Mumuni narrates that his friend (also from his home village but living in Accra) was calling him and asking him to come to Accra. Although the friend migrated further to South Africa, his younger brother who took over the business, continued to invite him which culminated to his decision to migrate to Accra.

Furthermore, although data from table 5.9 does not distinguish between household and community, it nonetheless shows that communities play important roles in migration decision making among in-school origin child migrants. The community items on the questionnaire ("*some relatives asked me to travel*" and "*it was my friend who asked me to travel*") loaded strongly (0.883 and 0.842 respectively) on a scale of 0 to 1, indicating strong influence of the community on the migration decision making of children in the district.

It is worth noting, that although the respective phases of decision making has been isolated and discussed, migration decisions are made within the context and interplay of all three groups of actors, with each reinforcing the other in the continuum. For instance, Attis admits in his narration as deciding on his own to migrate, but he conferred with his mother who agreed before the final decision was made. Furthermore, he was motivated by the lifestyles of migrants who visited home during festive occasions, while his late uncle who was a khebab seller in Accra, encouraged by assuring him of job availability in Accra. Also, Mumuni was in constant touch with a native of the village who lived in Accra and invited him to join him there. It is thus prudent to observe that the process of decision making at all levels within the continuum reinforces each other rather than a one-time event, involving an individual.

It is worth noting however, that although the three levels of decision making have been discussed separately, they are often intertwined and work together. The narrations of Attis is a classic example of employing the three levels of the continuum. He took the decision by himself, after the death of his father. However, he discussed his decision with his mother while his late uncle who was living in Accra, encouraged him to migrate. Furthermore, his decision was influenced by the stories he heard and lifestyles of migrants during home visits.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter, I presented the findings and discussion on motivations and decision making in child migration, using data from interviews and questionnaire survey of children from Bongo district.

Children from the district are motivated to migrate by a complex interplay of circuitous

and proximate push and pull conditions. Whereas, unfavourable environmental conditions circuitously motivate children to migrate, through limited options of household livelihood activities, proximate conditions (mainly poverty and poor schooling conditions) contiguously motivate children from the district to migrate.

On the other hand, child migration decisions are made on a continuum of unilateral, consultative or informative and imposition by children, households and the communities in which children live. Not only are children in the district active participants in their migration decision making, they employ lucid strategies at convincing their parents to consent to their migration intensions. This is however, facilitated by unfavourable household circumstances such as poverty and death of a spouse, which puts so much burden on the surviving breadwinning spouse, to accept such initiatives from children. Notwithstanding uncertainties of parents and children about prospective destinations, consent is giving albeit under emotional circumstances. Children are however cautioned to be of good behaviour and avoid deviancy, while parents continuously pray for good health and success of child migrants.

Child migration decisions are followed by actions. Therefore findings on the process, patterns and livelihoods of child migration are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: PROCESSES, PATTERNS AND LIVELIHOOD IN CHILD MIGRATION

The pattern of migration in Ghana has generally been from the north to south (Agyei and Ofosu-Mensah, 2009: Hashim, 2007) involving various categories of actors and including children in recent times. Although migration of children to and within urban settlements in other regions has been observed to be significant (Beauchamin, 1999), Accra and Kumasi remain preferred destinations of child migrants in Ghana. However, the processes involved in these movements are complex involving multiple actors, interest and challenges. As conditions in the course of migration and destinations are complex and not static, but constantly evolving (Ansell, 2000), children have to be flexible in order to adapt to the changing circumstances; both in the wider environment and in their private lives (Punch, 2007). Therefore, using data obtained from interviews and questionnaire survey of migrant children from Bongo district, the following themes are discussed in this chapter. The processes children go through in their migration journeys, the patterns that emerge in the course of the journeys, the livelihood activities they engage in at their destinations and challenges they encounter in the course of the movements, as well as at the destinations.

6.1 Processes in child migration

Child migration involves a complex mix of processes; beginning from preparation after the decision is made, through to arrival at the destination. This process involves raising money to use as fare for the journey, the mode of transport to travel with and the destination, as well as whether or not, it will involve intervening destinations. Interaction with child migrants during interviews in the qualitative phase of this study revealed the following in table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Modes of migration, destinations and transport in child migration

	Destination		Transport		
				Payment	
Origin	Intermediate	Current	Mode	Form	Source
Bongo district	Duayaw-Nkwanta Dunkaw-on-Offin Kintampo Techiman Kumasi	Accra	Public bus Private bus Cargo truck Bicycle	Paid Free	Own Savings Parents Siblings Borrowed from friends

Source: Field data, 2012

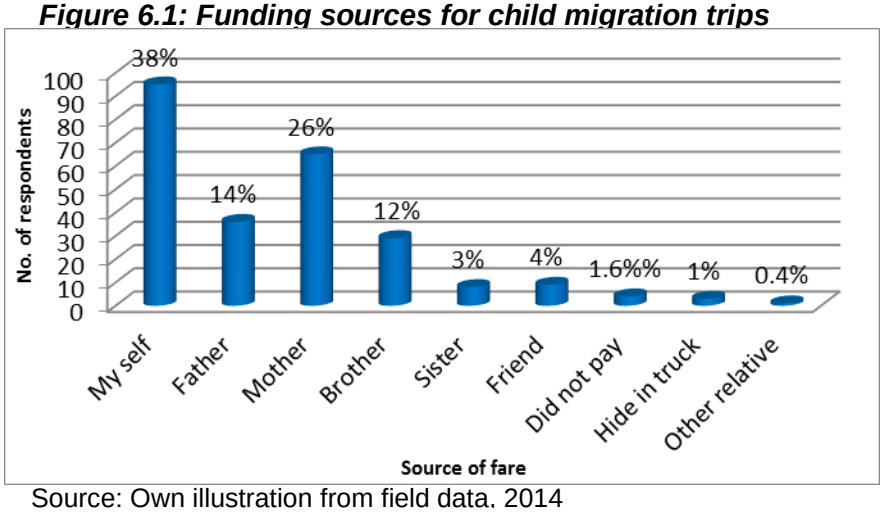
As can be seen in table 6.1, the origin of child migrants is Bongo district while the main destination is Accra, with other intervening destinations, such as Kintampo, Techiman and Kumasi. The mode of transport children used to get to their destinations was mainly public buses, although some travelled by private and cargo trucks. Whereas most of the children paid for the cost of transport, some were fortunate to be transported at no cost. Furthermore, the cost of funding their migration trips ranged from children's own savings, parents, siblings and borrowing from friends.

6.1.1 Funding travel cost of child migration

There are several ways by which children raise money to finance their migration journeys. Although the sources of funding for child migration trips provide clues as to who engineered or assisted in making the decision to migrate (Anarfi and Agyei, 2009:120), it involves the individual children and family circumstances, as well as the nature and options of transport facilities available to them. Children in Bongo district raise their transport fares through their own savings, from their parents or household members, and borrowing from friends and other acquaintances.

As shown in table 6.1, the main sources of funding migration trips by children include their own savings, parents, siblings and borrowing. Although the funding sources (table 6.1) were not ranked, responses from 250 in-school origin child migrants show the following in figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: Funding sources for child migration trips



Source: Own illustration from field data, 2014

As shown in figure 6.1, 38% of the child migrants paid the transport cost of their trips by themselves, while 40% indicated that their transport costs were borne by their parents (father and mother). Furthermore, 15% and 4% said their fares were paid by their siblings and friends respectively. However, about 2.6% said they did not pay for the cost of transport to their destinations. Specifically, 1% out of the 2.6% said they hid in cargo trucks as a way of not paying the fare.

This distribution (figure 6.1) is not unexpected, as these children were all in school and therefore relied mostly on their parents for financial support. Nonetheless, 38% said their trips were funded by themselves. In a survey of adolescent migrants in Accra and Kumasi, Anarfi and Agyei (2009: 120–121) found that, 50% of respondents funded their trips by themselves while 32% said their trips were funded by their parents, with 2% sneaking into cargo trucks. Although the survey included respondents of up to 24 years old, the sources of funding seem very similar to those of the children from Bongo district. Except that, 40% had their trips funded by their parents, of which mothers contributed 12 percentage points higher than fathers. The following narrations of children during interviews help to understand how children source funding for their migration trips.

> I had earlier migrated to Sefwi Wiawso where I helped a 'brother' on a cocoa farm for one (1) year. I was able to earn something [money] small, but it was not much. It was part of the money that I used to fare myself up to this place [Accra]. I did not wait for it to finish because it will be very hard for me to get money in Namoo Buku to Accra. From Namoo to Bolga was GH¢1.50 and Bolga to Accra was GH¢ 25 (Interview with Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).
>
> At that time I was having some goats here so I sold some of the goats and used the money as lorry fare to that place. When I sold the goats I got 250,000 cedis (GH¢25) so that was what I used to fare myself (Interview with Dolanire at Feo, December 1, 2011). See appendix 6g for transcript of interview.
>
> My parents didn't give me money to go. I got my own money. Anytime I was going to school and they gave me money to buy food in school, I will make sure that I did not spend all of it. I was putting part of it down and that was what I used to travel to Kumasi (Interview with Monasore in Namoo, December 7, 2011). See appendix 6f for interview transcript.

It is evident from these narrations, that children have ingenious ways of raising money for their migration journeys. Attis for instance had to use savings he made in an earlier migration attempt to a farming area in Sefwi Wiawso. Although he complained that farming was tedious and the host [brother] was cheating him, he nonetheless returned with some amount of money which he used as fare to Accra. He was careful not to wait in the village for the money to finish, as it would be difficult for him to get fare for the journey to Accra. On the other hand, Dolanire had to sell animals he reared at home in order to raise the needed fare. Rearing animals is a common practice in the district (and northern Ghana in general) as a supplement to cropping. Male children in particular are able to own animals, either as gifts from parents or other people, which

they keep with those of their parents. Dolanire was therefore able to rely on goats he had, to raise the needed fare for his trip. Furthermore, Monasore who kept her migration intention secret from her parents [as her father who was the chief of the village, will not permit her to travel] was saving part of her pocket money, meant to buy food during break time in school. She managed to save enough to fare herself to Kumasi.

On the other hand, other children were fortunate to have their trips sponsored by their parents and recounted their experiences in the following.

> It was my father who gave me GH¢33 to use as the lorry fare. I told him that I wanted to go to Accra and work to get money to continue my education and he agreed. My mother didn't have money to give to me but she prayed for me that God should help and take care of me to get work there to do, so that I can get the money that I need to continue with my schooling (Interview with Erambire in Accra, October 25, 2012).
>
> I came here by public transport. I paid lorry fare of GH¢15 that my father gave me (Interview with Anabiisi in Accra, October 24, 2012).
>
> I didn't have enough money so my brother sent some money to me to use and fare myself to that place. He sent GH¢20, then my mother also added GH¢10 (Interview with Afiako in Namoo, December 1, 2011).
>
> My mother gave me GH¢6, so I took lorry (Urvan) from Namoo to Bolga. I walked on foot from Boku to Namoo and then took the Urvan bus to Bolga. That money could not take me to Kintampo, so my friend (Dina) gave me some money to add to mine (Interview with Tinafure in Namoo, December 1, 2011).
>
> When I wanted to come here both my mother and father didn't want me to come, so I didn't ask them for money. She [mother] didn't tell me not to come, but the way she behaved. She said she didn't have money so I knew that it was because she didn't want me to come, that was why she said that. As for my father, I didn't mention it to him because I knew he would become angry with me. It was my sister who I asked for money and her husband gave her to be given to me (Interview with Abudu in Accra, November 7, 2011).

From the narrations, Erambire, Anabiisi and Afiako were fortunate to secure full sponsorship of their trips from their parents. While Erambire was given GH¢33 (more than the required fare), Anabiisi had GH¢15 and Afiako GH¢30 (GH¢20 from his father and GH¢10 from his mother). On the other hand, Abudu's mother was unwilling to let him travel and so said she had no money. As he could not approach his father for permission and fare, he had to navigate his way out through the husband of his sister. Furthermore, Tinafure who got the approval and partial support of GH¢6 from her mother, had to supplement the amout by borrowing from a colleague she travelled with and repaid from her earnings at the destination. Although parents paid for the transport cost of migration of most of the children (40% as shown in figure 6.1), mothers were responsible for 26% while fathers paid 14%. This difference tends to support the narrations of children, that they conferred more with their mothers than their fathers, as the fathers appeared less considerate to supporting the migration intensions of children than mothers. A similar situation was observed in a study of children in southern Burkina Faso, where a mother supported her son's migration by providing the fare through proceeds of brewing local beer without the knowledge of her husband, as he might otherwise accuse her of having sent away his son if the boy remained long in Ouagadougou (Thorsen, 2006: 102). This phenomenon is reflective of patriarchal and male dominated societies where the views of adult males are preponderate to those of women and children.

Beside children's ingenious means and support by parents to raise money to meet the transport cost of their migration journeys, some children are able to embark on such trips without paying. This is possible through the use of networks (see chapter 8) children establish and maintain. As shown in figure 6.1, 2.6% of in-school child migrants indicated that they did not pay the cost of their journeys while 4% said the cost was borne by their friends. The following

narrations clarify how children embark on their migration journeys without paying or having them paid for, by friends and members of networks they belong to.

> I joined a cargo truck straight from Namoo to this place [Accra]. I did not pay fare because one of my brothers [a native of Namoo] was working with the car [cargo truck]. So I just told him I wanted to come to Accra and they allowed me to follow them (Interview with Jaafa in Accra, November 7, 2011).
>
> I walked on foot for about one hour (1hr) from Boku to Namoo town. Then at Nomoo town, I took an articulated cargo truck that was carrying animals to Accra. I did not sit with the animals, but they put me in the front of the car [cargo truck] where the driver is. I knew a brother [a distant relative of the extended family] who was working with the driver of the truck. I told him that I wanted to travel to my brothers in Accra but I didn't have money, so he went and told the driver and then they agreed that they will bring me to Accra. Because of that, they didn't collect money [lorry fare] from me. They bought food for me in the course of the journey, so I didn't feel hungry. Some of my friends tell me how they suffered to get to Accra, but I didn't suffer at all because that our brother helped me to come (Interview with Lamisi in Accra, November 22, 2011).

From these narrations, both Jaafa and Lamisi managed to travel without paying the fare because they knew people who worked with drivers of Accra-bound long distance haulage trucks. They used such networks of friends and distant family relations to explain their migration intentions to the drivers who agreed to travel with them at no cost. Although the members of the networks are often referred to as brothers or uncles, they are often distant relations. However, the use of brother/sister and uncle/auntie is often intended to attract sympathy and commit such adults to the responsibility of helping them. In the case of Lamisi, she was not only transported free of the fare, but was fed in the course of the journey. This fortune does not befall all child migrants as such trips can be long with incidents of breakdowns of the trucks or accidents, resulting in dire consequence for such children. Nevertheless, in a study of independent migrant children in Accra and Kumasi, Anarfi and Agyei (2009:122) found that 2.4% of 449 respondent child migrants sneaked unnoticed into cargo trucks en route to their destinations. These trucks are often loaded with foodstuffs and animals (mostly goats, sheep and cattle) and such children have to compete with the animals for space in the trucks. However, none of the children in this study admitted sneaking unnoticed into a truck. They explained their circumstances to the drivers of the trucks through persons they knew (who were working with such drivers) before embarking on the journeys.

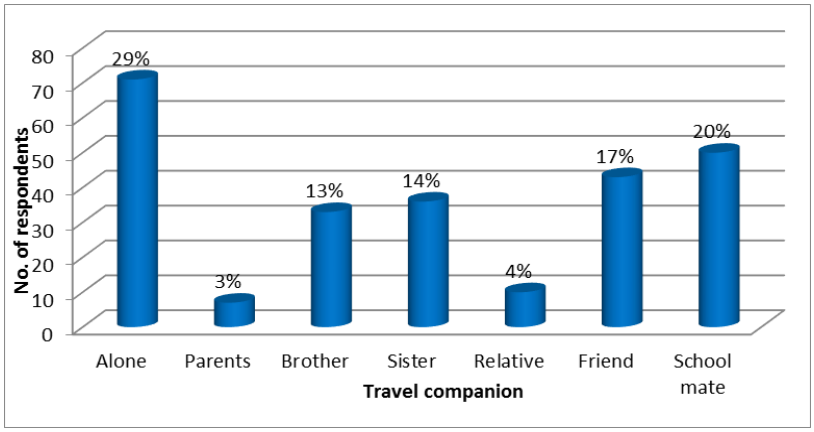
However, what remains unexplained, is why the drivers obliged to help without verification from the parents of the children. In the cases of Jaafa, Abudu and Monasore (earlier excerpts), their fathers would not have consented if they told them. It appears however, that the drivers got convinced that their work/driver mates were enough assurance of any possible risk associated with offering such assistance to the children they did not know. Furthermore, the children referred to those people in their narrations as brothers, which seem to convince the drivers. Besides, parents in the district do not report the absence of their children to law enforcement agents. A parent explained during a community discussion at Namoo with the following. *"When you don't find them and you later realize that they have migrated, what can you do again? You will only be praying for them that they don't fall into bad and wicked people's hands".* It appears from this apparent lamentation, that parents know that their children migrate without their consent, but are unable to take any action to prevent the phenomenon, except to pray for their safety and protection in the course of the journey and at the destinations.

6.1.2 Child migration journeys

Child migration journeys are embarked upon after the decision to migrate is made and funding is secured. As such, the nature and means of transport is also dependent upon the context in which the decision to migrate is made. Whereas children who take unilateral decisions appear to hide and use unorthodox means of transport, such as sneaking into cargo trucks (Anarfi and

Agyei, 2009:122), others enjoy the approval and support of family members and travel in comfort to their destinations. This involves children either travelling alone or in the company of peers or adult family members. Figure 6.2 shows the distribution of travel companions of 250 in-school child migrants from Bongo district.

Figure 6.2: Travel companions of child migrants



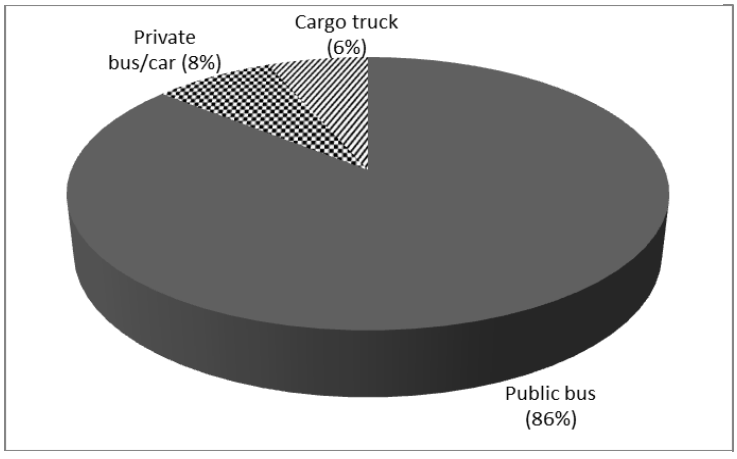
Source: Own illustration from field data, 2014

As shown in figure 6.2, 29% of the 250 child migrants indicated that they travelled alone to their destinations. Children travelling alone, is common practice as children rarely tell a senior openly that they disagree with them because it will be considered disrespectful (Hashim and Thorsen (2011). Children who cannot tell their parents (as narrated earlier in the cases of Jaafa and Monasore) resort to 'running away' and might therefore travel alone. Furthermore, children 'dodging' or 'fleeing' to migrate has been observed to be common practice in the Upper East Region of Ghana, as parents admitted during interviews in a study by Hashim, that they did same in their youth (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011:76). It is therefore not surprising that 29% of the children in this study reported travelling alone.

On the other hand, majority (71%) of the children, said they travelled with companions who were either parents, siblings, other relatives, friends or school mates. Although the related item of '*who did you travel with'* on the questionnaire (appendix 3b) contained a response of '*travelling with a stranger*', none of the respondent children reported traveling with someone they did not know. All the reported travel companions were related to them in one way or the other, or were friends within their villages and schools. This suggests that children make use of networks of kinsmen, friends and community to make their migration journeys as observed by Anarfi and Agyei (2009:125.

Similar to the trends in travel companions and funding of trips, is the mode of transport child migrants travel with. This study identified three main modes of transport to include private buses/cars, cargo trucks and public buses. The distribution of responses of 250 in-school child migrants (see figure 6.3) shows that most child migrants (86%) travelled to their destinations by public buses, while 8% travelled by private means, with 6% travelling in cargo trucks. In other words, 86% paid for the cost of their journeys while 14% did not pay, since the public buses are operated by companies which accept only passengers with valid tickets. Public buses in Ghana are operated mainly by transport companies and unions with the main ones being the Metro Mass Transit (MMT) Ltd, Inter City State Transport Company (STC) and Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU). As will be explained latter, many of these children reportedly travelled with the MMT (popularly called the 'Kufuor Buses', as they were introduced at the time John Kufuor was president of Ghana)

Figure 6.3: Mode of transport in child migration



Source: Own illustration from field data, 2014

because of their relative affordability, safety and reliability. Although the STC buses are equally safe and reliable, many people (especially children) are unable to afford the fare and therefore resort to the MMT and the less formal and less reliable but cheaper GPRTU operated buses.

Furthermore, narrations on how children embark on their migration journeys are presented below, to throw more light on the phenomenon.

> I came here by bus. First I took a taxi from Namoo to Bolga and then a "Kufuor Bus" to Accra. I paid GH¢2.50 from Namoo to Bolga and then GH¢15 from Bolga to Accra (Interview with Abudu in Accra, November 7, 2011).
>
> I left Namoo Boku with the help of my younger brother to Namoo. I picked him on a bicycle up to Namoo (about 2 km) and then I joined a car from Namoo to Bolgatanga and then to Accra. We rode on our late father's old bicycle, with my brother at the back. So when we got to Namoo, he returned to our village with the bicycle. From Namoo to Bolga was GH¢1.50 and then Bolga to Accra was GH¢25 (interview with Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).
>
> I walked on foot for about one hour (1hr) from Boku to Namoo town. Then at Nomoo town I took an articulated truck that was carrying animals to Accra (Interview with Lamisi in Accra, November 22, 2011).
>
> I travelled with my colleagues. I went with my friends to Yeliwongo [a border town in Burkina Faso] and took a car from that place. When I was going, I didn't take a bag because my parents will suspect, so I just went like that, without a bag. It was when we got to Kumasi that I bought second hand clothes from Kajetia. That was what I was wearing in Kumasi (Interview with Monasore in Namoo, December 7, 2011).

It can be deduced from these narrations that child migrants make use of all modes and means of transport available to them in their localities. Whereas some travel on foot, others ride bicycles to the nearest settlement, where they can access paid public transport to their destinations (Tamanja, 2012). For instance, Abudu lived in a village where he could easily access intermediary transport to the regional capital (Bolgatanga) for a bus to Accra. On the other hand Attis had to ride a bicycle while Lamisi walked on foot, before accessing public transport to Bolgatanga, where they could then board Accra-bound vehicles. Attis had to pick his younger brother on their late father's old bicycle for about 2km to board a car to Bolgatanga while his brother returned with the bicycle. On the other hand, Lamisi who had no access to a bicycle had to walk for an hour to Namoo, where she boarded a cargo truck to Accra.

The use of bicycles or walking is common practice in many rural areas in northern Ghana, where transport infrastructure and facilities are generally poor. For instance, the road network in Bongo district is poor (see chapter 3). This makes transportation in the district difficult and many people have to walk long distances or use bicycles as means of transport. Hence, Attis had to ride a bicycle while Lamisi walked before getting to the places where they could access public transport. Furthermore, Monasore had to walk with friends across the national boundary to Yeliwongo (a village near the border in Burkina Faso) in order to board a vehicle to Bolgatanga. This was however, a means to avoid any suspicion from her father as he will not allow her to travel. She therefore travelled without a bag and had to buy used clothing at her destination in Kumasi.

Nonetheless, there are various types of vehicles operating as taxis and mini buses (urvan buses) that transport people from interior villages such as Namoo, Soe, Tarongo to Bongo (the district capital) and Bolgatanga. Although these vehicles are often overloaded with passengers and goods and look ugly (see figure 6.4), they nevertheless serve to transport people and goods to Bongo and Bolgatanga for business and other transactions. Both Abudu and Attis travelled by these means and paid GH¢2.5 and GH¢1.5 respectively to Bolgatanga, where they continued their journeys to Accra.

Figure 6.4: Transporting goods to a rural market

Source: Linda and Haydn (2010)

On the other hand, Lamisi boarded the cargo truck direct from Namoo to Accra. She was however, fortunate to be given space in front of the vehicle to sit with the drivers, instead of struggling with the animals that were loaded in the back. Furthermore, she partook in meals with the truck drivers and did not go through the ordeal other children encounter when they sneak into such trucks.

The journey from Bolgatanga to Accra (a distance of 810km) by public bus, takes between 11 and 16 hours. This is mostly due to a combination of factors, ranging from stop overs, conditions of the road and vehicle, diversions, weather conditions, availability of passengers and vehicular traffic on the road. Although there is variety of buses to Accra and other urban centres from Bolgatanga, the Metro Mass Transit (MMT) buses popularly called 'Kufuor buses' are preferred means by most child migrants. This is evident in the narrations of Attis and Abudu (previous excerpts) as well as those of Anabiisi and Adalooro in the following.

> I came here by the Metro Mass Transport bus (Kufour bus). That time it was GH¢15. I came with a woman from our area [hometown] who stays in Accra. When my sister called my father and said he should let me come here, my father said the woman will be going, so it was my father who informed the lady. The lady is my father's sister. It was my father who paid my lorry fare. My mother was aware and they all agreed. I did not encounter any problem when we were coming here. It was the woman who bought food for me to eat when we were coming. So I did not face any problem when I was coming here (Interview with Anabiisi in Accra, October 24, 2012).
>
> We came here in a lorry. The ones we use to go to our home town. We took taxi from Tarongo to Bolga and then from Bolga we took Kufuor bus to this place. I don't know how much my auntie paid. I was just following her and she paid everything for us (Interview with Adalooro in Accra, October 24, 2012).

Whereas Anabiisi and Abudu said they paid GH¢15 for their trips to Accra, Attis said he paid GH¢25. This difference in the fare may be attributable to time and memory lapses, as lorry fares in Ghana are often revised based on changes in the prices of petroleum products (mainly petrol and diesel). Furthermore, they may not have been able to remember the exact amounts of money they paid as fare to Accra at the time of the interviews. Nevertheless, contacts I made with the MMT office in 2013 at Bolgatanga indicate a fare of GH¢23 from Bolga to Accra. It is therefore, likely that Attis did not remember the exact amount he paid as fare from Bolga to Accra, since the fare could not have been higher than that in 2013.

The migration journeys of children to Accra and other destinations have generally been incident free, as none of the children reported unpleasant experiences on the journeys. This is because the MMT buses have been generally safe, affordable and reliable since their inception in 2003. It is therefore the preferred mode of transport for child migrants and parents as well as relatives who travel with child migrants. For instance, Adalooro who travelled with her auntie narrated that they used Kufuor bus to Accra, although she '*was just following her*' and did not know how much her auntie paid.

Nevertheless, journeys from Bolgatanga to Accra take between 11 to 15 hours and can be tiring for children travelling such long distances (especially those travelling such distance for the first time). The following narrations by Abudu and Attis explain the feelings and how children

endure traveling long journeys to Accra.

> We started from Bolga at about 3pm and got here at about 8am the following morning. There was no problem on the way to this place (Interview with Abudu in Accra, November 7, 2011).
>
> We left Bolgatanga in the evening and travelled throughout the night and then got to Accra at dawn. When I was coming I did not have enough money, so I did not eat on the way. The journey lasted for about 12 to 15 hours but I fasted throughout. I did not eat because I did not want to spend all the money I had on me and suffer, since I did not know what will happen to me upon reaching Accra (Interview with Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).

It is clear from both narrations that the journeys were incident free, except the time they spent travelling throughout the night. Attis had to 'fast' throughout the journey because he did not have enough money and wanted to keep the little he had on him for precautionary reasons.

Although children did not report major threatening incidences, some minor challenges were encountered as narrated by Akobinire in the following.

> We left Namoo at about 12 in the afternoon and got to Accra the following day. The cargo truck had a break down on the way, between Kumasi and Nkawkaw, and we had to be stranded there for about four hours until they brought a mechanic who came to repair the truck. I was only lucky because the driver was aware of me, so he gave me money to buy food to eat until the truck was repaired. If not because of the kindness of the driver and the brother who I followed, I don't know how I would have survived, especially getting food to eat (Interview with Akobinire in Accra, November 1, 2011).

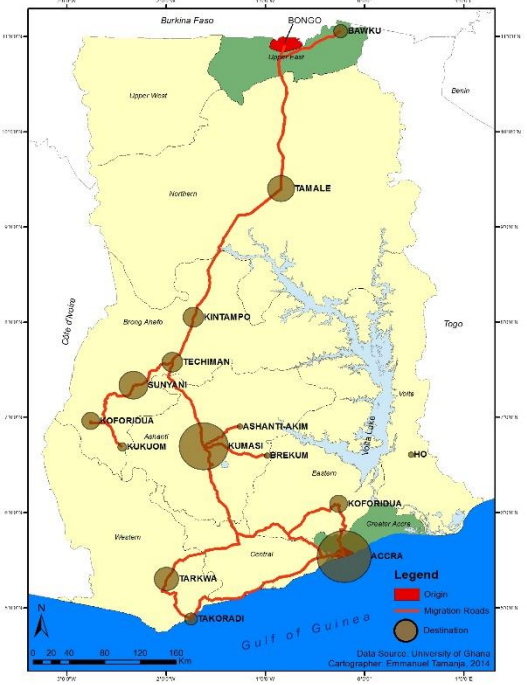
From this narration, Akobinire spent more time on his journey for two reasons; mode of transport and mechanical fault. He travelled with a cargo truck which takes longer time than the buses to Accra. These trucks carry foodstuffs and animals and move at lower speed than the buses. Furthermore, the truck had a breakdown in the course of the journey (between Kumasi and Nkawkaw) and they were stranded for about four hours until a mechanic was brought to fix the problem before they could proceed. Anarfi and Agyei (2009) posit that children who sneak in cargo trucks are small but admit it is a risky venture because of enormous repercussions in cases of breakdown and accidents. Both Akobinire and Lamisi who travelled with cargo trucks, were however lucky because they were fed by the drivers of the trucks. This was possible because of their effective use of networks (see discussion on networks in chapter 8) which made the drivers to willingly accept their proposals to travel with them and to feed them in the course of their journeys until they got to their destinations.

6.1.3 Destinations of child migration

The pattern of child migration, as with adult migration in Ghana, has generally been from the north to the south (Anarf and Agyei, 2009; Kwankye, 2009; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011; Tamanja, 2012). Although destinations of child migrants are numerous and depend on networks (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011) and perceived availability of paid work (Anarfi and Agyei, 2009), urban settlements and fertile agricultural areas in the south appear to be popular among children from the upper east region of Ghana (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011). The reasons for popularity of southern cities and farming areas can be attributed to differences in the distribution of natural resources (Amin, 1974; Ababio, 1999) as well as deliberate policies by the colonial administration, to neglect the development of the northern territories (Sonsore, 2003 & 2011). Beside the neglect, the people of the north were also coerced with monetary inducements to migrate in order to provide the needed labour in the mineral rich and fertile agricultural lands in the south (Sonsore, 2011:72). It is therefore not surprising that young people in Bongo district migrate to find jobs in mining centres, ministries and industries in towns and cities throughout the country, but largely in the southern regions (Mohammed and Apusiga, 2005:47). Nevertheless, Tamanja (2012:17) identified Kintampo, Techiman, Kumasi and Accra as the major destinations of migrant school children from Bongo district in the Upper East Region.

In this study, although Accra and Kumasi emerged as major popular destinations of child migrants from Bongo district, other cities such as Tamale and Bawku in the north were mentioned by children as destinations. The distribution of destinations of 250 in-school origin child migrants is presented in figure 6.5.

Figure 6.5: Origin and major destinations of child migrants



Destination	(%)
Accra	40
Kumasi	31
Sunyani	5
Tamale	4
Tarkwa	4
Techiman	3
Kintampo	3
Koforidua	3
Tarkoradi	2
Bawku	2
Kukuom	0.8
Ashanti Akim	0.4
Brekum	0.4
Ho	0.4
Total	**100**

Source: Own illustration from field data, 2014

As shown in figure 6.5, Accra and Kumasi emerged as the most preferred destinations for child migrants from Bongo district. In other words, 71% of the respondent child migrants indicated they migrated to Accra and Kumasi. Accra accounted for 40% while Kumasi accounted for 31% of the responses. Sunyani followed with 5% while Tamale and Tarkwa accounted for 4% each. Furthermore, Ho, Brekum and Ashanti Akim were least popular destinations, accounting for 0.4% each of the respondents. It is worth noting that this distribution (figure 6.5) is exclusive to those of the respondents who participated in a survey during the second (quantitative) phase of the study and were all still in school at the time of the study. However, the dominance of Accra and Kumasi is consistent with the distribution during the qualitative phase, where interviews were conducted with different categories (in-school and out-of-school) of child migrants (see also, Tamanja 2012: 14-18).

Moreover, Tamale and Bawku emerged as important destinations for child migrants from Bongo district. These towns are located in northern Ghana, with Bawku within the same region as Bongo. Nevertheless, both towns are vibrant economic hubs in the region and offer non-agricultural menial job opportunities as cities in the south, for such children. Besides, their proximity to the origin (Bongo district) of the children means that, children would spend less on lorry fare, as compared to travelling to Accra and Kumasi which are about 810km and 561km respectively. Nonetheless, the attraction of Tamale and Bawku espouses the importance of the distance decay principle of migration, propounded by Ravenstein in 1885. However, improvement in communication and other considerations, such as existence of networks and multi-locational household arrangements (see chapter 8 for detail discussion) could have neutralised the distance decay influence, thus making Accra and Kumasi (which are remote from Bongo district) preferred destinations to Bawku and Tamale.

Furthermore, with the exception of Bawku, all the destinations are to the south of the origin (Bongo district) of child migrants. This is consistent with the results of earlier studies, which classifies the pattern of migration in Ghana and child migration in particular, as having a north-south pattern of distribution. Although Beauchamin observed the presence of street children in many cities in a study of exodus of street children in Ghana, Accra was a preferred destination for 44% of the street children (Beauchemin, 1999:45).

Similarly, interviews with migrant children during the first (qualitative) phase of this study revealed the following.

I knew that getting to Accra will enable me to get a job and be able to make money for myself. At the moment, I am staying with my brother and we are working together. I am able to make a minimum of about GH¢1.5 a day and sleeping in my brother's house. So I will be here until I am able to safe enough to go back to Boku, but if I get a better place, I will go (Interview with Akobinire in Accra, November 1, 2011).

Because I wasn't doing anything at Boku, I thought that I will be able to get work in Accra. I heard it was better and one could easily get a job to do. So that was why I came to Accra (Interview with Lamisi in Accra, November 22, 2011).

I was expecting that since here is a big town, one can learn many things here than at home. There are good schools here with better facilities and accommodation than at home (Interview with Anabiisi in Accra, October 24, 2012).

From these narrations, children have high expectations of their destinations, especially those in Accra. Although children have varied expectations, the dominant one was getting work to do in Accra to earn money. For instance, Lamisi explained that, she was not doing anything at her home village (Boku) and thought she will be able to get work in Accra. She heard it was better and that one could easily get a job to do in Accra. Similar explanations were recurrent in almost all the narrations (excerpts).

Although the minimum age for admission of a child to employment in Ghana is 15 years (Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560)), the Ghana Living Standard Survey report of 2008 (GLSS 5) identified that, nearly 13 % of children aged 7 to 14 years in Ghana are economically active. These children are often engaged in the informal sector of the economy as they have no employable skills to gain employment in the formal sector. Nevertheless, children in this study had high expectations of getting work to do at their destinations, regardless of whether in the formal or informal sector. All they wanted was to get work to do. They therefore relied mostly on family and hometown based networks to gain employment in the informal sector of the economy at their destinations.

Besides paid jobs, children expect to taste urban lifestyles in Accra and Kumasi as they detest boring lifestyles in their villages. A 17 year old boy (Adanida) who had travelled to Accra and Winneba and was interviewed in Namoo while attending JHS, narrates that "*if you get up here you won't see anything. No lorries, nothing is here, but there (Accra), it is very busy. You can even go to the beach and look at the sea. Here is boring"*. This explains monotony of life in rural areas and the desire of children to experience vibrant urban lifestyles, hence the preference for Accra and Kumasi, since they are the most (with Accra 88% and Kumasi 51%) urbanised cities in Ghana (Frempong-Ainguah et al, 2009:82). It appears the sight of many lorries, busy interactions and going to the beach in Accra was fascinating to Adanida. This is not only consistent with the proposition that migrants from rural areas are attracted by "bright lights" in the city (Beauchemin, 1999:23) but it also supports the finding of Frempong-Ainguah et al (2009), that a small number of child migrants (4% out of 531) in Accra and Kumasi in a survey, said they migrated to enjoy city life. Of course, children in northern Ghana and in Bongo district in particular (located inland and far from the coast), who have not had the opportunity of traveling to coastal places, can only imagine how the sea looks like. It is therefore not surprising that Adanida explained that one can even go to the beach to see the sea instead of the boring life in his village.

Similarly, a 16 year old girl (Badabatu) who had travelled to Kumasi and was interviewed in Namoo, where she was attending JHS, had high expectation of her destination (Kumasi). This expectation was influenced by the appearance and demeanour of her auntie who was resident in Kumasi. She narrates that, anytime her auntie visited the village, she looked different from the women in the village and she always has money and nice things to wear. The nice look and appearance of her auntie as well as having more money than the women in the village therefore appear to have influenced Badababu's choice of Kumasi as a destination.

Furthermore, the choice of destination for children from Bongo district is also influenced

by the perception of availability of educational opportunities. Anabiisi's choice of Accra appears to have been influenced by his expectation to be enrolled in a good school with better facilities and accommodation than the one he was attending in Bongo. Besides schooling he was expecting to learn other things as Accra is an urban settlement. It appears Anabiisi's expectations of Accra were met because, not only was he happy and satisfied with his migration to Accra at the invitation of his sister, he had also completed JHS and obtained grades that could enable him progress to the SHS. Accra was therefore a 'perfect' choice for him and he was very content with his migration experience. It is thus pertinent to note that, his expectation would not have been met if his sister and her husband were not resident in Accra and also willing to support his education. Children who are unfortunate to have such supportive environments end up doing all kinds of work for livelihood and survival at their destinations and are unable to pursue their education.

6.2 Patterns of child migration

The process of migration is generally dynamic, involving a variety and complex mix of movements. Children as well as adults move for various reasons between locations in space. These movements are generally flexible, with children and young people moving back and forth between their home communities and destinations (Punch, 2007). Therefore, many child migrants do not just settle in one location, but may move (seasonally or yearly) depending on opportunities available to them, or difficulties that arise. Although, it is difficult to generalise the patterns that emerge from such movements, Lynch (2005:96) categorises movements between rural and urban areas to include:

- Step-wise migration (village – town – city),
- Circulatory migration (village – city – village),
- Cyclical migration (associated with seasonal variation in labour demand),
- Multi-locational households (where households have some members in town and country),
- Chain migration (where migrants follow their predecessors, are assisted by them in establishing an urban base).

In this study, similar patterns (as categorised by Lynch) emerged and include; step-wise, seasonal, chain and 'leapfrog' migration.

6.2.1 Seasonal child migration

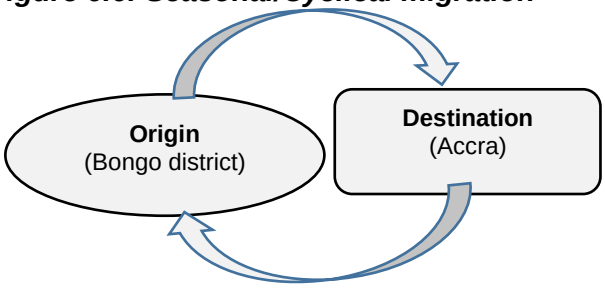
Seasonal child migration involves the periodic movement of children from an origin to a destination for a specific period of time and repeated during the following and subsequent seasons. In other words, it is the process of moving for a period of time, usually in response to labour requirement or climatic conditions that are seasonal. Although this type of movement is popular in agriculture (Punch, 2007) and in local bricks making and sugar cane plantations in India (Smita, 2008), it also involves school children who migrate during end of year vacation, to urban areas in Ghana (Hashim, 2007; Tamanja, 2012).

This pattern of migration (seasonal migration) in Ghana, involves school children who migrate annually, during school vacations, to various (but mostly urban) destinations in southern Ghana. This category of children are in schools in Bongo district, but migrate during vacations (mostly, end of year vacation) to work and return when schools reopen, to continue with their education (Tamanja, 2012:18). As will be explained later in chapter 7, this is possible because the academic calendar for basic schools in Ghana is structured for children to spend 41 weeks in school in a year (see figure 7.2) while the remaining 11 weeks are spent as holidays. The calendar is structured into three terms and three vacations in an academic year. For instance, the first and second terms for the 2012/13 academic year were 15 weeks each, with 25 days of vacation between the first, second and third terms. However, the third term was 11 weeks (ending in July), with 46 days of vacation between the third term and first term of the next

academic year (beginning in September). The third term vacation also coincides with a period in the district (lean season) when stocks of foodstuffs are exhausted but harvest is not yet due (see Tamanja, 2012; Becker, 2008). School children therefore take advantage of the vacation to migrate to urban destinations for work as well as escaping the lean season and return when schools reopen in September.

This type of migration begins in July (end of the third term) and ends in September, to be repeated in July of the following year. Figure 6.6 shows the pattern of movement between the origin and destination identified with this kind of movement. A similar pattern as identified with children in this category who mitrated to other destinations (see figure 6.5) besides Accra. They returned to their villages to attend school after the season to begin the academic year in their schools in Bongo district.

Figure 6.6: Seasonal/Cyclical migration



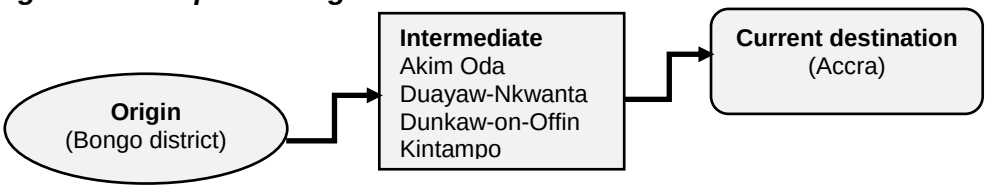
Source: Own illustration from field data, 2014

It is worth noting that, the choice of urban destinations by migrant children and returning to their rural origins after the end of the vacation, qualifies this movement to be categorised as circulatory, while the seasonality also makes such migration cyclical (Lynch, 2005). Nonetheless, there are still categorisation within these two as there are variations in actors and contexts of child migration, since every incidence of migration is unique. Therefore, although the seasonal migration of school children in Bongo district can be described broadly as both cyclical and circulatory other forms of movements, including step-wise migration are worth acknowledging.

6.2.2 Step-wise child migration

Step-wise migration refers to a pattern where migrants get to their final destination after migrating to and through intermediate destinations. It involves a series of shorter, less extreme migrations from a person's place of origin to a final destination. For instance, moving from a farm, to a village, to a town, and finally to a city. The intermediate destinations are used as steps in order to get to the final destination. This pattern of movement was identified among children who were no longer in school but got to Accra by first migrating to other destinations. It involved five children who migrated to Accra through intermediate destinations as shown in figure 6.7.

Figure 6.7: Step-wise migration



Source: Own illustration from field data, 2014

As can be seen in figure 6.7, the children migrated from villages in Bongo district to Accra. However, they did not just move direct to Accra, but first migrated to Akim Oda, Duayaw Nkwanta, Dunkwa-on-Offin, Kintampo and Techiman before migrating again to Accra. The following narration by Mumuni (17 year old boy) who first migrated to Akim Oda and later to Accra, epitomises those of children involved in this type of migration.

> I left Namoo in July 2010 after my JHS, when I was 15 years old. First, I went to Akim Oda and then later to this place [Accra]. I went to my mother at Akim Oda for about half a year. I think it was, like 5 months. At Akim Oda, I was learning fitting [apprenticeship in Auto Mechanics]. My mother was paying for me to learn the fitting. She paid GH₵100 for the entire period [3 years] of learning the job. But in December (that was before Christmas in 2010) my Grandmother died, so my mother left Akim Oda and went back to Namoo, leaving me there alone. When my mother left, I didn't have anybody to give me money to stay there. Although my mother rented a room for me to stay, the living cost was very high. So I left there after suffering for three (3) months and came here. This place [Accra] is better (Interview with Mumuni in Accra, October 12, 2012).

It is clear from this narration, that Mumuni first migrated to Akim Oda (in the Eastern Region) and then to Accra, after almost half a year at his intermediate destination. As Punch (2007) observed that children 'may move seasonally or yearly depending on available opportunities or difficulties that arise' (p.10), Mumuni could not cope with life in Akim Oda, where he first migrated to join his mother, after she returned to their home village. Although his mother enrolled him into apprenticeship and rented a room for him to stay, he could not stay beyond three months. He migrated again because cost of living was high for him and his mother was no longer with him to provide his needs. He therefore continued, after abandoning the apprenticeship training, to Accra to work and earn money on his own.

Although Mumuni and other children aspire to and were living in Accra, it cannot be concluded that Accra is their final destination, as they could further migrate to other destinations with prospects of better opportunities of work and livelihood. However, Accra could also end up being the final destination of these children as they could achieve their life ambitions there. Besides opportunities for achieving life ambitions, Accra is a destination with adult migrants who serve as links and fuels chain migration.

6.2.3 Chain migration

Closely related to step-wise migration is chain migration, which involves a series of movements within a family or defined group of people. It often begins with the migration of a family member who then sends money to bring other family members to the new location (see figure 6.8).

Figure 6.8: Chain migration

Source: Own illustration from field data, 2014

As shown in figure 6.8, networks of families and hometowns, living at both intermediate and Accra served as links for children to migrate from Bongo district to Accra. For instance, the narrations of many child migrants feature elements of invitations by family members and friends at the destinations, who invite their younger relatives and acquaintances and (in some instances) send money for their transportation. The following are excerpts of such narrations during interviews with migrant children in Accra.

It was my sister and her husband who told my father to let me come here and attend school and also be helping them small, small with their work. So my father also told me about it. I was already praying to get the chance to come here, so I was happy about it (Interview with Anabiisi in Accra, October 24, 2012).

When I was at home, my friend (also from our village but living here in Accra) was calling me and asking me to come to Accra, but now he has travelled to South Africa. His younger brother, who is now here, was also always inviting me to come and help him to sell Khebab, especially during Christmas. So I decided to come here and work to get my own money (Interview with Mumuni in Accra, November 7, 2011).

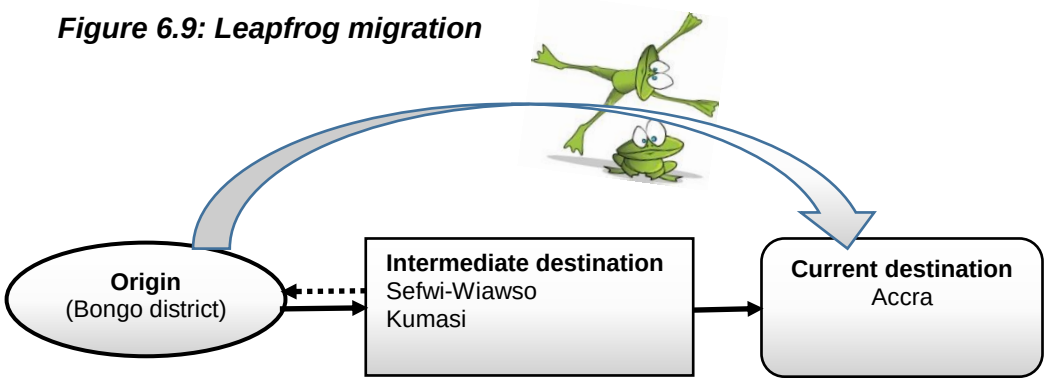
Although Anabiisi had an ambition of migrating to Accra and was praying for an opportunity, it was actualised by the invitation of his sister, who was living with her husband in Accra. On the other hand, Mumuni was repeatedly invited by someone from his home village (who he calls his friend) to migrate to Accra. Though he did not immediately honour the invitation and the friend migrated further to South Africa, his younger brother who assumed responsibility of managing the khebab business, persisted with the invitation until he (Mumuni) finally migrated to Accra. Mumuni was not given money for his transport, but Anabiisi had his fare paid for by his father. Furthermore, Afiako who migrated to a brother at Agona Wassa in the western region recounts that, *'I didn't have enough money, so my brother sent some money to me to use and fare myself to that place. He sent GH¢20, then my mother also added GH¢10' (Interview with Afiako, December 1, 2011).* Afiako from this narration, did not only get the invitation to migrate to Agona Wassa, but was given part of the fare by the brother who invited him.

Networks of families and hometowns (see chapter 8) appear to be very effective at fuelling child migration in Ghana. These networks do not only serve as links but actively provide information and other assistance to migrant children. Nevertheless, other children leapfrogged their intermediate destinations to their final destinations in the course of their movement.

6.2.4 Leapfrog child migration

Further analysis of the movements of children reveals a novel pattern of migration that is similar to step-wise migration, but differs with respect to how children continue from the intermediate to their final destinations (see figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9: Leapfrog migration



Source: Own illustration from field data, 2014

This pattern involves children moving to an initial destination, return to the origin (instead of continuing from the intermediate destination) and then springing over the first or intermediate destination to the final or current destination. This pattern of movement was observed with two children who recounted their experiences on how they first migrated to Kumasi and Sefwi-Wiawso and then to Accra in the following narrations.

I had earlier migrated to Sefwi Wiawso, where I helped a 'brother' on a cocoa farm for one (1) year. I was able to earn something [money] small, but it was not much, because he did not treat me as someone who had gone there to look for money. So I went back home [Namoo Buku]. It was part of the money I brought from Sefwi Wiawso, that I used to fare myself up to Accra. I did not wait for it to finish, because it will be very hard for me to get money in Namoo Boku to Accra (Interview with Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).

I first went to my sister at Kumasi (Moshie Zongo) but I didn't get work there. So I went back to Boku before coming to Accra. I just wanted to work. So I wanted any work to do in Kumasi, but my sister couldn't find me any. So I returned to Boku. I stayed in Kumasi for one year and then left. I told my sister I wanted to go to school, but she told me that she didn't have money to send me and take care of me in school there in Kumasi, because in Kumasi they pay school fees (Interview with Lamisi in Accra, November 22, 2011).

It follows from these narrations that, both Attis and Lamisi spent a year each at Sefwi Wiawso and Kumasi respectively. However, they could not meet their objectives for migrating. It appears Attis was exploited by his host (someone from his home village who he called his brother) as he explains not being treated as someone who had gone there to look for money. On the other hand, Lamisi's sister did not only fail to get work for her to do in Kumasi, but could also not send her to school because of high school fees. They therefore returned to their home village in Bongo district and then migrated from there to Accra.

The novelty in this type of migration is that, both Kumasi and Wiawso are in the south of Ghana and closer to Accra than Boku in Bongo district. Whereas the distance from Kumasi to Accra is 270km, Wiawso is 400km while Namoo Boku in Bongo district is 837km to Accra. It would have been expected or logical therefore, that these children will naturally continue their journeys to Accra from Kumasi or Wiawso, since those intermediate destinations are closer to Accra and would cost less in transport fare. On the contrary, they chose to return to their home village and then migrated from there (over Kumasi and Wiawso) to Accra, a distance of about 837km. Attis for instance explained that he was careful not to spend all the money at home, as he would not be able to get the needed fare to Accra. This suggests he had the intension of continuing his migration to Accra. However, he went back from Wiawso to Boku whereas he could have spent less on fare, if he had continued from the intermediate destination. He however opted to go back to his home village and to move from there to Accra. Although the motives for going back to their home village are not captured in the narrations, the pattern of movement suggests they leapfrogged their intermediate destinations to Accra. Nonetheless, children employ various strategies for livelihood while at their destinations.

6.3 Livelihood strategies and outcomes in child migration

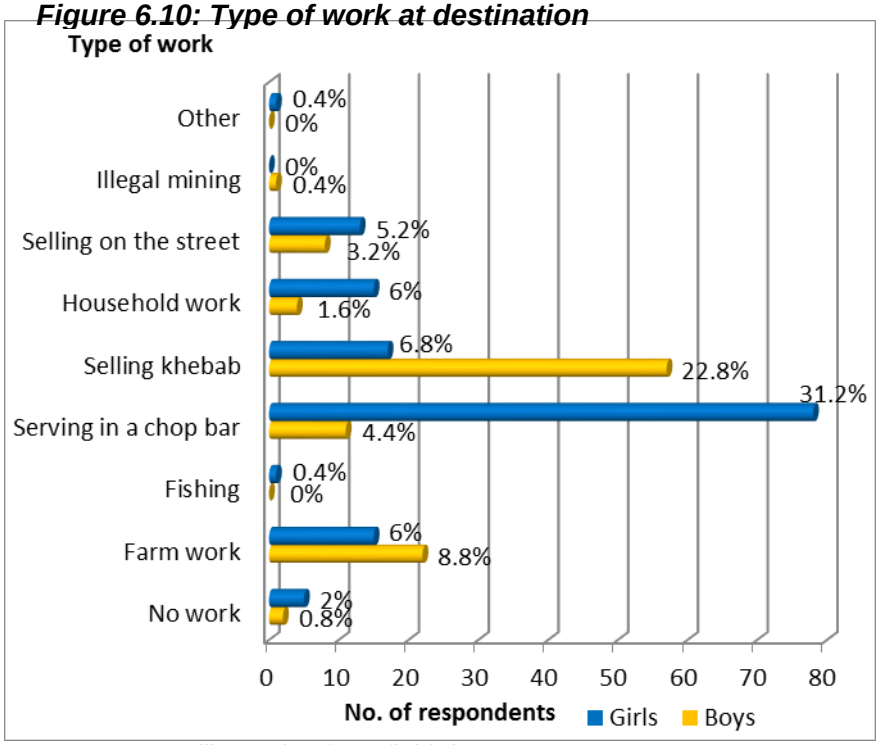
In this section, I present and discuss the outcomes and strategies of livelihood that child migrants employ at their destinations. In other words, the focus is on how children perceive their migration to be and how they make living at the destinations. Although in-school child migrants migrated to other destinations besides Accra, the focus is more on Accra because it is the destination where I interacted with the migrant children. However, some consideration is given to the experiences of child migrants in the other destinations as they recounted during interviews at the origin (Bongo district) where they were interviewed.

6.3.1 Livelihood strategies in child migration

The term livelihood strategy, refers to the array and combination of choices and activities that people (mostly households) resort to, in order to achieve their own objectives (DFID, 1999, Chambers and Conway, 1992; and Scoones, 1992). Although this term has been used mostly on households, it is used in this study to refer to the range and combination of choices and

activities that migrant children employ in order to achieve their objectives for migrating. As such, child migrants employ various strategies for livelihood at their destinations. As most of these children migrate for economic reasons, getting work to do in order to earn money, appears to be their major concern. However, these children have no skills for employment and are mainly engaged in menial jobs which they get through family, hometown-based networks and friends. In a base line study of trafficking and forced labour in northern Ghana, Mohammed and Apusigah (2005) observed that some migrants from Bongo district found easy attachments in jobs offered by relatives and friends in meat shops, chop bars, lorry parks and farms as well as independent illegal mining of minerals (p.57). Similarly, Tamanja (2012:18), reports of school children from Bongo district work by selling roasted meat (khebab), cleaning and serving in chop bars, farm work and illegal gold mining (galamsey). In this study, the responses of child migrants from Bongo district on the kind of work they do at their destinations is presented in figure 6.10.

Figure 6.10: Type of work at destination



Source: Own illustration from field data, 2012

As shown in figure 6.10, the types of work child migrants do range from farm work, fishing, serving in chop bars, selling khebab, household work, to illegal gold mining. As many as 36% of the 250 child migrants served in chop bars. They were mostly girls, constituting 31.2% with boys constituting 4.4% of the 36%. This distribution is to be expected, as food vending in Ghana is a femal dominated activity.

Furthermore, the 6th edition of the Living Standard Survey of Ghana observed that, majority (53.5%) of employed females in urban areas in Ghana are engaged in sales and service work, while males are more likely to be engaged in craft and related trades work (GLSS6, 2013:5). Similarly, 29.6% of the children indicated working as khebab sellers at their destinations.

However, Khebab (roasted meat) selling, though service related, is a male dominant activity, hence 22.8% of the 29.6% were boys while girls made up 6.8%. Furthermore, 14.8% (8.8% boys and 6% girls) said they were engaged in farm work while 7.6%, 8.4% and 0.4% said they worked in households, selling on the street and illegal gold mining respectively. Although 2.5% of the respondents indicated not doing any work at their destinations, 0.4% was involved in fishing related activities. This is not usual because fishing is not a popular activity in Bongo district and children appear to be engaged in work they are familiar with, such as serving in bars and selling of roasted meat (khebab). It appears from this distribution that, not only are children engaged in work in which they have some knowledge and skill in doing, but gender appears to be important in the kinds of jobs they do. For instance, whereas many boys than girls, worked in roasting and selling of meat, farm related work and illegal mining, girls were dominant in serving in chop bars, domestic chores and selling on the streets. The following narration by a 17 years old boy (Abudu) in Accra, explains the nature of work done by children who are into selling of roasted meat (Khebab).

I am staying with my brother and helping him to sell khebab. It would have been difficult for me, if my brothers were not here. I will not get a place to sleep. I would have gone back if I didn't have my brother here… I stay here at Avenor [near Kwame Nkrumah Circle] and work with my brother [a distant relative from our hometown]. He stays at Madina but I stay here and then we work together. We sell khebab at a drinking spot. The market is sometimes good but sometimes also bad. If there is market, the work is good but if there is no market it is not good… When I get up in the morning, I take my bath and wait here until it is 11am. We don't sleep early and the work is such that, if you go early there are no customers to come and buy. So you will just be wasting your time. I get to Madina at 1pm, then if my brother buys the meat from the Madina market and brings, we start to cut it into smaller pieces and then we put it on sticks. I will then count the sticks and take a number of them that I will be able to sell and then he will also take his share. We will then roast it and begin to sell until customers are no longer coming, then we close. We usually close at 10 pm, but during weekends and festive days, we close later than 10pm. The place where I sell is called Jerusalem Garden, but my brother sells at American House, all in Accra. I usually roast my khebab very well and that attracts customers to come and buy from me. Those who buy from me tell their friends who also come to buy. I also behave nice towards my customers and joke with them. So they like me very much… We don't have plenty money so we usually buy GH¢35 worth of meat for a day. If we had enough money, we could be buying goats ourselves and kill which will give us more money (Interview with Abudu in Accra, November 7, 2011).

It appears from this narration, that Abudu works with a brother to roast and sell meat (khebab) at a drinking spot called Jerusalem Garden in Madina (a suburb of Accra) while sleeping at Avenor (city centre at Kwame Nkrumah Circle) in Accra. Although he calls the person he is working for/with as a brother, a follow up visit I made to his home village (Namoo) to interact with his parents, revealed that he and the 'brother' come from different but nearby villages. He calls him his brother because they are of the same ethnic group and come from nearby villages in Bongo district. This was common in the narrations of children as they mostly referred to people they worked with as brothers, aunties and uncles. This appears to be a strategy child migrants employ to strengthen networks (usually of family or hometown based) and win sympathy and support of adult members of their kin at their destinations (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011). Nevertheless, Abudu appears to have won the trust and confidence of his 'brother' who allows him to roast and sell the meat without his physical presence and close supervision. They put the meat onto sticks and Abudu is given a number of sticks to roast and sell at Jerusalem Garden, while his 'brother' does same at a different location (drinking spot) in the vicinity, called American House. Abudu works for about 10 hours per day on week days (11 am to 10 pm) but longer hours during weekends and festive occasions. However, he begins his preparations at 11am as he commutes to work from Avenor (inner city) to Madina (suburb) of Accra. In effect, he works approximately 12 hours per day, during weekdays and longer hours during weekends and festive days, without a holiday. Abudu, attracts and maintains his customers through good treatment of his meat and interpersonal relationship with his customers, which makes them advertise his product (khebab).

Selling roasted meat (khebab) is popular in Ghana and is mostly done at drinking spots as a complement to the sale of alcoholic beverages. Although it originates and is popular in northern Ghana, it has spread to urban settlements in the south and well patronised throughout the country. It is therefore not surprising that most of the providers are people from the north, who collaborate (mostly through informal partnerships) with managers and owners of drinking spots to sell khebab in their bars. This is because, khebab has become popular among customers and serve as good complement to the sale of beverages (both alcoholic and non-alcoholic) in most pubs in Ghana.

Selling khebab appears to be popular among child migrants from Bongo district, which suggests they either have some skill in its preparation or they are able to learn it when engaged. Besides, most of the people who engage their services are adult migrants from their areas of origin. It appears migrants from northern Ghana have created a niche in the sale of khebab in Ghana as it is with the sale of Doner Khebab by people of Turkish origin in Western Europe. It is therefore not surprising that about 30% of the 250 migrant children (see figure 6.10) were engaged in selling khebab. Furthermore, 77% of the children who said they sold khebab were

boys, suggesting the dominance of males in the khebab business as the participation of women is not common.

On the other hand, females are dominant in the preparation and sale of food at fixed points/joints, popularly called 'chop bars' in Ghana. Consequently, girls were dominant (31.2% of 250 child migrants in figure 6.10) in selling food in chop bars. The following narrations by two such children typify the nature of work child migrants do when they work in chop bars.

> We will go there in the morning at 6 and fetch water, sweep and then arrange the tables and chairs. We will then go back to our place and bath before coming to work. We were taking food; fufu, banku, omo tuo, and waakye (local Ghanaian dishes) to the buyers on the tables and when they finish eating, we will take the bowls and go and wash. We will work and close around 7 in the evening. We will wash all the bowls, pots and tables before we go to our house. We didn't get any problem. Only when we were there, the woman we were working for, said we should be coming to work at 5 in the morning. But Patapaa (the man we were staying with) went and told her that she should let us come at 6, because where we were staying was far and it was not safe for us to be going there at 5 in the morning. So she agreed and we were going there at 6 in the morning. But the woman was insulting us anytime we did what she didn't like. They say in Kintampo the boys have been raping girls but we were lucky that we were staying with Patapaa. The boys fear him so they didn't do anything to us (Interview with Patabongo in Namoo, December 1, 2011).
>
> I was starting work at 6 in the morning and we will close at 6 in the evening. When we start at 6 in the morning, we will sweep the place and then wrap the balls with the leaves [dried maize ear wings]. The madam was making the balls and we were wrapping with the leaves after which we will boil it in a big cooking pot and then when it is cooked, we will then sell. We were selling to people who will eat there and also to those who wanted to take away. I was given GH¢2 a day, but I wasn't keeping it. The woman agreed with my auntie that she keeps it and give it to me when I was to leave. So when I wanted to go, she gave me GH¢70 and my auntie also added GH¢30. So I got GH¢100. The Zongo boys are very bad, so my auntie was not allowing me to go out in the night. She said they could beat me up and even rape me. So I was always afraid to go out alone (Interview with Badabatu in Namoo, December 1, 2011).

The narration of 16 year old girl (Patabongo) who was in school at Namoo at the time of the interview, but had migrated to Kintampo to work during the long vacation, shows she worked 13 hours a day (6am to 7pm). However, the 6th edition of the Ghana Living Standard Survey Report indicates that, the average time spent by the economically active population (15 years and older) within the 7 days preceding the interview across all activities is 50.7 hours, with 108.8 hours for those engaged in accommodation and food service activities (GSS, 2013). This translates to 7.2 hours per day for the economically active population, with 15.5 hours per day for those engaged in service related activities. These means that, Patabongo's 13 hours per day engagement is commensurate with the national average appropriate to her age. Nevertheless, the 13 hours per day did not include the time spent tidying up the bar after close of sales at 7pm. This could further increase the number of hours she and her colleagues worked in a day if it were included.

Furthermore, the narration also reveals how migrant children negotiate their time and other conditions of work at their destinations through networks. Patabongo travelled in the company of her school mates and stayed with someone she did not personally know, but benefited from his assistance and benevolence through the network of friends she travelled with. Accordingly, *Patapaa*[9] (their host) negotiated for them to report to work at 6am, instead of 5am as initially requested by the employer. Not only did he (*Patapaa)* negotiate their reporting time for work, he also accommodated them in his house and protected them from miscreant boys who would have harassed and abused them. Patabongo narrates that, they were fortunate not to have been raped by miscreant males because they were accommodated by Patapaa. In other

[9] Patapaa is a Twi (local Ghanaian language) word which is literary used to mean a bully or an 'Area Champion'. In other words, someone with an attribute (for instance, strong physique), who uses the attribute to bully his/her peers or protect vulnerable people in a locality. Such people are often feared by their peers and sometimes act with impunity.

words Patapaa is feared by the young men in his community and he used his bullying attribute to accommodate and protect the children from potential harm and abuse by miscreants in the community. It is not explained if *Patapaa* had a clandestine motive, but it appears he offered the children the needed protection to enable them achieve their short term migration objective of working to earn money for use in school during the next academic year.

On the other hand, 16 year old Badabatu who travelled with her auntie to Kumasi was asked not to go out at night for fear of being harassed or raped. In her own narration, she admits that the *Zongo*[10] boys were very bad, so her auntie was not allowing me to go out in the night as she could be beaten or raped. Nevertheless, as reported in other studies (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011; Anarfi and Agyei, 2009; and Frempong-Ainguah et al, 2009), Patabongo and her colleagues suffered verbal abuse from their employer, whenever they offended her. Children are often abused by their employers because of their vulnerability and lack of security of their jobs, as they are often not recruited through formal procedures. Therefore, they can be abused (verbal and physical) and sometimes dismissed at the least provocation with impunity and without recourse to their welfare and the effects of such abuses.

However, abuse of child migrants is not only by the employers, but also by some customers. A 17 year old boy (Attis) who served as an attendant in a drinking bar narrated his experience in the following.

> The work is interesting but very challenging. You have to be nice to every customer even when they insult you. Some customers will insult you and also report you to the owner of the bar even when you haven't offended them. You always have to say *'yes sir boss'* even when you know you are right. It is worst when some of them get drunk. They just insult you anyhow and you cannot complain. But some are also very good and will treat you as their child. They sometimes ask you to keep the change after they have paid for the drinks. That is when you are lucky to meet good and kind or God fearing customers (Interview with Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).

It is evident from this narration, that children like Attis have to learn good customer relations in order to maintain their jobs. In his own words, 'you always have to say, *yes sir boss'* to customers even when they are abusing you, and worse of all, when they become intoxicated with alcohol. Nonetheless, other customers appreciate the plight of child migrants and offer them money (tips) in appreciation of their services. He describes such customers as good and kind or God-fearing, who will treat him as their child.

Although Patabongo and her colleagues sold variety of Ghanaian dishes (fufu, banku, omu tuo and waakye), Badabatu sold only kenkay (also, a local Ghanaian dish made from corn). However, the working time and activities were similar. They all tidied up the places and arranged seats, took orders from customers and served the food on the tables for customers to eat, after which they washed the utensils. At the close of work, they tidied up the places, washed cooking utensils and then packed or rearranged the dining tables and chairs before going to bed. They worked a minimum of 13 hours a day and had no holidays. It appears girls are more familiar with the activities they do at chop bars as it is part of their upbringing in the northern part of Ghana. Household chores such as preparation of food, washing of dishes and serving food are regarded female chores. Girls are often socialised and learn to do by observing their mothers discharge such responsibilities in their homes. It is thus not unexpected, that many girls than boys (31.2% girls and 4.4% boys in figure 6.10) reported working in chop bars.

Further analysis of the data using Chi-Square test, shows statistical significant association in the sex (boys and girls) of child migrants and familiarity with the type of work they do at their destinations.

It is important to note however, that in order to use Chi-square for this analysis, two main conditions have to be met. First, to use 2 by 3 or larger contingency tables, not more than 20%

[10] The term Zongo is used in Ghana in reference to areas within a settlement that are mostly habited by migrants or non-indigenes. The occupants are often referred to as migrants from northern Ghana or neighbouring West African countries (Schildkrout, 1978) but exclude migrants or non-indigenes from southern Ghana.

of the expected frequencies should be less than 5. Secondly, no expected frequency should be less than 1 (Blaikie, 2008:98; Ofori and Dampson, 2011:498-499; Bryman, 2012). In other words, no cell in the contingency table should be empty. Therefore, the responses shown in figure 6.10 had to be regrouped from 9 to 6, resulting in a 2 by 6 contingency table (see later in table 6. 5). Consequently, the responses of 'farm work', 'fishing', 'illegal mining' and 'other' as in figure 6.7 were transformed (regrouped) into one category and named 'farming/fishing/mining'. This reduced the number of cells with expected counts of less than 5 from a previous number of 5 to 2 cells (16.7%), thus satisfying the condition to perform the Chi-square analysis using the SPSS. A summary of the results of the analysis is presented in tables 6.2 and 6.3.

Table 6.2: Chi-Square tests showing sex and type of work child migrants do

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	77.386[a]	5	.000
Likelihood Ratio	83.413	5	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.467	1	.226
N of Valid Cases	250		

a. 2 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.94.

As shown in table 6.2, the association between sex of child migrants and the kinds of work they do at their destinations, is highly significant at 5 degrees of freedom with a Chi-Square value of 77.39 (X^2 = 77.39, Sig = 0.000, df = 5). This high level of statistical significance (Sig. = 0.000) and high Chi-square value (X^2 = 77.39) indicate that the relation between sex (boys and girls) of migrant children and the familiarity with the type of work they do at their destinations is not attributable to chance. In other words, migrant children do work with which they are more familiar at their destinations. Furthermore, the strength and direction of association between the sex of migrant children and the types of work they do at their destinations is shown in table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Symmetric measures of sex and type of work child migrants do

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.556	.000
	Cramer's V	.556	.000
	Contingency Coefficient	.486	.000
N of Valid Cases		250	

Source: Computed from field data, 2014

As shown in table 6.3, the values of Phi (0.569), Cramer's V (0.569) and Contingency Coefficient (0.494) are all positive and above zero, indicating a positive relationship between the familiarity of work migrant boys and girls do at their destinations. Note that, the strength of association is measured between zero and one (0–1), with 0 meaning no relationship and 1 meaning perfect association. For instance the Phi and Cramer's V values of 0.556 show positive and strong association between boys and girls and the familiarity with the work they do at their destinations. In other words, migrant boys are more likely to do male related work, such as farming (farm labour) and selling khebab which they have been socialised to do at home, while migrant girls are more likely to work in cooking and housekeeping related work, such as washing utensils and serving food in chop bars.

Moreover, in other to find out the specific sources of the association, the Chi-square table is partitioned into the sex of child migrants and the types of work they do at their destinations and presented in table 6.4. Please note that, for the purpose of optimising space, the detail percentage shares of all the cells have not been included in this table. Only total percentages of the cells and columns have been included.

Table 6.4: Chi-Square table showing type of work and sex of child migrants

Type of work	Counts	Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
No work	Count	2	5	7
	Expected Count	2.9	4.1	7.0
	% of Total	.8%	2.0%	2.8%
Farming/Fishing/Mining	Count	23	17	40
	Expected Count	16.8	23.2	40.0
	% of Total	9.2%	6.8%	16.0%
Serving in chop bar	Count	11	78	89
	Expected Count	37.4	51.6	89.0
	% of Total	4.4%	31.2%	35.6%
Selling khebab	Count	57	17	74
	Expected Count	31.1	42.9	74.0
	% of Total	22.8%	6.8%	29.6%
Household work	Count	4	15	19
	Expected Count	8.0	11.0	19.0
	% of Total	1.6%	6.0%	7.6%
Selling on street	Count	8	13	21
	Expected Count	8.8	12.2	21.0
	% of Total	3.2%	5.2%	8.4%
Total	Count	105	145	250
	Expected Count	105.0	145.0	250.0
	% of Total	42.0%	58.0%	100.0%

Source: Computed from field data, 2012

Inspecting table 6.4 shows that four cells (sex, serving in chop bars and selling khebab) account for 65% of the association. In other words, most of the boys and girls were more familiar and chose to work in chop bars or selling khebab according to their sexes. For instance, while it was expected statistically that 52 girls will work in chop bars, 78 (more than expected) actually worked in chop bars. On the other hand, it was expected that 37 boys would work in chop bars, but it turned out that 11 (less than expected) boys were counted to have worked in chop bars. It shows then that serving in chop bars is more popular among girls than with boys. In the case of selling khebab, the statistical expectation was that 43 girls would work as khebab sellers, but only 17 (less than expected) of the total of 145 girls actually worked in selling khebab. Conversely, while 31 out of a total of 105 boys were statistically expected to sell khebab, 57 (more than expected) ended up working as khebab sellers. This indicates that boys were more familiar and had high preference than girls in selling khebab while many girls than boys, were familiar and preferred to work in chop bars.

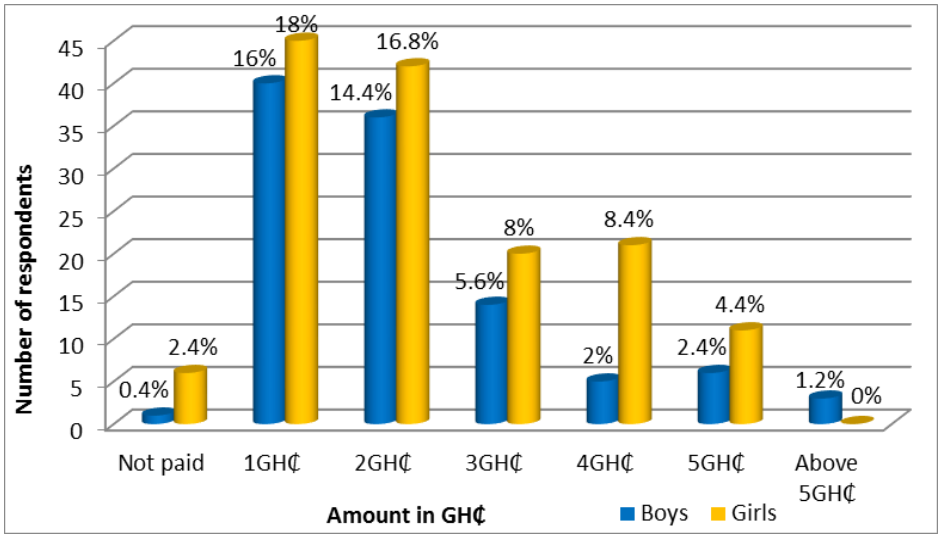
Furthermore, as 2.8% of the children did not work, the remaining 32% of the association was accounted for by children working in households, selling on the street and those in farming, fishing and mining. Nevertheless, many girls (6%) were engaged in household work than boys (1.6%). Similarly, selling on the street was more patronised by girls (5.2%) than boys (3.2%). However, many boys (9.2%) than girls (6.8%) worked in agriculture and mining related jobs. It is worth noting that although the individual cells of farming, fishing and mining made negligible contribution to the association, transforming (grouping) them into one unit (as in table 6.4) accounted for 16% of the association.

It is therefore plausible to contend that, the types of work child migrants do at their destinations are influenced by their sex (boy or girl) which are in turn influenced by the gender roles they play at home. Whereas boys tend to be familiar with and work in khebab selling girls are familiar and work in chop bars where they prepare and serve food as they do with their mothers in their home villages in Bongo district.

6.3.2 Remuneration of child migrants' work

Migrant children are remunerated in different ways for the work they do at their destinations. However, the quantum and nature of remuneration depends on the destination and the type of work they do. Responses from child migrants in this study indicate that those who were least remunerated worked on farms while those who had the highest earnings worked in mining. However, reliable figures on wages of child migrants are difficult to obtain because of non-uniformity across the types of work, location and mode of payment. For instance, Badabatu was able to earn GH¢70 for the period she worked, selling kenkey in the chop bar in Kumasi. Her auntie added GH¢30 to her earnings, summing it up to GH¢100, which she returned to her home village to use in school. She could not tell how much she was paid daily, except to accept the option that was negotiated on her behalf by her auntie. Nevertheless, the daily remuneration of the 250 in-school origin child migrants during the study is presented in figure 6.11.

Figure 6.11: Daily remuneration of child migrant's work



Source: Own illustration from field data, 2012

Note: The exchange rate at the time of the study was GH¢ 1.6 to US$1

As shown in figure 6.11, the remuneration for the migrant children range from those who indicated that they were not paid, to those who were paid daily wage of more than GH¢5. Although statistical computation shows an average daily remuneration of GH¢3.2, most of the children received daily remuneration of between GH¢1 and GH¢2 for their labour. Furthermore, whereas 34% were paid GH¢1, 31.2% were paid GH¢2 per day. Only 1.2% reported earning more than GH¢5 daily.

Although a cursory look at figure 6.11 shows that girls were more in all the daily wage categorisation, further analysis did not show a significant association between sex and daily remuneration (see table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Chi-Square tests for sex and daily remuneration

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.652[a]	6	.034
Likelihood Ratio	15.594	6	.016
Linear-by-Linear Association	.749	1	.387
N of Valid Cases	250		

a. 4 cells (28.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.26.

As shown in table 6.5, there is no statistically significant association (X^2 = 13.6, df = 6, Sig. 0.034) between daily remuneration and sex. In other words, the amounts of money migrant children are paid daily for their work does not matter whether they are boys or girls. As such the pattern shown in figure 6.11 is not statistically significant to report on. Nevertheless, interviews with child migrants on their remuneration elicited the following responses.

> I am not paid for the work I am doing. I am living with and helping my sister and her husband. My sister sells drinks in a container kiosk and her husband sells khebab in town. So I help them to sell when I return from school. They don't pay me, but they take care of me to go to school. That is why I have come from our hometown to this place (Interview with Anabiisi in Accra, October 24, 2012).
>
> Life here is a struggle. You have to work hard and take every small money which comes your way. In other words, don't give small money chance. I am given food here once a day and paid GH¢50 per month. I think it is OK for me because at the moment, I cannot get any better place than here. I rent a place and pay GH¢200 per year from my own pocket (Interview with Attis in Accra, 12/10/11).
>
> I worked for one month and got GH₵60. I was paid GH¢2 a day. But we were not buying food and we were also sleeping in the house of the woman [employer]. Her name is Maame Kokor [Fair-Coloured Mother]. I used some of the money to buy my sandals, school uniform and I bring some to school to buy food during break time (Interview with Monasore in Namoo, December 7, 2011).
>
> I am not paid a fixed rate. It depends on the market and the sales we make a day. When the market is good, I get GH¢5 but when it is not good, then I get GH¢4 a day. I save all the money that I get with my brother (someone from our village) so that when I get enough I will be able to go back home and continue with my schooling. I sleep here with my brother who I have come to meet. He also stays here with another man who is from Bawku and is the care taker of the house. So I don't pay for accommodation (Interview with Erambire in Accra, October 25, 2012).
>
> I was not paid but was given money [commission] depending on the amount of gold I was able to wash in a day. So the money was not fixed. I could get between GH¢5 and GH¢20 a day. I stayed there for one year and when I was coming, I got GH¢600 (interview with Dolanire in Boku, December 1, 2011).

It is clear from these narrations that children earn varying amounts, with different modes of payment, for working at their destinations. Anabiisi for instance was not paid for helping his sister and her husband who were hosting him in Accra. Although he helped his sister to sell alcoholic beverages and his sister's husband to sell khebab after school hours, weekends and during vacation, he was not paid. Instead, they accommodated, fed and were sponsoring his schooling in Accra. The narration of Anabiisi seems to explain the responses in figure 6.11 where 2.8% of the respondent child migrants indicated not being paid for the work they did at their destinations. This is consistent with child upbringing in Ghana, where children help their parents on their farms and house chores without monetary returns, but are fed and cared for by their parents and the adults in reciprocity.

On the other hand, Attis who worked as a sales boy at a drinking spot was paid GH¢50 per month. This implies his daily remuneration was an average of GH₵1.7 since he worked all days of the week (including weekends). He was however given one meal a day by his employer. Similarly, Monasore who worked in a chop bar in Kumasi was paid GH¢2 daily and also fed and accommodated by her employer. The experiences of Attis and Monasore epitomise the categories of children who earned GH¢1 and GH¢2 (see figure 6.11) per day. This category of children was in the majority and also consistent with the distribution of types of work, shown in figure 6.11. It appears therefore, that children who worked in chop bars or sold khebab received daily remuneration between GH¢1 and GH¢2.

However, Erambire who worked as a khebab seller was remunerated between GH¢4 and GH¢5 daily, depending on the sales he made in a day. Although he did similar work selling khebab) as some of his colleagues, it appears he had higher wage than many others who did similar work. This difference could be due to the location, as his spot was very busy when I

visited to seek appointment to interview him. As shown in figure 6.11, children in his category were not many, as only 13.2% indicated receiving between GH¢4 and GH¢5 daily for the work they did.

On the other hand, Dolanire appears to belong to the category of children who received daily remuneration above GH¢5. Although he narrated that he was not paid fixed daily wage, he estimated his daily remuneration to be in the range of GH¢5 and GH¢20. He and his colleagues were paid commission, based on the amount of gold they were able to process in a day and since illegal gold mining is lucrative in Ghana, he was able to earn more than what the other children got from other kinds of work they did. He explained getting GH¢600 (US$300) for his work, which is a lot of money, in relation to the earnings of his colleagues and the economic conditions of the people in his home community. Not only is GH¢600 high earning in Bongo district, it is also lucrative for adults engaged in the formal sector of the economy in Ghana. It is therefore not surprising, that illegal gold mining is difficult to control by both local and central governments in Ghana. For instance, Chinese and other nationals have made headlines in the daily newspapers in recent times, for engaging in illegal gold mining in Ghana, which has received national and international concern. This has resulted in the setting up of an inter-ministerial task force by the President of Ghana, to combat the menace which led to the repatriation of 3,877 foreign nationals engaged in the illegal activity by July 2013, with further arrest of 47 others on October 31, 2013, of which 43 were Chinese nationals (Okyere, Daily Graphic, 31 October, 2013; Ghanaweb.com, 4 November 2013).

Nevertheless, Dolanire complained of risks associated with the work and abuses by his colleague illegal miners who he called ‘gang leaders’. He explained further in the following excerpt.

> When we wake up in the morning, we will bath and take taxi to the mining site. There, machines were digging and crushing the rocks. Then we will collect the crushed rocks and then wash them to sort the gold out from the rocks. We were also using head pans to carry the crushed rocks from the place where it was crushed or ground to the place where the washing was done, and that was very hard and tiring. .. We were working at the place where the machines were and it was very dangerous because the machines could hurt you if you were not careful. We were using shovels and if you were not careful you could be hurt. There is a machine that pumps water from the river to the point where the washing is done and at times we were asked to go into the water to fix or direct the intake (the part of the pipe of the machine which draws the water). That was very dangerous. .. We were having our leaders. They called them Gang Leaders. They were those who will collect the money from our boss and share it among us so anytime they were sharing they will make sure they get more money and then we will get small. The gang leaders were those who were cheating us not our boss (Interview with Dolanire in Boku, December 1, 2011). See appendix 6g for full transcript.

It is clear from this narration, that small scale mining is risky as they had to collect crushed rocks from the places where they were crushed by machines, to a point where they washed to get the gold. This was not only dangerous, but arduous especially for children, as Dolanire was then 16 year old. Besides, section 58 of the Labour Act, 2003 (ACT 651) and section 87 of the Children’s Act, 1998 (ACT 560) of Ghana, prohibit the employment of young people (children) in any type of work that will expose them to physical and moral hazards. However, these are often disregarded in the informal sector and worse of all, in illegal small scale gold mining. According to Dolanire, children are sometimes asked to dive into water to disentangle parts of machines when they are not functioning well, which is very dangerous for them. Furthermore, gang leaders cheat their colleagues in the disbursement of their daily remuneration. These ‘gang leaders’ liaised between the owners of the illegal mining businesses or employers and the labourers. They collect commission on the daily work done by the labourers and share it among them, thereby cheating those labourers (including child migrants like Dolanire) in the process. However, since many small scale mining activities are illegal and the recruitment of labourers does not follow any formal procedure, children are unable to seek redress when they are cheated or abused.

Child migrants employ very subtle but innovative and effective means of livelihoods under the circumstance of low remuneration at their destinations. Many exploit networks (based on family, hometown and friends) to minimise the effects of low earnings. This is usually done through non-formal contractual arrangement with such networks and/or employers to access free accommodation and/or feeding while working. For instance, Akobinire who was interviewed in Accra, explained that he was living and working with his brother to sell roasted meat (khebab) and was paid GH¢1.5 a day. He considered the amount as not bad because he was not paying for accommodation as he was accommodated and fed by his brother in his house. Furthermore, Monasore, Erambire and Anabiisi all narrated how they were able to save almost all of their daily remuneration because they were fed and accommodated by relatives and employers. Besides free accommodation and feeding, Attis explained he had to do whatever was possible for him to earn money, no matter how small it may be. He admits life in Accra is a struggle and one has to work hard and take every little money which comes your way. This suggests that, Attis will not hesitate to exploit any opportunity to earn extra money, irrespective of its quantum, as conditions of living in Accra are different from those in his home village.

More so, living independent of their parents and at a distant destination makes them gullible to unscrupulous adults and peers, who might entice them with possibilities of earning money and thus introduce them to deviant lifestyles. However, as children stay and get used to their destinations, they employ more innovative adaptation strategies than those who are new to the destinations.

Furthermore, living independent lives at the destination has great implications for migrant children when they are taken ill. For instance, Kwankye and Addoquaye (2009) explain how child migrants access health care when at their destinations. They report of how about 57.1% of 303 child migrants in Accra and 49.7% out of 145 in Kumasi said they sought health care from pharmacy and chemical shops, with 1.3% and 3.4% accessing herbal treatment in Accra and Kumasi, respectively. Furthermore, 2.3% and 0.7% in Accra and Kumasi respectively, said they could not access any form of medical care. Although there are various forms and sources of health care options to migrant children at their destinations, access is dependent on the ability to meet the cost associated with such options. Accessing medical treatment in this study was not very different from the findings of Kwankye and Addoquaye, except that children made good use of networks and the benevolence of their employers to access medical treatment when they were taken ill. For instance, 17 year old boy (Erambire) who fell ill shortly after he migrated to Accra narrated the following.

> I came here in June this year, so I am 5 months old here. I was sick some time ago and didn't know what to do. I wanted to go back home but I know that my parents cannot get money to send me to the hospital. One of my brothers here sent me to the hospital and I was treated. He paid for all the cost of the treatment for me. I don't know what I would have done or what would have happened to me if he had not paid for me. I pray that God will bless him (Interview with Erambire in Accra, November 25, 2012).

From this narration, Erambire knew that his parents at home could not afford the cost of medical treatment of his illness if he went home, but he did not also have money on his own to access treatment in Accra. He was however fortunate to benefit from the good will of his hometown-based network when someone from his village (but residing in Accra) sent him to the hospital for treatment. Erambire admits he did not know what would have happened to him, without the intervention and could only pray for God to bless his benefactor.

Although, Ghana has been operating an effective health insurance scheme since 2003, payment of premium as a prerequisite to benefit from the scheme, which is often out of reach of many child migrants who in the worst case scenario, as observed by Kwankye and Addoquaye (2009:162), may not be able to access health care when they are ill. It implies therefore, that child migrants who are unable to access health care for reasons of none affordability, resort to quack doctors and self-medication for treatment of illnesses when they are ill. Self-medication, often associated with abuse of drugs, is facilitated by laxity in the implementation of policies on medication which, enables people to procure medicines without necessarily providing

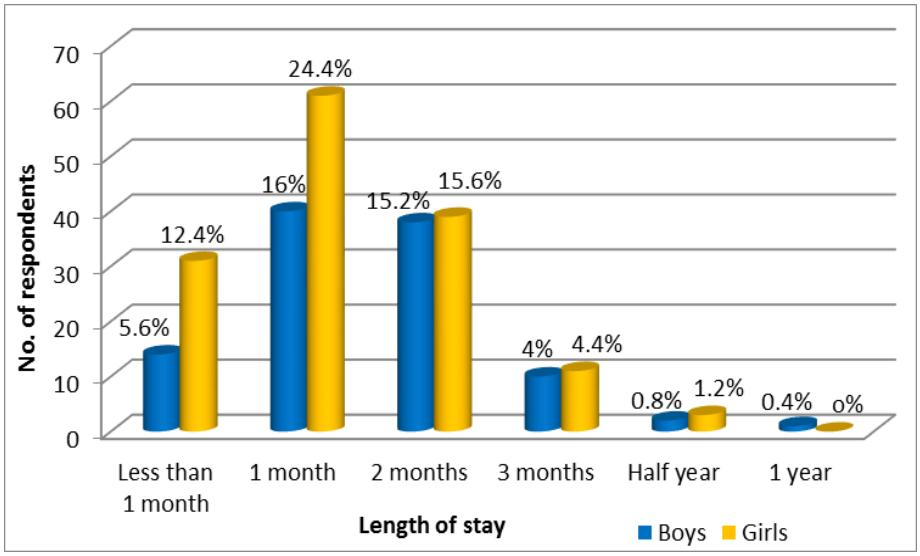
prescriptions from trained medical practitioners. Therefore, children are able to, and often do, buy and use drugs (mostly pain relieving drugs) without the prescription of trained medical practitioners, often resulting in abuse of such drugs. Not only do they abuse these pain relieving drugs, but such drugs are most likely substandard, expired or fake.

6.3.3 Duration of stay at destinations by child migrants

The length of time children spend on migration at a destination has a lot of influence on the types of work they do and the amount of money they are able to earn. This is mainly because, as children stay long and get familiar with their destinations, they are able to access more useful information about job availability and are thus better positioned to negotiate more favourable terms than when they are new and unfamiliar with the job terrain. Staying longer also affords them the opportunity to widen their network and where possible, renegotiate their conditions of work or change jobs if they find better alternatives or options.

Responses of 250 in-school origin child migrants indicate that most of the group of respondent child migrants spent less than a year at their destinations at the time of the study. Although their principal motive for migrating was for economic reasons, they were constrained by the limited duration of their end of year vacation within which they could migrate. The distribution of responses from this category of child migrants is presented in figure 6.12.

Figure 6.12: Length of stay at destination of child migrants



Source: Own illustration from field data, 2012

As shown in figure 6.12, only 0.4% of the 250 children had stayed at their destinations for up to a year. About 40.4% of the respondents spent one month at their places of destination, while 30.8% said they had worked 2 months with 18% working for less than one month. This distribution is not unexpected, because the respondents were mainly of the category of in-school destination child migrants, who took advantage of the end of year vacation to migrate to work and return to continue schooling after the vacation. Therefore, many of them could not stay longer as they would have wished because they were constrained by time. However, further analysis of this data did not show any statistical difference or association between length of stay and earnings. Nevertheless, the narration of Dolanire (as presented earlier) suggests that he got GH¢600 not only because of high daily earnings of between GH¢5 and GH¢20, but he also spent one year at the destination before returning to continue schooling in his home village. He narrates that '*I stayed there for one year and when I was coming, I got GH¢600'.* Although he did not indicate working in the mine every day, he nonetheless stayed at the destination for one year, before returning to his home village to continue schooling which cost him a year of schooling. In other words, he missed a year out of school as the opportunity cost of his migration.

6.3.4 Uses of earnings

Earnings from child migration are used for variety of purposes, often determined by the motivation for the migration. Not only do child migrants strive to earn money, they are often confronted with challenges at their destinations, including living independent of their birth parents and paying for facilities and services (Kwankye and Addoquaye, 2009) which they hitherto accessed for free in their home villages. As narrated earlier by Attis, life in Accra is a struggle and one has to work hard to make a living. Therefore, children have no option but to meet such daily necessities from their meagre earnings. However, the uses of earnings are not only dictated by the circumstances of individual children at their destinations, but also those of their households in their home villages (Tamanja, 2012:19). Nevertheless, child migrants innovate ways of meeting such daily challenges while saving some of their earnings for future use; either at the destinations or upon return.

Most children are accommodated and fed either by their employers or family members and friends at their destinations. These arrangements help mitigate a lot of the challenges such children would otherwise have faced, since accommodation is expensive in urban areas in Ghana (especially, in Accra). With the exception of Attis, who reported paying GH¢200 per annum on rent, all other migrant children interviewed said they did not pay rent. For instance, whereas Monasore and her colleagues were accommodated and fed by their employer in Kumasi, Patabongo and her friends were accommodated by Patapaa in Kintampo, while Badabatu was accommodated and fed by her auntie in Kumasi. Similarly, Erambire and Abudu were accommodated and fed by their employers (who were also relatives) in Accra. Abudu for instance, narrates that he stayed at Avenor [near Kwame Nkrumah Circle] with a friend from his hometown and worked with a brother in Madina (a suburb of Accra). Furthermore, Erambire who also worked by selling khebab with a distant relative from his home village, but residing in Accra, narrated the following.

> I am not paid a fixed rate. It depends on the market and the sales we make a day. When the market is good, I get GH¢5 but when it is not good then I get GH¢4 a day. I save all the money that I get with my brother (my employer who is also from our village) so that when I get enough I will be able to go back home and continue with my schooling. I think if I get GH¢1,000 that will be enough for me to go back home to continue schooling. I have GH¢210 now……I live here (sleeping place) with my brother (someone from the same village) who I have come to meet. He also stays here with another man who is from Bawku and is the care taker of the house. The owner of the house is not here. He lives outside the country. So I don't pay for accommodation (Interview with Erambire in Accra, November 25, 2012).

From this narration, Erambire exploits a hometown-based network to access free accommodation in Accra. He was sleeping with another migrant boy from his village, who was already living in Accra before Erambire joined him. The boy also had access to the accommodation because he knew the care taker of an unoccupied house, whose owner was abroad. The care taker hails from Bawku (a town in the Upper East Region) but migrated to Accra and was taking care of the house, in the absence of its owner. Although Erambire did not know the real owner of the house, he knew his colleague migrant who intend knew the care taker of the house. He therefore had free access to the house through the network of people from his home village and region.

Furthermore, Erambire was fed by his employer which made it possible for him to save all of his daily earnings with his employer. Although his target was to raise GH¢1,000 he had been able to save GH¢210 at the time of the interview, and was hopeful of meeting his target, to enable him return to his home village to continue his education. It is worth reiterating, that Erambire was motivated to migrate because he completed JHS and got admission at Gowrie Secondary Technical School (located in Bolgatanga Municipal District, near his home district), but his parents could not raise the required money for admission fees and to buy his prospectus (prescribed list of items he needed to go to school with). It is therefore expected that Erambire's earnings would be used to pay his school fees and buy the needed items for him to progress to

the Senior High School.

Likewise, Monasore, Badabatu and other children who also migrated to work in Kintampo and Kumasi, narrated using the money they earned to buy items they needed in school. Similar observations were made in a study of migrant school children from Bongo district that, they use their earnings to buy items they need in school as well as pocket money to buy food during break time in school (Tamanja, 2012:19). Although other studies (Hashim, 2009; Kwankye and Anarfi, 2009; Anarfi and Agyei, 2009) have reported children using their earnings to buy cooking utensils and other items needed for marriage, children in this study used their earnings on school related items as most of them were attending school. Nevertheless, Dolanire who earned GH¢600 from working in illegal gold mining narrated giving part of his earnings to his parents to buy roofing sheets to roof a portion of their house. Although, Dolanire gave part of his earnings to help renovate their house, he also uses his earnings as narrated by other child migrants, to buy items he needs in school and food during break time.

The quanta of money migrant children earn and use, depend not only on their daily wages, as discussed, but also on their ability to save. Although there are options of saving available and used by migrant children, *susu*[11] has been observed to be famous amount migrant children in Kumasi and Accra (Kwankye and Addoquaye, 2009). This is perhaps attributable to inability of children to access formal saving options such as the banks, due to strict and stringent requirements which are beyond their means. Therefore, children make use of alternative opportunities in the informal sector, such as *susu*, to save part of their earnings. However, children in this study reported saving with their employers and keeping the money by themselves. Erambire narrated saving his GH¢210 with his employer, who also happens to come from his home village. Furthermore, Monasore explains that she and her colleagues saved with their employer in the following. '*She was not giving the money to us every day. She gave it to us when we were coming back after the vacation'.* Also, Dakumasore who spent his vacation, working with his brother in Accra narrates the following. *'When I was there my brother was not paying me, so I didn't have my own money and I stayed there for only one month. So, I didn't have money to send home, but when I was coming, my brother gave me GH¢170. I used it to buy my school needs like books, uniform, sandals, watch* [wrist watch] *and then something is left for my pocket'* [pocket money]*.* These arrangements appear tenable mostly because the periods of stay were short (one to three months) and thus convenient for both the children and their employers. In the case of longer stays, as was the case of Kwankye and Addoquaye (2009), such arrangements might not have been convenient for the children.

Moreover, child migrants continue to keep their earnings with adults upon return, as they often consider themselves immature for such savings when at home with their birth parents. Besides, children in northern Ghana are regarded good children when they are submissive to their parents and other adults (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011). Therefore giving money to parents for safe keeping is a sign of good upbringing which children will like to be regarded as such. For instance a 16 years old JHS 2 girl (Calapodia), who migrated to Kumasi during the end of year vacation, narrated the following.

> I was washing bowls in a chop bar and was paid GH¢3 a day. I worked for one month and got GH¢90. I was keeping the money in my bag in the room and not spending it…….When I came back from Kumasi, I gave the money to my mother but she said she is supposed to buy my school items for me, so I should use the money to buy my school items. But when I was coming from Kumasi, I bought my sandals, books, pens, school bag and my uniform from there. So my mother said she will keep the rest of the money for me and be giving me small, small anytime I want to buy something (Interview with Calapodia in Boku, December 1, 2011).

[11] susu is a form of microfinance, operated by the informal sector in Ghana. Individuals in a group decide and contribute money at regular and agreed period of time, to a central pool, from which members can access loans at minimal or no interest for business or to solve personal problems.

From this narration, Calapodia saved her earnings at the destination in her bag. Although she lived with distant family relatives, she did not give the money to them for safe keeping. However, she gave it to her mother upon return, as a sign of respect and also for safe keeping. Her mother acknowledged her failure to meet the basic needs of her daughter and permitted her to use it to buy things she needed in school. She however accepted the responsibility of keeping the money for Calapodia to be used anytime she needs it. This was because Calapodia had already bought items such as books, mathematical set, pens, sandals, school bag and school uniform from Kumasi. Since acquiring these items was her main motivation for migrating, the GH¢90 was therefore kept for other uses, including pocket money to buy food during break time in school.

Buying food during break time in school is common in Ghanaian schools. This is mainly because children spend eight hours in school on school days. A typical school day begins at 7am and closes at 2pm, when children are expected to be in school. There are however, two periods of break, within which children can leave the classrooms to do other things besides lessons. The first break is at 9:45 am and last for 15 minutes while the second break is at 12:55 noon, also with duration of 15 minutes. These periods of break allow children to leave the classrooms, move within the school premise and also find food to eat. In schools benefiting from the Government's school feeding programme (where school children are given a meal per day in school), all children are fed with a common meal. However, in schools not benefiting from the programme, children can either bring cooked food from their homes to eat during these periods of break, or buy food from venders within the locality who are permitted by school authorities to sell food in schools. Many school children in Bongo district patronise the services of these food venders during school days (see figure 6.13).

Figure 6.13: School children buying food during break time in school

Source: Field data, 2014

As seen in figure 6.13, children who do not send cooked food to school, patronise the services of local food venders who sell local dishes in school. The main dishes sold are rice with stew, *waakye*[12] and doughnuts (fried cakes). They also sell sweets (chewing gums, and candies) and fruits, such as banana and oranges. Although the hygienic conditions under which the food is sold (see figure 6.13) leaves much to be desired, it is widely patronised by school children, as there are no alternatives. Besides, it is relatively cheaper and more affordable to school children than in the open market. However, the quality is also lower than it is in the open market, as the target customers are mainly school children. Migrant children therefore use part of their earnings from migration to buy this food during break time in school. This enables them to stay in school but also motivates them as well as their non-migrant colleagues, to migrate to work for money to buy food and other things they need in school. The following narrations elucidate how migrant

[12] Waakye is a popular dish in Ghana, cooked of rice and beans. It is prepared by boiling both beans and rice together, usually in various homes but mostly sold by roadside vendors, in buildings and also in schools. It is usually eaten with stew but can be complemented with hot chilli (called shitɔ) and is loved by many people in Ghana.

children spend their earnings on food during break time in school.

> I used some of the money to buy my sandals, school uniform and I bring some to school to buy food during break time (Monasore).
>
> When you come to school and you don't have money to buy food, some people [school mates] who go [migrate] will be wearing nice things and have money to buy food and you will only be looking at them. Ahhh, I have to also go and work and get some money, so that I can also buy what I need (Adenida).
>
> When you are in school other people will be having money to buy food during break time and also have nice bags and uniforms and you will not have anything (Badabatu).

It appears from these narrations that buying food during break time in school is popular among children and those who are unable to do so, feel uncomfortable observing their colleagues buy when they cannot. Besides buying other things such as sandals, school uniform and bags, Badabatu and Monasore explain using their money to buy food during break time in school. Adenida on the other hand, justified his migration by explaining how migrant school children have money to buy nice things and food while non-migrants do not. It is therefore expedient to submit that up scaling the government's school feeding programme to cover all schools, especially in rural deprived schools, could help ameliorate the challenge and place all children on similar or equal pedestals, to ensure effective stay and learning in schools.

On the other hand, migrant children who are no longer in school do not only spend their earnings on food and personal basic needs, but among others, help their siblings in schools back home through remittances (see chapter 8). Attis for instance admitted he could no longer continue with his education, but was supporting his siblings in school, with an ultimate aim of returning to establish a business enterprise in future. Although his long term objective is to save and return later in life to establish a business in his home village, Attis sends part of his earnings to his mother in the village, to support his siblings who are in school.

6.4. Challenges of child migration

Migrant children face numerous challenges when they migrate. These challenges are mainly socio-economic in nature and revolve around their living conditions at their destinations (Kwankye and Addoquaye, 2009). In a study of migrant school children from Bongo district, Tamanja (2012) identified transportation difficulties, difficulty in finding jobs, insecurity, shelter, sickness and harassment as challenges migrant children face. Similar challenges emerged from the narrations of child migrants in this study and include transportation, finding jobs and insecurity.

6.4.1 Transportation challenges

The modes of transport children embark upon during their migration journeys, determine the transportation related challenges they encounter when migrating. Children who use safe public buses such as the narrations of Anabiire, Abudu and Adalooro (see section 6.1.2 on child migration journeys) had smooth trips to their destinations. This is mostly due to formal adherence to management procedures and regular servicing of such buses. The Metro Mass Transit Ltd for instance, has terminals in many cities and in all regional capital cities for regular servicing and providing management needs of the buses and passengers. They are therefore reliable and safe means to travel by road in Ghana. However, Jaafa and Akobinire who travelled by cargo trucks reported encountering challenges on their journeys to Accra. They had to share space with animals in the truck and also risk sitting on top of moving cargo trucks. Akobinire recounted his experience in the following.

> When that my brother told the driver, he asked whether I was strong enough to sit in the truck to Accra, and I told him that I could do it. I was not alone, I was with some other boys who also wanted to come to Accra. We sat on top of the truck, holding the iron bars at the top and when you get tired, you go down to sit where the animals were. Anytime one of the goats or sheep fell down, we helped raised it up otherwise the others will step on it to death. So we were moving from the top of the truck to where the animals were and back and if you got so tired you could also rest on either the tarpaulins or nets which were tired to the iron bars in the truck for us to rest or sleep on in the course of the journey……..The cargo truck had a break down on the way [between Kumasi and Nkawkaw] and we had to be stranded there for about four hours, until they brought a mechanic who came to repair the truck. I was only lucky because the driver was aware of me so he gave me money to buy food to eat until the truck was repaired. If not because of the kindness of the driver and the brother who I followed, I don't know how I would have survived, especially food to eat (Interview with Akobinire in Accara, November 1, 2011).

It appears from this narration, that the driver of the cargo truck was familiar with such encounters with children and asked if Akobinire was strong enough for the journey. As such, Akobinire and his colleagues had to jostle their way through animals (goats and sheep) on board the moving truck, to attend to the animals, especially those that fell down. This was to prevent those standing from trampling those on the floor of the truck to death. As such, they had to oscillate between the top of the truck (where they were seated) to the floor (where the animals were) throughout the course of the journey. Besides, they could only rest in turns on a tarpaulin and net that were tired to iron bars in the truck, whenever there was need. This is definitely not easy for such a long distance journey. Furthermore, the truck developed a mechanical fault and they were stranded for four hours. Although the narration did not include how the other children managed with the challenge of the breakdown of the truck, it is to be expected that it was equally inconvenient to them. Akobinire was however lucky to have been fed by the operators of the truck, as he sought their consent and permission to travel with them. The situation is dire for those who sneak their way into such trucks and one can only imagine their fate in the event of an accident. This notwithstanding, children from Bongo district continue to migrate using all possible means of transport to their destinations.

6. 4. 2 Work challenges

Finding work to do at the destination is a crucial phase of the process of child migration, as most of these children migrate for work. However, as they do not have employable skills to be engaged in the formal sector of the economy, they can only find themselves in the informal sector where they engage in menial work. A 17 years old girl (Lamisi) who dropped out from school at age 13 and migrated to Kumasi in 2008 but had to leave because she could not get work to do recounted her experience in the following.

> I first went to my sister at Kumasi (Moshie Zongo) but I didn't get work there, so I went back to Boku [her home village] before coming to Accra. I just wanted to work, so I wanted any work to do in Kumasi, but my sister couldn't find me any. So I returned to Boku. I stayed in Kumasi for one year and then left. I told my sister that I wanted to go to school but she told me that she didn't have money to send me to and take care of me in school there in Kumasi, because in Kumasi they pay school fees (Interview with Lamisi in Accra, November 22, 2011).

Lamisi who could not continue her education could not also find work to do in Kumasi, because her sister could not assist her. This was probably because of her age and lack of skills. She therefore had to return to her home village after spending a year in Kumasi, before migrating again to Accra where she was fortunate to be placed in apprenticeship while selling oranges during her 'off days' (one day in a week and Sundays when she did not have to go to work but rest) for a living.

However, living independent of their birth parents at the destinations has serious

implications when they are unable to get work to do. Attis forinstance explained that life in Accra is a struggle. In other words, children will do whatever is possible for them to make a living, as they have to pay for services and facilities (for instance, accessing public toilets) which they hitherto were not doing in their home villages. Nevertheless, children rely on networks of families and friends to access work, albeit mostly under exploitative and deplorable conditions. Attis narrated abuses by his employer as well as customers under the influence of alcohol, who will insult him without provocation and also report his perceived misconduct to his employer. He has to always respond '*yes sir boss*' to customers, even when he knows he has not done anything untoward.

6.4.3 Accommodation challenges

Finding accommodation in Accra is a daunting challenge, not only to child migrants, but also, to many dwellers in the city. Although most of the children narrated being accommodated by their employers (who in many cases, also happened to be related to them) such places were deplorable. Erambire who was living in a building which owner was abroad, slept on a tattered mattress on the floor of a room that was not floored for human occupation. I observed while interviewing him, that the room was probably a store room and lacked the necessary ventilation and other features for human occupancy. However, Erambire had to make do with it, as he could not afford to rent a room in Accra. On the other hand, Abudu slept with a friend in a kiosk at a place called Avenor, near the Kwame Nkrumah Circle while working at Jerusalem Garden at Madina. The kiosk was equally not conducive for human habitation and was subject to demolition by the city authorities. Nevertheless, Abudu was grateful to his host as it would have been difficult for him to have a place to sleep as well as a place to work. Although sleeping in the kiosk is not safe in the event of disaster such as fire outbeaks, flooding or demolition, Abudu considered himself lucky as some child migrants have to sleep at lorry parks and in front of shops. It is worth noting that the place where Abudu and his friends lived is prone to flooding and has not been designated for residential accommodation. As such the structures (mainly wooden) are highly insecure as they are often destroyed by occasional floods and city authorities.

Besides, shelter related challenges are common among many child migrants in the cities in Ghana. In a study of child migrants in Accra and Kumasi, Kwankye and Addoquaye (2009:146) observed that 56% of 305 child migrants in Accra slept in markets or transport stations while 20% slept in kiosks. In addition, they aso observed that 11.7% of 146 child migrants in Kumasi slept in markets or lorry stations while 41.1% reported sleeping in kiosks. This challenge has serious implications on their safety and health conditions at the destinations.

6.4.4 Security and health challenges

Child migrants face various forms of insecurity and abuse at their destinations. As many migrant children do not have good and secure accommodation, they are often unable to safely keep their earnings while being susceptible to mistreatment from miscreants. It is therefore not surprising that, many of the children narrated keeping their earnings with their employers, although unscrupulous employers could also abuse such arrangements. For instance, Badabatu who benefitted from such arrangement narrated that how her employer agreed with her auntie and her earnings were given to her in bulk when she wanted to return. She therefore got GH¢70, but her auntie also added GH¢30 to make it GH¢100'. This arrangement seemed to have worked well for children in this study as most of them did not stay long at their destinations, since they were still in school. Nonetheless, some of the girls were aware of inappropriate sexual overtures from boys at their destinations. Although none of the girls narrated of having been raped, they were cautioned by their hosts against such nefarious and unscrupulous individuals and acts. Calapodia for instance, narrated her experience in the following.

I was staying with the man and his wife but in the night you will find these young men and boys calling you and just disturbing. They call them Area Guys. The Area Guys will just be calling you that they want to befriend you, so I was not going out in the night'. Similar experience was recounted by Badabatu when she said 'the Zongo boys are very bad. So my auntie was not allowing me to go out in the night. She said they could beat me up and even rape me. So I was always afraid to go out alone (interview with Calapodia in Boku, December 1, 2011).

Cautioning child migrants is not limited to their destinations but include the advice they receive from their parents before migrating. Mindful of unscrupulous people and activities in urban places, parents often caution their children to be wary of such people and to conduct themselves well while at their destinations. Lamisi's mother narrated cautioning her to avoid deviant behaviours and be careful of herself, especially as she is a girl. Migrant children are therefore guided by cautions from their birth parents at their home villages as well as those of their hosts at their destinations, to avoid deviant acts that are likely to jeopardise their stay at the destinations as well as their migration objectives.

6.5 Summary

Child migration involves complex processes and patterns with several challenges; both in the course of the movement and at the destinations. In this chapter, the processes involved and emerging patterns in the movement, the livelihood of child migrants at the destinations and challenges they encounter, are discussed.

Child migrants employ various strategies in raising fares for their migration journeys, including personal sources, from parents and friends as well as free transportation. Although, paid commercial transport in buses is popular among child migrants, long distance cargo haulage trucks also serve as means for some child migrants who manage to negotiate (through networks) with operators of such trucks to travel to their destinations. Nonetheless, children from less accessible villages either walk or ride bicycles to the nearest settlements where they can access public transport (albeit rickety) to Bolgatanga (capital of UER) to board public buses to their destinations.

The patterns that emerge from journeys of migrant children from Bongo district are similar to those of adult migration in Ghana and include seasonal cyclical and circular, chain and step-wise migration. However, a variant of step-wise migration is identified as 'leapfrog' migration. This involves children who migrate to intermediate destinations, but instead of progressing to their final destinations as with step-wise migration, choose to return to the origin before leaping the intermediate destination to the final destination. Although this type of migration is novel, more data is needed for its confirmation as it was identified in the movements of only two children.

Migrant children engage in a variety of work for livelihood at their destinations. However, working at food vending joints and selling of roasted meet are more popular among child migrants from Bongo district. The choice of work at the destination is strongly related to the sex (boy or girl) of children and familiarity with the work. Whereas more girls than boys worked in helping to prepare and serve food, majority of boys worked in roasting and selling meat which they are familiar with, through upbringing in their home villages. Although earnings are used in a variety of ways including supplementing family income, paying fees to progress to SHS, purchasing basic items and food during break time in school are the main ways child migrants from Bongo district spend their earnings from migration.

Nevertheless, migrant children encounter several challenges ranging from transportation in the course of their journeys, through finding jobs, accommodation, to abuse and insecurity at their destinations. Children who travel by cargo trucks do not only have to contend the arduous challenge of sharing space with animals being transported, but attend to such animals and sleep in tents and tarpaulins tied to iron bars in the trucks. Besides, such children often have to travel

long distances without money, leaving their faith to chance in the event of breakdown of the trucks or accidents. Furthermore, children suffer abuses of various forms (mostly verbal) from their employers and also customers in the course of work at their destinations, while the education of those schooling could be affected. The effects of migration on the education of children are therefore discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: NEXUS BETWEEN CHILD MIGRATION AND EDUCATION

In this chapter, I discuss the linkages between migration and the education of children in two main parts. The first part discusses the experiences of children through accounts from their own narrations, while the second part tests the hypothesis to establish differences (if any) in academic performance between school children who migrate and their counterparts who do not. The nexus are grouped into general and specific as well as the places of origin and destination of child migrants. Whereas the linkages were mostly weak and negative for children who could no longer continue schooling, it was observed to be positive and strong for others who were fortunate to access well-resourced schools at their destinations. Furthermore, effects were mixed for a third category because, though they could no longer continue with their education, they were nonetheless pursuing other opportunities of skills acquisition which they could rely on for their livelihoods in the future. In other words, nexus between migration and education of children were found to be tantamount to effects and discussed as such.

On the other hand, a test of hypothesis confirmed difference in the academic performance of migrant school children and their non-migrant counterparts. Although the difference was small (3 points difference), it was significant ($p < 0.05$) and showed that non-migrant school children performed relatively better than their counterparts who migrate.

7.1 Effects of child migration on education

Migration has different effects on the educational progression of children in Bongo district. The effects are categorized into general and specific and furthermore, into negative, positive and mixed, depending on the context within which migration is made and the category of children involved. These effects are presented in table 7.1

Table 7.1: Effects of child migration on schooling

Location	Effect of migration on schooling		
	General		Specific
Destination	E(-ve)=12	Negative effects	Migration as an end to schooling
	E(±ve)=5	Mixed effects	Acquire skills through apprenticeship
	E(+ve)=8	Positive effects	Migration for schooling
Origin	E(+ve)=10		Migration as a strategy to stay and complete school
Total	=35	Key: E(- ve) = Negative effects E(+ve) = Positive effects E(±ve) = Mixed effects	

Source: Own illustration from Field data, 2014

As shown in table 7.1, 12 children stated clearly that migration has had negative effect on their education, as they could no longer continue schooling. Closely related to this category with negative effects were 5 children who considered migration to have mixed effects on their education, as they could no longer continue schooling, but were acquiring skills through apprenticeship. This particular group of 5 children, although were no longer in school, considered their involvement in migration to have both positive and negative effects on their education, as they were nonetheless, acquiring skills through apprenticeship. Furthermore, 18 children admitted migration has had positive effect on their education. This category of children were either schooling at their destinations or lived in their places of origin but migrated seasonally (during vacation) to work for money in order to stay in school.

7.1.1 Negative effect of child migration on education

It is observed from responses of children that those who migrated to do menial work in order to support themselves and their families back home, were unable to continue with their education (see table 7.1). A total of 12 children (8 boys and 4 girls) in this category who were interviewed in Accra (their destination) agreed that migration has had a negative effect and an end to their educational ambitions, compelling them to explore other options of developing themselves. Attis (a 17 years old boy) who migrated to Accra after the death of his father, when he was 13 years old, admitted in an interview with the following response.

> Like I said, I don't think I can go to school again because there is no one to help. When I came here first, I was thinking I will get enough money quick and then go back and continue with my school, but it is not so, and I cannot also continue the schooling here. But if I can get someone to help me and my family at home, I will still want to go to school. But as you know, that is not possible because I cannot forget of my mother and my siblings. I am the first born son of the family so I have to take care of them when they don't have. I can only say that, if it is possible, then we can help those still in school now because I don't think my help is enough for them. If someone can help, it will be better and I will also be free and save more for my own work in the future (Interview with Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).

For children like Attis, migration means an end to their educational ambitions, although they may still have dropped out (anyway) if they were at home, because of their peculiar household socio-economic circumstances. This is further compounded by the position of Attis as the first born male child in a patrilineal family. He sees himself as having the responsibility to support his widowed mother and younger siblings, and therefore has to work, instead of pursuing his educational ambition. He initially thought it will be easy for him to work and get enough money and return to continue with his education, but it turned out differently and he now has to work in order to support his mother and siblings back home in the village. He is however praying and hoping for an opportunity (though unlikely) or any kind of assistance that can cater for his siblings while he saves more from his meagre earnings for his own future. All the 12 children in this category (out of school child migrants) who were interviewed, expressed similar sentiments and hopes as those of Attis. Such children consider either saving enough of their earnings to establish small scale retail business enterprises or learn a trade through apprenticeship.

7.1. 2 Mixed effect of child migration on education

Children who are unable to continue schooling when they migrate often consider apprenticeship as a close substitute or alternative to schooling. Although there exists some form of formal apprenticeship training in Ghana, migrant children from Bongo district who were on apprenticeship were mainly in the informal sector, as non was in a vocational training institution or had a signed contract between the trainers and apprentices. This category of children include those who either dropped out of school because of migration or completed school (BECE) but could not continue to the next stage as was articulated by 17 years old Abudu, who migrated to Accra because he could not get the qualifying grades from his BECE to enter a Senior High School (SHS).

Abudu thinks (see excerpt of narration below) he is incapable of continuing his education after the second trial (rewriting BECE) he made in 2010, but also admits that life in Accra is difficult. As such his objective is to save from his meagre earnings to raise a start-up capital for a small scale retail business in general provisions back in his home village in Namoo. Besides retailing in provisions, children are opened to other options of doing business and are prepared to learn from adults who are already engaged in such businesses. Abudu explained further, that his dream was to become a nurse but apart from the provisions business objective, he is opened to other business options that can enable him earn money. Abudu's quest for apprenticeship is not structured, but to listen to and observe how people who trade in animals and bicycles ply the trade, so that he can be successful when he ventures into that business. He

wanted to learn by observation and through non-binding contractual agreements with the actors in the bicycle and animal trade.

> I completed JHS 3 in 2009, but my results were not good for me to continue to the SHS. I registered and rewrote the exams last year (2010) but I still could not pass. .... Things are hard here in Accra. I want to go back but I also want to get some money and go and open a provision store at our place. That is why I am still here… I wanted to finish school and become a nurse in future. Right now I am no more in school, so it is no longer in my mind. It is not only the provisions that I will like to be selling. I will like to sit with people who are already in business for them to advise me on the type of business. But I will also like to be buying goats and sheep from Burkina Faso and bring them here [Accra], and then also buy bicycles to go and sell in our home town. I have been helping my master here to sell the animals he brings from our place and then also helping to load the bicycles into the trucks to send home (Interview with Abudu in Accra, November 7, 2011). See appendix 6a for transcript of this interview

Although he calls one of such traders his master, there was no formal contractual agreement between them. The choice of trade in bicycles and livestock was informed by the dominance of the business in Namoo. I observed during data collection in Namoo that, bicycles were brought from Accra and transported into neighbouring Burkina Faso (see figure 3.8) while livestock (mainly goats and sheep) were bought in surrounding villages in Ghana and Burkina Faso, and then transported to Accra and other cities in the south. I had to wait an hour and a half, for Abudu to help load bicycles into a truck before the interview with him in Accra.

On the other hand, a 16 year old girl (Lamisi) who wanted to complete school and enrol into the Ghana Police Service, but was then on apprenticeship under the guidance of a practicing Hairdresser explained the following in an interview.

> When I was in school, I wanted to become a police woman in future, but now hmmm, I still want to be. If I can get someone to help me, I will go back to school and then when I complete, I will be able to join the police. But if I don't get someone to help me I can no longer go to school....but our elders say that, "when one door closes another door opens"… So, now I am learning hairdressing, so that I will have my own handwork in the future. I will be passing out next year (2012). If I pass out, I will like to open my shop either here in Accra or Winneba; where my brothers are. I would have liked to open my shop at home, where my mother is, but there, the people are not many. So I will not get market, but I need money to take care of my mother. Now I am growing, I will be 17 years this December, so I have to take care of myself and my mother. That is why I want to open my shop here, where I can get market and get money, so that I can take care of my mother and myself (Interview with Lamisi in Accra, November 22, 2011). See appendix 6b for interview transcript.

Lamisi, as other children in her situation, knew that accessing formal education was no longer possible to her, so she was prepared to focus on apprenticeship. However, she still relied on her brothers and benevolent individuals to help her graduate (pass out) as it requires money to pay the madam (trainer). She was also hoping that the brothers will help her establish her own business, and like Abudu and others in her category, she was unable to estimate how much capital was required to start the dream business. Although these children work and save part of their earnings to start their own businesses, they do not know the threshold capital required for such ventures.

Furthermore, Lamisi wished to return to her home village to ply her trade because of her attachment and responsibility towards her mother. However, the fear of little or no market (low patronage due to few customers) for the skill she was learning may prevent her from returning to her home village. She was thus contemplating establishing either in Accra or Winneba (a coastal town near Accra), where the patronage of her skill could be high and where her brothers and other relatives (adult migrant relatives) reside and could be of help.

This category of children see schooling as a missed opportunity and are prepared to focus on apprenticeship, irrespective of its form, as a means to acquire useful skills that they can make a living from. Nevertheless, the support and assistance of relatives and adults (both at destination and origin) is still important to enable them complete as well as establish after their

training. They therefore regard migration as having both positive and negative effects on their lives as Lamisi observed that "*when one door closes, another door opens*". Perhaps their inability to continue with schooling opened the door of apprenticeship for them to acquire skills for their livelihoods.

Although experiences of this kind are numerous and easily noticeable, migration also offers some children the opportunity to access better resourced schools at their destinations than they otherwise would have had if they had not migrated.

7.1.3 Positive effect of child migration on education

Notwithstanding the negative and mixed effects that migration has had on the schooling of children, some other category of the children interviewed expressed satisfaction with their involvement in migration. This group were 18 in number, both at the destination and places of origin (8 in Accra and 10 in Bongo district) and admitted migration has had positive effects on their education.

Positive effects at destination

Some children are fortunate to continue their education at the destinations when they migrate. Such children are privileged to live with adult relatives or non-relative guardians, who support them in their education at the destinations. Family and other networks are necessary to enable such children overcome the daunting challenges of combining migration with schooling. I interviewed 8 children (6 boys and 2 girls) who were in this category (see table 7.1) and shared similar experiences. They include children who were in schools at their destinations as well as those who had completed their BECE and were preparing to progress to the SHS. All the children in this category were living with adult hosts, who were either blood or distant relatives. Such adult hosts provided them with various kinds of support, ranging from accommodation, feeding, placement in schools, school items, school fees and pocket money as well as security for their safety at the destinations. For instance, a 17 years old boy (Anabiisi) migrated when he was 14 years old and in JHS 1, to live with his elder sister and her husband in Accra in order to continue his schooling. The couple had to shoulder all the responsibilities of housing and feeding as well as securing admission for him in a school as his father and mother at the village in the Upper East Region could not support him in school. Anabiisi shared his experience during an interview in the following narration.

> I left there (home) when I was in JHS 1. There were few teachers. I don't remember the total number but they were not many. One teacher was teaching about 2 or more subjects. I have been here about 3 years. I came in July 2009. My sister is here with her husband, so they called my father and said I should come here and continue with my education and be helping them with their work. It was my sister who called my father and told him about the continuation of my education. That was the only reason why I came here. … I expected that, as here is a city, there are many things you can learn than when you are in our home town. Things like, facilities in the schools and good education. There are more facilities here to learn, so it is better than our place. They have facilities like computers. There were no computers at our place. There are also more teachers here than our place. We have more textbooks here than there. ..It has helped me a lot. The provision of books, school uniforms and a lot of things. As I said, my parents don't work. They only do small, small farming, so they didn't have the money to buy books for me. My sister and her husband are giving me money to go to school and the teachers here also teach better than there. Here, they give us more assignments than at home. They give us many assignments on Fridays for the weekend but the other days, two assignments a day…. There (home) we don't have electricity in our house, but here there is electricity, so I think here is better. Sometimes I go to the cafe (internet cafe) but back home, no internet and you don't have a cafe. I go there (internet café) to find information, like information about my schooling (Interview with Anabiisi in Accra, October 12, 2012).

It is obvious from Anabiisi's narration that, migration has had a positive impact on his education. This would however not have been possible without the support from his sister and her

husband. Besides inviting him to migrate, they support him with money and items he needs to be in school; including school uniform, exercise and textbooks, as well as pocket money to buy food in school. The conditions of schools in Accra are more conducive for learning than those in rural areas from where these children migrate from. Adequacy of teachers and giving many class and home assignments (including weekends), availability of facilities, such as computers and internet service offer Anabiisi and other children of his kind, more favourable learning opportunities than they would otherwise get if they had not migrated. However, all of these have been possible because of the presence and support of adult relatives and guardians at the destination. Anabiisi, at the time of the study, had completed JHS and was preparing to progress to the SHS. But SHS education presents other forms of challenges for migrant children and their hosts and guardians. This is mostly because pupils are assigned to schools for admission (under the Computerised Selection and Placement System) depending on their performance at the BECE. As such, the schools in which migrant children are placed may present some challenges to them and their hosts. Anabiisi explained his desire and circumstances in the following narration.

> I have finished JHS 3 and the results are in. I have admission there at Fumbisi SHS (in the Upper East) but I will not be able to go there. I don't have anybody there to take care of me. It is a boarding school but going there from here is not easy. My father is closer to the place, but he cannot help me. My sister can help, but she is also not near there. She is here. .. I am planning to attend a school here. I have not yet got the admission. I don't have anything, so I have to tell them (my sister and her husband) so that they will buy the things. They said I will go this year (others are already in school)… My coming here has helped me a lot. There [back home] we don't have electricity, but here there is electricity. So I think here is better. Sometimes I go to the cafe (internet cafe) but there (origin), no internet and you don't have a cafe. I go there to find information, like information about my schooling. I had to go to the internet cafe to check my results when it was released by WAEC (Interview with Anabiisi in Accra, October 12, 2012)

It is apparent from the narration of Anabiisi that, his progress to the SHS is dependent on the support he anticipates to get from his sister and the husband. Although he had been placed for admission into a SHS at Fumbisi (a village in his home region), it is likely he could not go there because it would be expensive for his hosts (his sister and her husband) if he had to school at Fumbisi. More so, his father who lives near the school was unable to meet his financial obligation towards the education of his son. Anabiisi was therefore waiting in anticipation of the efforts of his hosts, to find a school in or near Accra (the destination) where they could sponsor his secondary education as they consider Fumbisi far away from Accra and as such, would be expensive for them.

Although Anabiisi attended school while living with his hosts, he also helped them anytime he returned from school, during weekends and school holidays. Therefore attending school at a distant location such as Fumbisi, would mean loss of his labour in their family business with far reaching implications. For instance, it could affect sales in their family business (as they operate a drinking bar) and thus fall in revenue which could intend influence their ability to sponsor his secondary education. Notwithstanding the fact that the academic year had begun and his colleagues were in school, Anabiisi was still waiting and hoping that his hosts would secure admission for him in a school at a convenient location.

Similarly, Adalooro who was 16 years old at the time of the study migrated from Bongo district to live with an auntie in order to attend school after the death of her mother in 2011. She was in her second year in Accra and in JHS2 and narrated her experience as follows.

> I am living here with my auntie. She is taking care of me here, but sometimes when I need something that she cannot provide, she will tell my father and he will send it to me. He sends me money so that my auntie can pay my school fees and he also buys books and school uniform for me. My father sometimes sends GH₵30 and sometimes too GH₵100. Apart from my father and auntie, my auntie's friend (a co-tenant) also helps me. When my auntie is not there and I need something, she (auntie's friend) will give me or give me money to go and buy what I need (Interview with Adalooro in Accra, October 15, 2012).

The responses from Adalooro are similar to those of Anabiisi, as she was also living with adult relatives who were taking care of her in order for her to attend school. Besides her auntie, her father was also supporting in paying her school fees and other related costs that her auntie was unable to afford. Furthermore, other non-related adults (friends and co-tenants of Adalooro's auntie) also supported her in various ways by giving her money and other kinds of support when her auntie was not available to help. Besides hosting, and providing her with basic needs in Accra, Adalooro's auntie was also responsible for securing her admission in a school at the destination.

Securing admission in schools in urban areas in Ghana can be tedious as it involves a difficult, but flexible process. Adalooro was assessed before gaining admission into her current school. Although admission requirements vary and are flexible, school authorities employ various modes of assessment (written or oral) to place prospective individuals seeking admission privately, into appropriate classes in their schools. However, Adalooro was not asked to write an examination but she was made to read a text in a textbook. She explained that.

> Before they accepted me, I was asked to read a passage. I didn't write exams. I only read and they said it was ok (Interview with Adalooro in Accra, December 15, 2012).

Adalooro was subsequently admitted into JHS1 and although she had spent only a year in the school in Accra, she seemed to have overcome the challenge of learning the local language used in the school and was hopeful of achieving her dream of becoming a medical doctor. This optimism is in direct contrast with those of the out of school child migrants who had lost hopes of achieving their dreams of enlistment into the Ghana Police Service (Lamisi) and becoming a nurse (Abudu). Adaloroo seemed content with the prevailing conducive learning environment in her current school and was thus motivated to learn harder in order to realise her dream. She further narrated her experience in the following.

> I am now in JHS 2 and I understand what they are teaching us in school. Sometimes when I first came here, it was a little difficult for me, but now, it is no more a problem for me. I can now speak the Twi (local language taught as a subject) so it is not like at first…. I am better here. When I was at home, they were teaching but here they are teaching us better. Sometimes when you don't understand something here, the teachers will let you come to them when they are free for them to teach you, but it was not like that when I was at home. Sometimes when we have free periods, they will come and teach us, so here is better, because at home some of the teachers were not coming to teach us… I want to be a doctor in future. I will learn hard to become a doctor in future. I am happy that I am here. I will finish next year. I want to go to BOGISS when I complete here. I want to go there because of the school fees. My father will pay but he will not get the money for me if I am to attend SHS here in the south (Interview with Adalooro in Accra, December 15, 2012).

Adalooro, like other migrant children of her category, see migration as an opportunity for her to be able to realise her dream of becoming a medical doctor. She attributed this to the preparedness of teachers to teach during periods when the children are not engaged in class as well as their willingness to explain things to their students outside the classroom. The attitudes of the teachers appear to be in direct contrast with their counterparts in schools at her place of origin. She explained the situation was bether in Accra than it was in her school in her hometown. Adalooro therefore hopes to take advantage of the willingness of the teachers to teach, as well as the more conducive environment, to do well and progress to the SHS. She however (unlike the case of Anabiisi), wants to continue with her SHS education at the Bolgatanga Girls Senior High School (BOGISS) in the Upper East Region (her home region).

BOGISS is a famous girls' secondary school, located in Bolgatanga, the regional capital of the Upper East Region (UER). The wish of Adalooro to study in BOGISS was partly informed by the reason that, her father who she expects to sponsor her secondary education does not have the financial wherewithal to meet the demands of schools in regions in the south, where parents bear the cost of their wards in boarding schools. Secondary school students originating from the northern regions of Ghana do not pay fees as a result of a post-independence policy to

bridge the gap of education between the people in the south and those in the north. It is the Central Government that pays tuition, boarding and feeding grants of such students. As Adalooro originates from the north, she will not be required to pay such fees (except miscellaneous fees) if she gains admission into BOGISS. It is therefore not surprising that she intends to further her SHS education in BOGISS.

Furthermore, I interviewed 2 children (1 boy and 1 girl) who were attending schools at the destination (Accra) but were not from the study district. This was necessary because the experiences of such children enabled me to get deeper understanding of how other children (besides those from the study district) access schools at their destinations. These children (Julepoku and Ernesafo) were assisted by the Department of Social Welfare in Accra, through the financial sponsorship of an Italian NGO (Ricerca Cooperazione) to access schools in Accra. None of the children from Bongo district who were living in Accra and participated in the study, had support of any kind from either a government agency or a non-governmental organization.

Julepoku (who was 12 years old and in JHS 1 at the time of the study) migrated from Attibie (a small town in the Eastern region) to Accra. She was living (at the time of the interview) with her elder sister who worked as an interior decorator, as both of her parents are dead. Julepoku was fortunate to be assisted by the Department of Social Welfare (through sponsorship from Ricerca Cooperazione) to attend a well-resourced school where she was optimistic of realizing her dream of becoming an Accountant in the following.

> We (I and my two brothers) were staying with our grandmother and things were hard for us at Attibie. We were going to the farm during weekends and sometimes school days, and I didn't like it because it was difficult for me. In the school too, the teachers were not teaching us well and were canning us. My grandmother who lived in Accra before was always telling us that life in Accra was better and that the teachers are teaching well in the schools. So I wanted to come and see how Accra life is and to also attend the schools where they will teach me well... Here (in Accra) they are teaching us well and the compound is very big, not like in the village. The only thing is that, they are still canning us here when you come to school late or you don't do your homework. So I always do my homework and come to school early, so that they won't cane me, because I fear canning. They organise extra classes for us, so I stay after closing to do my homework and attend the extra classes because we don't have lights at home. I want to be an Accountant in future, so I am learning hard so that I can pass my BECE exams well and go to the Secondary School and University to learn to become an Accountant (Interview with Julepoku in Accra, November 8, 2011).

It is obvious from the narration of Julepoku, that her migration to Accra was to attend school but not to work. This was further catalysed by the stories she heard about Accra from her grandmother. Julepoku thus looked happy and more content with the school in Accra than the one in her home village in the Eastern Region. She was confident of doing well at the BECE and to go further to become an Accountant, as her ambition in life. It appears Julepoku is not the only one with positive attitudes towards learning and making good use of the conducive environment in the school. A teacher (Gloria Neequaye of Amassaman JHS) who had been teaching both Primary and JHS classes for 7 years in the school acknowledged (in an interview) the efforts migrant children were making in the school in the following narration.

> It is not only Julepoku who is doing well in class. Others like Isaac Asiamah in JHS 3 is very good. He won a Social Studies textbook for his hard work and dedication. He has improved significantly and was within the first ten (10) top performers in the school this year. .. Pearl Boateng also did very well in her exams from Primary 6 to JHS 1. She recently represented her house (House 1) in an inter house quiz competition in the school. (Interview with Miss Gloria Neequaye of Amassaman JHS, November 8, 2011).

It is worth noting, that Isaac Asiamah and Pearl Boateng were not interviewed because of time constraints and more so, they were not the original target respondents of the study, as they do not come from Bongo district. They were in the category of Julepoku and Ernesafo who migrated from other parts of the country and were schooling in Accra. Nevertheless, Julepoku as other children was concerned with the use of cane as punishment in school. She detested

canning at her home village but was confronted with the same practice in Accra. She was thus trying her possible best to avoid being canned by going to school early and also doing her assignment on time. The experience of Julepoku with the use of cane appears to be a form of motivation for her to be punctual in school, learn and do her assignments. Nevertheless, although canning (corporal punishment) is permissible in basic schools in Ghana, it is supposed to be sparingly used and when necessary, prescribed, supervised and logged (recorded in the school's Logbook) by the Headteacher.

On the other hand, Ernesafo who was 14 years old and in JHS 3 recounted his experiences in the following excerpt.

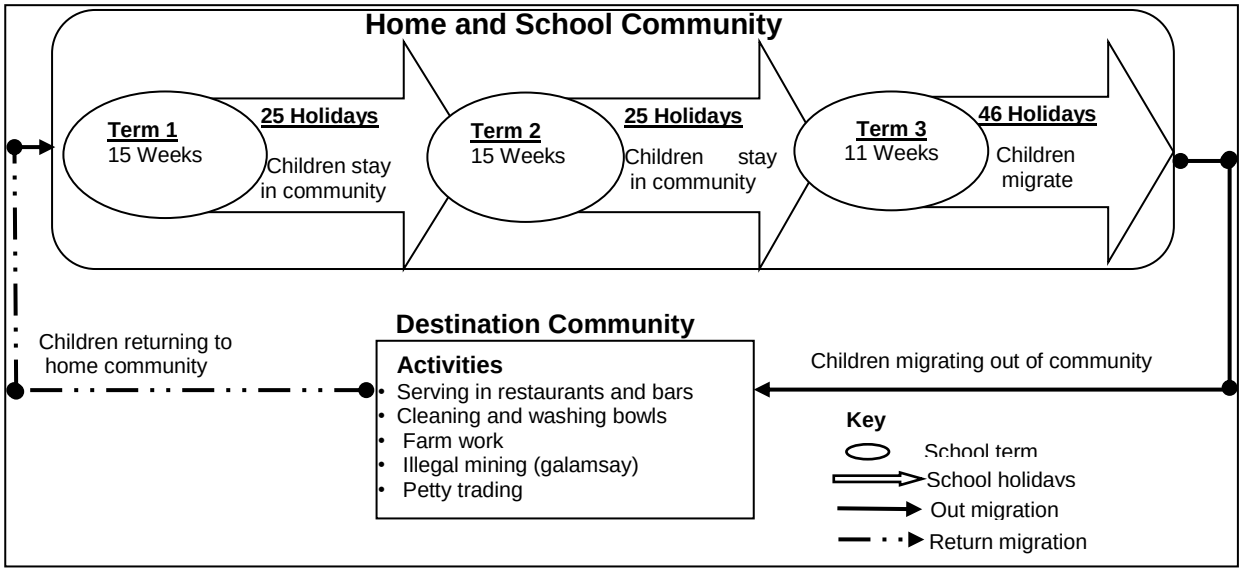
> My father and mother were not staying with us in Konongo. They were here [in Accra] and we were staying with our grandmother. But when we came here [Accra] it didn't keep long then our father died through lorry accident. He was a driver, driving a tipper truck. So my mother is the one taking care of us, but she is only selling small, small things in the market. That is why life is very hard for us… This place the compound is big and the teachers are teaching well than Konongo. They cane us when we do something wrong. I don't like canning, but I think it is good because it makes me to learn and do all my homework, because I don't want them to cane me. There is no electricity in the house where I stay, but they organise extra classes for us, so I stay here and go home late [6pm] because when I am in the house I cannot learn. I learn only when I am in school… Now I am attending school here. When I write my JHS and pass, then I will go to SSS but I don't know which SSS I will go to. If my results are good and I get a school in Accra, I will be happy but if the computer sends me to another school outside Accra, I will go, because I want to finish school and be an Architect. My brother said that if I want to be and Architect, then I have to go to Tech [Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST)] in Kumasi (Interview with Ernesafo in Accra, November 8, 2011).

It is evident from the narration of Ernesafo, that he migrated from Konongo in the Ashanti region where he lived with his grandmother, to join his parents in Accra, but unfortunately lost his father. As such, he was on the same sponsorship as Julepoku, through the Department of Social Welfare. Ernesafo also fears being canned and took advantage of the extra classes and electricity in the school to stay in school until 6pm, in order to do his assignments. He knew that he had to go through the university in Kumasi to be trained as an Architect, and was thus working hard and willing to attend his secondary education anywhere in the country.

Positive effect at place of origin

Children who for some reasons, are unable to leave home and are schooling at their places of origin, engage in migration to enable them earn money to be able to continue schooling in their home (origin) communities. This category of children, consider migration as a necessary and helpful component of their schooling. Not only do they see their involvement in migration as an opportunity to earn money, but also as a means to escape the lean season (see chapter 5.1.1 and Tamanja, 2012:16) which is a prominent feature in the district. Ten out of the 35 migrant children who were interviewed belong to this category (see table 7.1) and were in schools in their communities of origin in Bongo district. This movement is mostly done during the long term school vacation, when the academic year ends and children take few weeks of vacation (usually, from July to the early part of September) before the commencement of the next academic year. This phenomenon is further promoted by the fact that it coincides with the period within the crop cycle when harvesting of crops is not due, but stock of foodstuffs are exhausted. The school calendar and cycle of child migration are shown in figure 7.1. As shown in figure 7.1, the academic year of basic schools in Ghana consists of 41 weeks, broken down into three terms. The first and second terms are 15 weeks each (usually from September to December for the first term and January to April for the second term) with 25 days of vacation between each term.

Figure 7.1: School calendar and migration cycle in Bongo district



Source: Adopted from Tamanja, 2012

On the other hand, the third term begins in May and ends in July, after which children go on *long vacation*[13] for 46 days (also see figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2: School calendar for basic schools in 2012/2013

GES & IA JHS

SCHOOL TERMS AND HOLIDAYS FOR BASIC SCHOOLS
2012/2013 ACADEMIC YEAR

KINDERGARTEN, PRIMARY AND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

1ST TERM			
3th September, 2012	-	13th December, 2012	15 Weeks
HOLIDAYS			
14th December, 2012	-	7th January, 2013	25 Days
2nd TERM			
8th January, 2013	-	18th April, 2013	15 Weeks
HOLIDAYS			
19th April, 2013	-	13th May, 2013	25 Days
3RD TERM			
14th May, 2013	-	25th July, 2013	11 Weeks
HOLIDAYS			
26th July, 2013	-	9th September, 2013	46 Days
Total number of weeks to be spent in school		=	41 Weeks

SCHOOL HOLIDAYS

INDEPENDENCE DAY	-	6TH MARCH, 2013 (TUESDAY)
GOOD FRIDAY	-	29TH MARCH, 2013
EASTER MONDAY	-	1ST APRIL, 2013
MAY DAY	-	1ST MAY, 2013 (WEDNESDAY)
AFRICAN UNION DAY (AU)	-	25TH MAY, 2013
B.E.C.E.	-	17TH – 24TH JUNE, 2013
REPUBLIC DAY	-	1ST JULY, 2013 (MONDAY)

Source: GES District office in Bongo, 2013

The academic calendar (see figure 7.2) is prepared by the Ghana Education Service (GES) and circulated to all schools for implementation. It is important to note that, sometimes minor changes do occur, especially with the number of weeks allotted to each term or vacation. The description given here is therefore of the calendar for 2012/2013 academic year when the second phase of data collection was done. A specimen of the

[13] Long vacation is the end of year holidays for Basic and Secondary schools in Ghana. It is mostly from July to the first week of September. For instance, in 2012 it was from July 27, to September 3, 2012

2012/2013 academic calendar (figure 7.2) is presented to facilitate understanding of the migration cycle of school children and academic activities (figure 7.1) in the district as described. The calendar (figure 7.2) also applies to schools at Kindergarten and Primary levels as they are under the jurisdiction of the GES. Nonetheless, the calendar is interspersed with six (6) national holidays which schools observe within the academic year.

As observed earlier, the long vacation also coincides with the lean season when harvest is not yet due but stocks of foodstuffs of many households are exhausted. School children on vacation therefore migrate during the school holidays to destinations in the south of the country for menial work; in order to earn some money to enable them meet their school cost and food at home for the next school term. Abena who migrated to Ejisu (near Kumasi) for three months during vacation in July 2011, admitted her involvement in migration helped her to earn GH¢60.00 with which she was able to buy items she needed in school as follows.

> I was washing bowls in a chop bar and they paid me GH¢1.00 per day. So I got GH¢60.00 when I was coming home. Some of the people who came to eat gave me coins after eating. When I bring their change to them, they will say, it is ok, I should keep it. I ate and slept free in my mistress´ house, so I was able to save all that I earned. The woman's son is a teacher, so she bought books for us and asked him to teach us during the evenings. It was very good for me because I was earning some money and also taught for free. I will not get that if I stayed at home. When I was leaving, the woman asked me to come again during the next long vacation and assured me that she will even help me to go to SHS when I complete my JHS studies. So as for me I will continue to go down south (Interview with Abena in Bongo, November 15, 2011).

It will be difficult for children like Abena to stop migrating, because migration offers them the opportunity to get extra tuition whilst also earning money. Although Abena did not work for 60 days at the daily rate of GH¢1, she returned home with GH¢60 because some customers gave her money which she added to her savings. It is worth acknowledging that, although giving tips for service rendered is not formal in Ghana, people voluntarily give token sums of money after they have been served in restaurants or chop bars, and Abena seemed to have benefited from such generosity which she admitted in her narration that "*they gave me coins after eating*". Besides money, some child migrants are lucky to be accommodated and fed by their employers, which in the case of Abena, helped her to save the entire amount of money that she was paid.

Furthermore, Abena and her colleagues received tuition and exercise books through the benevolence of their employer, which she considered very helpful. She admits her migration was very helpful as she earned money and at the sametime, got free tuition. She would not have got that, if she had not migrated. Although the intention(s) of the employer is/are not known, Abena appeared convinced it was genuine help and expected more from her to further her education to the SHS level. She was therefore poised to migrate again during the next long vacation and could probably stay longer in Ejisu after completing her BECE.

On the other hand, 17 year old Atambire, completed JHS in June 2012 and had qualifying grades (Aggregate 29) to enter into a SHS but could not get money to pay for admission as well as buy prospectus (the necessary items prescribed by school authorities for prospective applicants to buy and use in school) prescribed by the school. He therefore migrated in order to work to get money and continue his SHS education. This practice is common in the district, especially among SHS and tertiary school students (not included in this study though, as I could not find any below the age of 18 years) who offer their labour during holidays and semester breaks, to raise money for the next academic term or year. Atambire explained that:

I completed JHS 3 this year and got Aggregate 29. I qualify to go to SHS but cannot get the money needed to go to SHS. That is why I am here to do work and get enough money so that I can return to our village and go to school (SHS)… I will like to go back home to continue going to school. Like I said, my grades are good so, if I get enough money, I will go back home to attend school there. Schooling is very expensive here and I don't have anyone to take care of me to attend school at this place. So I will go back home to continue with my education there. I will like to be a medical doctor. .. My coming here has delayed my schooling because my colleagues are already in school and I should have also been with them in school, but I am here. I want to get enough money and go back to school. So I am here but anytime that I get the money I will go back home and go to school. .. I go to work here in the morning by 11:00 am. When I get there, I sweep and clean the place. I wash the utensils and all the plates then I set the fire and then begin to roast the meat. When people come to buy I sell to them until we close in the night like 10pm or 12 in the night, during weekends and holidays. Sometimes we close late, when the place is very busy during weekends and festival times. .. I am not paid a fixed rate. It depends on the market and the sales we make a day. When the market is good, I get GH¢7 but when it is not good then I get GH¢4 a day. I save all the money that I get with my brother (someone from our village) so that when I get enough I will be able to go back home and continue with my schooling. I live here (sleeping place) with my brother (someone from the same village) who I have come to meet. He also stays here with another man who is from Bawku and is the care taker of the house who's owner is not here. So I don't pay for accommodation. .. I do not support my family back home now. I wanted to send some money to them but my father said I should save it for my school. So I don't send money. I am saving everything that I get here. I think if I get GH¢1,000 that will be enough for me to go back home to continue schooling. I have so far saved GH¢210 and I will like to save more so that I can have enough money before I go back to our hometown (Interview with Atambire in Accra, October 25, 2012).

Although Atambire had missed one year of schooling, he was happy to have migrated because it offered him the opportunity to earn some money to enable him continue his education at the SHS level. He had worked only for 3 months in selling Khebab (roasted meat) and was able to save GH¢210. He was optimistic of increasing his savings in order to raise the needed money for his SHS education. Besides working about 12 hours a day (from 11am to 10pm during week days and 12 midnight during weekends and festive occasions), Atambire made time (from 7am to 9am) every morning to read his notes and any other reading material (books) available to him. This he said was a means of keeping him abreast of his studies as he was poised to enrol in a SHS in his home region during the next academic year. Similar to the experience of Abena, Atambire was able to save his entire daily earnings because he was fed by his employer who also happens to come from the same village as him. The daily wage was not fixed but depended upon sales: GH¢7.00 for days that the market was good but GH¢4.00 when less sales were made. Atambire was therefore optimistic that he will be able to raise his target of GH¢1,000 which he said could enable him continue with his SHS education. It can be inferred therefore, that Atambire will continue to migrate during holidays to fund his SHS education. He therefore sees migration as the panacea to the poverty of his parents and a means to progress in his education.

Notwithstanding the challenge of getting admission, as he did not defer the previous admission or assured of automatic admission, Atambire was optimistic of continuing with his secondary education and regarded his involvement in migration as a sure means of raising the needed money for that purpose.

In furtherance with the experiences shared by migrant children and also as a way of triangulation, the responses of 250 child migrants in the cross sectional survey (quantitative phase) were factor analyzed and presented in table 7.2. Factor analysis is a set of techniques, designed to enable the researcher classify or reduce data on several variables with reference to a smaller number of underlying dimensions, regarded as factors (Gray and Kinnear, 2012: 602; Ofori and Dampson, 2011).

Table 7.2: Rotated component matrix[a] of effects of child migration on education

Item on questionnaire (variable)	Component (Effect)	
	1 (Negative)	2 (Positive)
I do not get time to study when I travel to work	.812	
No textbooks to study when I travel to work	.696	
No one to help me to study when I travel	.801	
I learn better when at home than when I travel to work	-.691	
Not able to return early when school reopens	.514	
I have been able to get better tuition because I travelled to work		.829
Now able to study better because I travelled to work		.838

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations

Source: Output of factor analysis, 2014

As shown in table 7.2, the items on the section of the questionnaire for child migrants (see appendix 3a) which sought to find the effects of child migration on education, loaded mainly on two components/factors (1 and 2). The first 5 statements loaded on component 1 while the remaining 2, loaded on the second component (Component 2). As with factor analysis, the components are not easily known, unless by deduction. Therefore, a careful examination of the items shows that the components (components 1 & 2) are effects (negative and positive) of migration on schooling. For instance, the two statements (*I have been able to get better tuition* and *I have been able to study better because I travelled to work*) suggest positive effect of migration on schooling. Thus, the corresponding factor is most probably, one of positive effect. On the other hand, the other 5 statements (*I do not get time to study, no textbooks, no one to help me study, ….., not able to return early when school reopens*) connote negativity and therefore, most probably, the negative effect factor.

It is therefore prudent to conclude that, although child migration has both positive and negative effects on the education of children, the negative factor had more items than the positive factor. This observation is however in contrast with the observations from narrations of child migrants (table 7.1) where 18 out of 35 child migrants said migration had positive effects on their education, while 5 out of the 35 said migration had both positive and negative effects on their education. This minor difference is not unexpected, because the sample that participated in the interviews during the qualitative phase was more heterogeneous (destination in-school child migrants, destination out of school child migrants, origin in-school child migrants, and return child migrants) while that of the quantitative phase were mainly origin in-school child migrants. Nevertheless, the negative effects of child migration (shown in tables 7.1 and 7.2) could reflect in the academic performance of migrant children in schools.

7.2 Migration and academic performance

In order to ascertain whether, the involvement of children in migration has any influence on their academic performance in class, data was taken from schools in Bongo district. The data was taken from continues assessment records books on children's performance in three core subjects: English Language, Mathematics and Integrated Science. Although students in JHS study and are examined in nine subjects {Mathematics, English Language, Social Studies, Integrated Science, Basic Design and Technology (Pre-technical Skills or Home Economics and Visual Arts), Information and Communication Technology, Religious and Moral Education, French, and Ghanaian Language and Culture}, their progress to the SHS is dependent on their ability to perform well in the core subjects. These subjects are therefore essential in determining whether children can progress beyond the JHS level of education in Ghana. Data was taken on children who migrate as well as their counterparts in the same classrooms who do not migrate

during the end of year vacations, to determine if there was any difference in performance between the two groups of children. The rational is that, these children experience the same school conditions and are taught by the same teachers using the same syllabi. However, one group migrates during the end of year vacation to work while the other group does not. It is therefore, reasonable to expect some difference in their academic performance, which could be reasonably attributed to their involvement in migration. Therefore, the hypothesis to test is that:

Study Hypothesis (H_1): There is difference in the academic performance between school children who migrate and those who do not migrate

In order to test this hypothesis (H_1), academic performance data was collected on 250 migrant and 240 non migrant children who were randomly selected in JHS2 and JHS3. The data was first captured into the SPSS data analysis programme and screened for completeness and normality. The data was entered for performance in English Language, Mathematics and Integrated Science, after which the average performance (AvPerf) for the three subjects were computed and used for the analysis. The mean AvPerf between the two categories of children is presented in table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Descriptive statistics for academic performance

	Category of respondents			Statistic	Std. Error
AvPerf	Migrant	Mean		47,0000	,72342
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	45,5752	
			Upper Bound	48,4248	
		Skewness		,131	,154
		Kurtosis		-,336	,307
	Non migrant	Mean		49,6889	,66421
		95% Confidence Interval for	Lower Bound	48,3804	
			Upper Bound	50,9974	
		Skewness		-,201	,157
		Kurtosis		-,141	,313

Source: Descriptive statistics from academic performance data, 2014

As shown in table 7.3, comparison of the mean academic performance between migrant and non-migrant children would suggest that non-migrant children performed relatively better than migrant children. The mean performance of migrant children is 47.00 while that of non-migrant children is 49.69 out of a total of 100. In other words, there is some difference in the academic performance of migrant and non-migrant children in Bongo district. The difference (3 points) is however small with corresponding standard errors of 0.72 and 0.66 respectively from the mean performance values, indicating that indeed, performance among non-migrant children is relatively more consistent than among their migrant colleagues.

Further examination of table 7.3 shows that, data for both migrant (skewness = 0.131 and standard error = 0.154: Kurtosis = -0.336 and Standard error= 0.307) and non-migrant (skewness = -0.201 and standard error = 0.154: Kurtosis = -0.141 and Standard error = 0.313) children were not normally distributed around their arithmetic mean performance marks. However, further examination shows that, at 95% confidence interval, the upper and lower bounds of both groups do not cross the zero mark. It is 45.57 to 48.42 for migrants and 48.38 to 51 for non-migrants, which indicates that the mean difference in academic performance between the two categories of children is not zero. Therefore the results can be confidently generalised beyond the sample to the population of children.

To determine whether, the observed difference is due to chance or from their involvement in migration (the model), the Mann-Whitney U test was performed. The choice of

this test became necessary because the data was found to be abnormally distributed around their arithmetic mean performance values and therefore did not satisfy the condition for using parametric test techniques such as the Independent Sample T-Test. The Mann-Whitney U test is the non-parametric equivalent of the Independent Sample T-Test which is appropriate for analysing differences in the mean performances between two independent and also unequal samples. As the samples of the study consist of 250 migrant and 240 non migrant children who are also independent and mutually exclusive of each other, the Mann-Whitney U Test was therefore considered the most appropriate technique for testing the hypothesis. The results of the test is presented in table 7.4

Table 7.4: Test Statistics for Mann-Whitney U test

	AvPerf
Mann-Whitney U	25479,000
Wilcoxon W	56854,000
Z	-2,886
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,004

a. Grouping Variable: Category of respondents

Source: Analysis of performance data, 2014

As shown in table 7.4, the Mann-Whitney statistic is 25479. However, the important statistics in this table are the standard score (z = -2.886) and the significance value. The 2-tailed significance value (reflecting the non-directional nature of the hypothesis of no difference between the performance) is statistically very significant (p=0.004) indicating that, the difference in performance between the migrant and non-migrant school children was not due to chance, but most probably their involvement in migration. The results in Tables 7.3 and 7.4 are summarised and presented in table 7.5

Table 7.5: Group summary statistics and Mann-Whitney U test

Average performance		Median	N	U	Z	Sig. (2-tailed)
Category	Migrants	47	250	25479	-2.886	0.004
	Non migrants	50	240			

Source: Own construct, 2014

The result of this test shows that, there is statistical significant difference in the academic performance between migrant and non-migrant children (U = 25479, z = -2.886, p = 0.004 two-tailed). Therefore, the study hypothesis that, there is difference in the academic performance between migrant and non-migrant school children is not falsified and therefore retained.

Further analysis was done to compare performance between the two groups (migrant and non-migrant children) in the three separate subjects (English Language, Mathematics and Integrated Science) and the results are presented in table 7.6.

Table 7.6: Summary statistics and Mann-Whitney U test in three subjects

Subject	Category	Mean	N	U	Z	Sig. (2-tailed)
English Language	Migrants	48.38	250	26297.00	-2.365	0.018
	Non migrants	50.61	240			
Mathematics	Migrants	43.69	250			
	Non migrants	47.34	240	25866.00	-2.639	0.008
Integrated Science	Migrants	48.93	250	26969.50	-1.935	0.053
	Non migrants	51.09	240			

Source: Own illustration from performance data, 2014

As seen in Table 7.6, the difference in performance was significant in English Language and

Mathematics but not in Integrated Science where it was not significant. The mean performance of the non-migrant children in English was 51 while that of the migrants was 48 (out of a total of 100) at (p=0.018) level of significance. In other words, non-migrant children performed a little above average in English language while migrant children performed a little below the average mark of 50. Similar pattern in performance was recorded in Mathematics (44 and 47) and in Integrated Science (49 and 51).

However, whereas the differences were significant in English Language (p=0.018) and Mathematics (p=0.008), it was not significant (p=0.053) in Integrated Science. This statistical non-significance, suggests that the difference in performance in Integrated Science was not due to the involvement of the children in migration, but rather, due to other reasons.

On the other hand, although the differences in performance between both groups in mathematics was significant, it was generally poor as both groups performed below the average mark of 50 (44 for migrants and 47 for non-migrants)

7.3 Summary

It is useful to observe from the forgoing discussion, that there is a complex nexus between child migration and education. Whereas some children drop out of school (experiences of Attis and Abudu) others (Anabiisi and Adalooro) are able to access more resourced schools by embarking on migration. Furthermore, some others (Lamisi) do not completely miss education as they are afforded the opportunity of learning trades through apprenticeship when they migrate. Therefore, the nexus is not straight forward but depend on the individual migrant and the context in which the migration takes place. However, the analysis from the qualitative data was more varied than those from quantitative data. Whereas the qualitative data and analysis indicated mixed effects and learning trade through apprenticeship, the quantitative analysis, using factor analysis, distinguished between only positive and negative effects. Nevertheless, both outcomes are similar and consistent with findings of other studies (Hashim, 2007; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011) on migrant children from the Upper East Region. For instance, Hashim (2007) found positive, negative and mixed effects of migration on education on children from the Upper East Region who migrated to the southern and central parts of Ghana.

On the other hand, analysis of academic performance between migrant and non-migrant children using end of term performance data in mathematics, English language and integrated science, showed significant difference between the performance of migrant and non-migrant school children. Although the difference is small (3 points), school children who do not migrate during vacation, performed better than those who migrated. The small differences could be attributed to the influence of other factors, such as the role of teachers and schools, peers, family and learners' themselves (Yahaya, 2003) other than migration. Nevertheless, academic performance is a proximate determinant for progress in education, as children need to pass in at least the core subjects of mathematics, English language and integrated science in order to secure admission to pursue SHS education. Therefore, if migration adversely affects academic performance, then the prospects of progress are limited for children who engage in migration.

CHAPTER EIGHT: NETWORKS, REMITTANCES AND RETURN IN CHILD MIGRATION

In this chapter, three main issues (networks, remittances and return in child migration) are discussed. Networks of various kinds help to maintain the link between migrant children at their destinations with their families back home, while easing the difficulties of accommodation, job search and support during times of illness at the destinations. Networks identified in the district exist among families and households, school mates, and then hometowns and destinations of child migrants. The effectiveness of networks are promoted by improvement in mobile telephone communication, which also facilitates remittances of child migrants to their parents and siblings back home. Remittances involves hand-carrying transfers in cash or kind, personally or through a close relative, friend and known transport operators. Although bank transfers constitute an important and reliable mode to remit as observed by Schmidt-Kallert and Franke (2013) among migrants in China, it was not used in this study because of the poor postal and banking infrastructure in Bongo district. Besides, the ability of migrant children to remit depends on the outcomes of their migration, as those who are unable to earn can not remit. Furthermore, all the children interviewed expressed strong willingness to return to their origins after they have achieved their goals for migrating. They regard migration as a temporal measure in response to challenges they experience in their places of origin and thus maintained contacts with their origins through home visits and telephone conversations.

8.1 Networks and linkages in child migration

Networks play very important roles in migration in general and child migration in particular. They are referred to as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas, through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Massey et al 1993: 448). In other words, migrant networks are interpersonal ties linking kin, friends, and community members in their places of origin and destinations (Poros, 2011). Studies on child migration in Ghana (for instance Beauchemin, 1999; Hashim, 2005 & 2007; Anarfi and Agyei, 2009; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011; and Tamanja, 2012) have reported how children make use of networks in migration. A complex mix of dependence, independence and interdependence in which there are significant economic dimensions have been reported in a study involving children in the Upper East region of Ghana and Pays Bisa in Burkina Faso (Hashim and Thorsen (2011: 46). These interconnectedness were however found on family-based networks.

Similar observations are made in this study and involves the use of networks at all stages in the migration process, as well as keeping abreast with happenings back home. Linkages between migrant children and their families and acquaintances through telephone communication, visits and remittances were observed to maintain networks of family, school and hometown based relations at the destinations and places of origin. Children established and maintained contacts through telephone conversations with acquaintances at potential destinations during the planning phase of their migration process. This mostly helped them in their choices of destinations as they had fair ideas regarding living conditions and job prospects at those destinations.

8.1.1 Family-based network

Family-based networks are ties or relationships between people bonded by blood or kinship. Consequently, the facilitating role of family-based networks makes it difficult to control migration by governments (De Haas, 2008). Migrant networks can lead to chain migration and thus perpetuate the migration process. Children in Bongo district who have family relations in Accra and other destinations made effective use of such networks to facilitate their migration. Attis for

instance narrates (see chapter 5.2.3 on motivations) that his late uncle who was living and selling khebab in Accra encouraged him through assurance of a job. This assurance increased his motivation and eventually made him to migrate to Accra. As a result of the blood relations, Attis did not encounter serious challenges in deciding and moving to Accra. Similarly, Adalooro (see narration in chapter 6.1.2) who migrated with her auntie to Accra, did not know the cost of transportation from her village (Tarongo) to Accra. Besides, the cost of transportation, accommodation, feeding and meeting her school cost in Accra were borne by the auntie. It is obvious that Adalooro could not have migrated to Accra if her auntie was not residing there. These narrations confirm the observation of Curran et al (2003) that, family–based networks reduce travel and emotional costs of migration.

Furthermore, such networks are a form of social capital that children as well as adults draw upon to gain access to employment and services outside their places of origin (Massey et al 1993). Consequently, Attis and his colleague child migrants benefitted from such networks to migrate and got jobs which they were doing at the time of the study. For instance, Badabadu (see narration in chapter 6.1.3) who migrated to Kumasi was not only accommodated by her auntie, but the auntie negotiated the remuneration she got from selling Kenkey at Moshie Zongo in Kumasi. Also Lamisi (see narration in chapter 6.2.4) who first migrated to her sister for a year in Kumasi but could not get a job and had to migrate again to Accra and was on apprenticeship, used similar family-based networks.

Family-based networks are cheap and without cost to potential and new migrants, since their membership to such networks are based on the blood relations they have with one another. No cost in the form of membership dues are incurred by members. Therefore, child migrants benefit from such networks at no initial cost to them.

However, family-based networks are discriminatory and not opened to all. People who are not relatives cannot be part of such networks and therefore do not benefit from them. According to Poros (2011) family-based networks are somewhat limited and specific in terms of the ties that they are comprised of.

In Ghana, the family is often used to include members of the extended family, consisting of uncles, aunties, cousins and other distant relatives who consider themselves as one. Children therefore take advantage of the existence of such networks to migrate and also for livelihoods at their destinations. Similar to family-based networks is multi-locational household arrangements, which facilitates child migration.

8.1.2 Multi-locational household arrangement

Multi-locational household arrangement is a risk diversification arrangement, where households utilize their networks in order to diversify their household income. This is achieved by sending a member of the household to another locality (usually an urban area) as a means to effectively distribute risks of the household. Palloni et al (2001) observe that, the first household member who is sent abroad can be a contact so that if a condition arises - such as a market failure - the household can send other members to that location by taking advantage of the bridge made by the first mover. Furthermore, households in these arrangements make use of a combination of conditions and opportunities of two or more locations - with rural and urban characteristics - and take advantage of the differences in characteristics to enhance their livelihoods. It involves informal rural-urban exchanges within spatially split households, where rural households send some members to live in urban areas to take advantage of the opportunities (both in the rural and urban areas) to enhance their livelihoods (Schmidt-Kallert 2009[b]; Dick and Reuschke, 2012).

According to Tacoli (2009), research in northern Mali in the late 1990s found that, up to 80 percent of households interviewed had at least one migrant member with the reasons being for economic opportunities and the need to diversify income sources of the families. Furthermore, children from the Upper East Region of Ghana have been reported to migrate to relatives and family members in the south to help during periods of particular need (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011: 53). These children make use of the multi-locational arrangements of their

households, to benefit from opportunities in their places of origin (mostly rural) and the cities, to enhance their livelihoods. They stay at the origin during cropping, harvest and school seasons, while migrating to urban destinations (taking advantage of multi-locality of their households) during the 'lean season'[14] and end of year school vacation (Tamanja, 2012).

In this study, children made use of multi-locational household arrangements to migrate in order to access paid menial jobs or education in cities, mostly in the south of the country. The following narrations by 17 year old Dakomasore and 16 years old Aprambire (who were in JHS 2 and JHS 1 respectively) throw more light on multi-locational arrangements in child migration of children in Bongo district.

> I called my brother and told him that I wanted to come to his place for vacation and he said I should come. Then I sold my fowls and then my father also gave me some money to add for lorry fare to Accra. .. Because my brother is there, it was easy for me to go there and I didn't have problem with a sleeping place because our uncle's house is also there. So I was sleeping and eating there. In Accra, my uncle has a house, so we (I and my brother) were all staying there. Going to Accra helps me because if I was not at work, I read my books and pamphlets. If I am here, I will not get the pamphlets to buy and read. There is nothing here to do, so every long vacation, I will go there and then when I complete, I will go and then live there (Interview with Dakomasore in Namoo, December 7, 2011).
>
> My mother is living in Sunyani with my siblings. My uncle said I should come and attend school here because my father is dead, but when I finish I will go back to Sunyani to attend SHS there, at Amaniampong SHS. I am sure it is better here because we don't pay school fees here. You will not be sent home if you don't have money to pay your fees. But in Sunyani, it is not like that. You will be asked to go home and bring your fees if you don't pay (Interview with Aprambire in Boku, December 7, 2011).

From these narrations, Dakomasore took advantage of the presence of his uncle and brother in Accra to migrate. He narrated calling his brother who migrated earlier to join his uncle and was accommodated and fed by the component of the multi-locational household in Accra. Not only was Dakomasore afforded the opportunity to help his elder brother to sell khebab, he was able to buy pamphlets and made some time to read. He maintains that he will continue to migrate during end of year holidays and finally join the component of the household in Accra, as he will be idle if he stays in his home village in Bongo district.

On the other hand, Aprambire who was living with her mother and other siblings in Sunyani (in southern Ghana) was asked to move to her uncles in Bongo district after the death of her father in Sunyani. This was a family decision which Aprambire only had to comply with, but she appreciated the fact that it was necessary to enable her continue her education. Aprambire's situation is in conformity with the observation of Palloni et al (2001) that multi-locational household decisions are made by households while the individual migrants only comply with the decisions. Aprambire admits she would have been sent home for non-payment of fees if she was in Sunyani, as her father was deceased and her mother was finding it difficult to meet the cost of their education. On the contrary, basic education in northern Ghana has been free since independence, so she could continue her education without fear of being asked to go home for non-payment of fees. She however maintains that she will return to Sunyani to continue with her SHS education.

The migration experiences of both children in these narrations indicate the usefulness of multi-locational households to achieve their life ambitions and migration. These scenarios are consistent with examples elsewhere such as in Cape Town (South Africa) where children of

[14] The lean season refers to a period within the crop cycle in the Upper East Region of Ghana, when crop harvest is not yet due but food stocks of households have been exhausted (Tamanja, 2012). It begins in April through to September (Decker, 2008) and mostly compels families to innovate for survival.

young nuclear families stay with their parents only during school days, but spend the non-schooling days with other household members living outside the city (Lohnert, 2002; cited in Schmidt-Kallert, 2009[b]:326). Such movements are permanent as well as temporal, as and when there is need for household members in the spatially split households. While Dakomasore's migration was during end of year vacations, Aprambire was to stay with her uncle in Bongo district until the end of her basic education. Nevertheless, other children in Bongo district made use of school-based networks to migrate.

8.1.3 School-based network

School-based networks are mainly ties between class and school mates, who build on the strengths of one another to migrate. This kind of relations were identified among school children in origin communities in Bongo district, who migrate during the end of school or academic year, to urban destinations to engage in paid menial jobs. The following is an excerpt of narration on how children in Bongo district use networks of their colleagues to migrate.

> I travelled to Kintampo Sewaba last year for one month. I had never travelled before. I went with my friends to the place. I heard about the place from my colleagues in school who have been going there. They said that I will be able to get work to do and get some money. If I can get someone who I will go with to Kumasi or Accra, I will go there but if I don't get, I will go with my friends again to Kintampo next year. If I don't go, I will not be doing anything here and I will not have some money.
> My friends were telling me about how I could get work to do there and get my own money. So I told my mother that I wanted to also go and get some money and she said I should go. Then she gave me the lorry fare. When we got there it was my friends who took me to our host who was very good to us (Interview with Patabongo in Namoo, December 7, 2011).

It is clear from this narration, that Patabongo's migration was not based on family related networks. She was motivated by her school mates who had some experience in migration and had established some links at the destination. However, her mother was supportive of the idea and gave her money to use as lorry fare. Although she had no prior knowledge of the destination, she relied on the knowledge and experiences of her colleagues and was able to actualise her dream. Apart from the lorry fare, all other forms of assistance she got, were from her schoolmates or networks which those mates had established. Patabongo only had a 'free ride' on those networks and enjoyed it's associated benefits. She narrated further about how they were accommodated and protected from recalcitrant potential rapists by their host, Patapaa (see chapter 6), who was revered by the young men in Kintampo. Nevertheless, she still prefers Accra and Kumasi to Kintampo as she intimates going to Kintampo only if she does not get someone to go with to Kumasi or Accra. This is indicative of the fact that, she has no ties of any kind in Accra and Kumasi and could therefore not overcome the challenges of migration which networks serve to minimise and mitigate. However, migrants and potential migrants such as Patabongo could and do rely on broader networks, based on affiliation to their hometowns to migrate.

8.1.4 Hometown-based network

Hometown-based networks are broader in composition and encompasses all age groups, gender and class. They consist of people (mostly migrants) from a common origin, living in a destination. These hometown-based networks are common in Ghana with few examples such as the Dagomba Youth Association (DAYA), Konkomba Youth Association (KOYA) and BONABOTO, to mention but a few.

For instance, BONABOTO is an acronym for Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo and Tongo (four major towns in the Upper East Region). Its membership is mainly defined by ethnicity, with the objective of promoting the interest of their ethnic groups and highly petronised by migrants as they derive lots of advantages from the group. It is non-political, non-religious with the goal of

ensuring the holistic development of their area. It is well structured and very active in Ghana, with branches in many major settlements in the country and abroad (in the UK and USA) and has a website (http://www.bonaboto.com) through which they can reach out and be reached by both members and non-members.

Although BONABOTO is vibrant with membership encompassing people of Bongo district, natives from the district who are resident outside the district, are building their own networks to cater for specific concerns of their people. A number of such network groups have been inaugurated by the chief of Bongo in Takoradi, Sunyani and Accra. The following was shared during an interview I had with the Chief of Bongo (Bonaba) who also serves as the Paramount Chief of the Traditional area at his palace in Bongo.

> People from Bongo, living in Sunyani recently invited me, that they had organized a Bongo Community Association in Sunyani and wanted me to come and inaugurate it. So I went and did it. Those in Takoradi formed theirs in 2007, and I went and inaugurated that one too. I hear Kumasi is in the pipeline. They already have one in Accra. So I believe with these networks, we will be able to identify people who come from the various areas, like those from Bongo, from which house, family and so on. We are thinking of how to rope these groups into vibrant groups and for them to deal with issues that have to do with the development of the area. And also, to identify how and where to combat child trafficking. When these associations are strengthened and work well, they will be able to identify children who migrate to various areas and can immediately communicate so that where there is need for the return of such children, it is done appropriately (Interview with the Paramount Chief of Bongo Traditional Area in Bongo, October 18, 2012). See appendix 6L for transcript of this interview.

The Paramount chief narrates having inaugurated Bongo Community Associations in Sunyani and Takoradi, and acknowledges the existence of one in Accra, while that in Kumasi was yet to be inaugurated. He admits the potential of such networks for the development of the district, as well as addressing the concerns of child migrants of Bongo origin, living in those destinations.

Although membership of these network groups are mostly adults, children 'free ride' on them to pursue their migration ambitions. In other words, children benefit from such networks without meeting obligations to the network. Some of these benefits include information about job prospects of the destinations, accommodation and in time of illness. The narration of Erambire (see chapter 6.3.2) that he was sent to the hospital for treatment when he was taken ill in Accra by someone from his home village, attest to the benefits child migrants derive from hometown-based networks. He lamented how difficult it would have been for him, but for the intervention of the man from his hometown, as his parents in the village could not have afforded the cost of treatment if he had gone home. Beside the treatment, he was accommodated and employed in a paid job through the same hometown-based network. Furthermore, Mumuni (see chapter 5.2.3) narrates of how someone from his home village who was living in Accra, encouraged and invited him to migrate to Accra. He got a paid job after migrating through the friend and was happy he was able to earn his own money.

While children 'free ride' on these networks, it is expected that they will become active members and play crucial roles in their adulthood. They will then be able to take care of younger members as they are currently enjoying and contribute to the running of the networks. However, such benefits tend to be exclusionary for children not belonging to particular social or kinship group. In other words, hometown-based networks are discriminatory against children of other ethnic groups and do not foster the unity needed for national development. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of networks in child migration are dependent on the amount of interactions and linkages among migrants, former migrants and relatives in the home communities. These interactions are facilitated through communication.

8.2 Communication in child migration

Communication is an important factor in decision making and motivation for child migration. This is through accessing information about potential destinations, movement and living at the

destination. Improvement in communication reduces the distance decay law as propounded by Ravenstein in 1885. The time and difficulty in making decisions to migrate are reduced, because prospective child migrants have easy access to information before making their decisions. Besides, children are able to build networks (especially hometown based networks) and maintain them through telephone conversation. Furthermore, transportation cost is reduced through improvement in communication infrastructure. The following excerpt explains how children are able to make decisions to migrate as well as travel through improvement in communication.

> One of my friends from this village is staying and working there. So I called him one day and then he said I should come. That if I come there, I will get some work to do and to get money for my schooling (Interview with Adolwani in Feo, December 1, 2011).

From this narration, Adolwani made use of a network which was based on friendship, to decide on his destination and the actual migration process. Although his friend was living in the south while he lived in Bongo district, he maintained the friendship through telephone conversation and was assured of getting work to do if he migrated. This allayed his potential fears and increased his motivation to migrate. Similar narrations have been given in previous excerpts, including those by Lamisi, Mumuni and Attis (see chapter 5.2.3). For instance, Mumuni explained how his friend consistently invited him to migrate and after further migration to South Africa, his younger brother who took over the business of selling roasted meet, continued to invite him (Mumuni) with assurance of making money, if he migrated. Furthermore, Attis kept contacts with his uncle who was living in Accra, to be well informed about the prospects of getting a job before migrating. Also, Lamisi's movement to Accra was made possible because she was introduced to the driver of a haulage truck, who sent her to Accra without her paying the fare, which she did not have and could have prevented her from migrating.

Maintaining contacts is not only among migrants and potential migrants, but children maintain contacts with their families in their home villages through regular telephone communication. The mothers of Attis, Lamisi and Jaafa all narrated how they communicate with their children through telephone conversations. However, apart from the mother of Jaafa who had a cell phone, the mothers of Lamisi and Attis had no phones. They relied on neighbours who had cell phones to communicate with their children in Accra. This is possible because of improvement in mobile communication technology, which has reduced the cost of communication and increased access to mobile telecommunication coverage and usage. Consequently, many rural dwellers are able to own cell phones instead of fixed landlines or fixed-line telephones at homes.

Improvement in mobile telephone communication has not only helped to strengthen networks but also improvement in remittances. Parents are able to easily communicate their needs to their children at the destinations who remit to address such pressing needs of their families.

8.3 Remittances in child migration

In general terms, remittances refer to sending money and other items to a recipient in a different location. It involves hand-carrying transfers in cash or kind, personally or through a close relative, friend or known transport operators or bank transfers, among others. The ability of migrant children to remit depends on the outcomes of their migration. Those who are able to earn money from their migration, remit while those who are unable to earn are unable to remit. However, mindful of the circumstances of the families and households where they come from, migrant children are eager to support their families back home. This is mainly because their migration was motivated by unfavourable economic circumstances of their families at home. Moreover, remittances serve to compensate for labour lose to families since the children would have augmented family labour if they had not migrated.

Nevertheless, efficient use of remittances serve to mitigate the spatial imbalances in household poverty and local development, between poor rural sending communities and destination areas. However, the frequency and quantum of remittances depend on the amount migrant children earn at their destinations and the availability of reliable mode of remittance. As most migrant children remit through people they know, trustworthiness is crucial for effective and regular sending of money back home.

Remittance is not only monetary and unidirectional but also reciprocal, as parents in sending communities also send part of their harvests to child migrants. Children remit a range of items, including money, clothing, school items and foodstuffs. Nevertheless, although in-school destination and origin child migrants said they did not remit their families back home, money was the main form of remittance among out of school destination migrant children. This is consistent with the finding of Anarfi and Kwankye (2005) in a study of child migrants in Accra and Kumasi, that more than one half of 450 child migrants studied sent money home. They observed further that boys sent money more frequently than girls and remittances were mainly sent through relatives, friends, traders and drivers, and used mostly to buy food. The amount of money remitted in this study ranged from less than GH¢10 to a little above GH¢100 per instance.

However, migrant children's remittances are not regular, but as and when they have something to remit, or when a request is made for assistance or to solve an urgent problem. The main recipients of remittances from migrant children are their parents, siblings, other relatives and friends. Remittances are sent when relatives or friends at the destinations are visiting home or through drivers of commercial vehicles. As the mode of sending money is not regulated, migrant children rely on the trustworthiness of the people they give the money to. Therefore, mistrust is a major challenge to them, as some of the people do not give the money to the intended recipients. Nevertheless, remittances from migrant children are used to supplement food requirements of the recipient households, buy seeds for cropping, school uniforms and other school items, pay for medical treatment of family members and to renovate portions of their houses. It is therefore not surprising that some parents influence their children to consider migrating as a plausible kind of parental investment (Kwankye, 2011) with the expectation of the remittances from their children who have migrated to the south. The following narration of Attis typifies how migrant children remit their families.

> I send money to my mother any time a known person is going to our hometown and I have money. I always want to send money to my mother, but it is not all the time that I have money. So it depends on getting someone going and whether I have money or not. I send between GH¢10.00 and GH¢ 50.00 when I get someone going home. The last time I sent money was a week ago and it was GH¢50.00. This was because, my mother said she needed money to buy school uniform for my brother and sisters. When I was coming here my mother said I should let her know if I succeed in getting a job or not. She does not have any money to send to me here but last month she sent some groundnuts to me. She is also always praying for me as I am here so that God will let me get a good job and also, that I will not be involved in any problem. My mother and siblings are all praying for me to succeed. I also buy clothing for my mother and younger siblings. I buy exercise books, pencils and pens for them from here. I also send them money to buy seeds for sowing during the planting season, and sometimes, I give them money to buy food when their food in the house is finished (interview with Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).

Attis' narration suggests that remittance is not only unidirectional (only from migrant children to their parents, other relatives and friends) but they also receive some support from their families back home. These kinds of support include foodstuffs (for instance groundnuts) and also prayers for success in their endeavours. This is particularly important because children from Bongo district are not only seeking to avoid the curses of their parents, but are anxious to win their blessings and approval of their migration decisions and actions. Attis admits in his narration, that although his mother does not have money to send to him, she sends groundnuts to him in Accra. This reciprocity in remittances has been observed as not only monetary but include items and labour in reciprocity (Schmidt-Kallert, 2009[b]) where migrant children return to

help during farming seasons and part of the foodstuffs are sent to them at their destinations after harvest. Tagoe and Kwankye (2009) in a study of independent child migrants in the Northern Region of Ghana, report of male migrants returning during the farming season, while female migrants return during the harvest season to help their families left behind (p. 231). According to Whitehead and Hashim (2007), this arrangement helps to resolve potential conflicts between child migrants and their parents because their labour is important for the livelihoods of their households. Although migrant children did not narrate going back to offer their labour in this study, Attis for instance reported sending money to buy seeds for cropping.

Remittances are also used to supplement the cost of education of both migrant children and their siblings. Hashim (2007) for instance identified that children in the Upper East Region of Ghana migrate to get money, which is used to pay for the cost of their education and that of their siblings. Similarly, Tamanja (2012:19) observed in a study of migrant school children from Bongo district that they use their earnings to buy items they need in school as well as pocket money to buy food during break time in school. Although other studies (Hashim, 2009; Kwankye and Tagoe, 2009; Anarfi and Agyei, 2009) have reported children using their earnings to buy cooking utensils and other items needed for marriage, children in this study also use their earnings on school related items as most (especially, in-school child migrants) of them were attending school. Nevertheless, Dolanire who earned GH¢ 600 from working in illegal gold mining, narrated giving part of his earnings to his parents, to buy roofing sheets to roof a portion of their house (see chapter 6.3.4 on uses of earnings). Even though, Dolanire gave part of his earnings to help renovate their house, he also used his earnings to buy items he needs in school and food during break time. Furthermore, Attis in his narration admits that the last time he sent money was a week to the day of the interview and it was GH¢50 because his mother said she needed money to buy school uniform for his siblings, so he sent GH¢ 50.

Although recipients of remittances include parents, siblings, friends and other relatives, mothers of child migrants appear to be favourite recipients than fathers. Unlike Attis who remitted his mother because his father is deceased, other children in the likes of Mumuni remitted their mothers for other reasons as contained in the following narration.

> Now that my grandmother is no more alive, I have been supporting my mother small, small. As for my father, he has money and I think that even if I send money to him, he will not take. Because he said he wanted me to go to school but I refused and again that he wanted me to learn a trade as an apprentice at Akim Oda, but I didn't stay there. He is not happy with me and I fear to send something to him. I send my mother GH¢50 or GH¢100. This is not regular. It depends, when I get money and also if there is someone going to our home town who I can trust. These days you cannot trust people. Some people are very bad. They can go and spend the money and tell my mother stories (Interview with Mumuni in Accra, October 12, 2012).
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> It depends, sometimes GH¢5, GH¢10, GH¢15 and GH¢20. The last time that I sent was GH¢15. I don't often send regularly, this year for instance I sent only once. That was the GH¢15. My mother has not sent me anything. She doesn't have anything to send to me here. I am looking to get money and send to her. But I know if I tell her that I want groundnuts, she will send some to me but I have not asked her to send some to me (Interview with Lamisi in Accra, November 22, 2011).

It is clear from the narration of Mumuni, that he remitted only his mother. He adduces two reasons for not remitting his father although he is still alive. The first reason being that, his father did not support his decision to migrate and also, that his father has money and does not need his remittances. His father did not support his decision to migrate because he wanted him to continue his education instead of migrating. Although Mumuni was worried that his father has for this while failed to forgive him for his disobedience, he was hopeful his father will one day change his mind and accept him. He did not get the blessing of his parents as was the case of Attis, who's mother and siblings continuously pray for him to succeed at his destination. He therefore concentrates on his mother and sends between GH¢ 50 and GH¢ 100, depending on when he gets money and also when a trustworthy person is going to his home village. He admits "*some people are very bad*" and can spend the money and tell his mother stories.

Similarly, Lamisi also remits between GH¢5 and GH¢20, with the recent being GH¢15.

Although she does not remit regularly and her mother is old and poor in the village, she was optimistic her mother will send her groundnuts in reciprocity, if she asks for it. Indeed, Lamisi's mother who has other migrant children besides Lamisi, corroborated in an interview at the home village in the following.

> I send groundnuts to them. Some of their friends come here, so when they come that I send some groundnuts to them. The last time that I sent some was when I was harvesting. That is the time that there is groundnuts, not now (Interview with Lamisi's mother at Boku, November 29, 2011).

Although Lamisi and her migrant siblings do not return to help in the village during farming seasons as observed by Schmidt-Kallert (2009[b]), part of their monetary remittances are used by their mother to hire labour and tractor services for farming. In return, she sends groundnuts to them in reciprocity through their friends who visit home. She narrated sending groundnuts to her children during the harvest season when she has groundnuts. Remittance from her children therefore help to continue her farming as a livelihood and not making her dependent on other people for survival. Moreover, she admitted not being aware of the government's programme of Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) and may never benefit from such a programme. She was however hopeful that, her children (especially Lamisi) would eventually return after achieving their goals for migrating.

8.4 Return migration

Return migration is both a component in the process as well as an outcome of migration. It occurs when migrants return to their places of origin (usually from their destinations) during or after they have migrated and involves both adults and children, engaged in temporal as well as long term migration. Furthermore, return migration constitutes a central component of an on-going process of migration and is not necessarily seen as the closure of the migration cycle, but rather as one of many steps within the process, which could lead to other forms of migration (Tagoe and Kwankye, 2009). Nevertheless, migrant children return for various reasons, which include attaining or failure to meet objectives for which they migrated. As indicated earlier in this studies (see motivation in chapter 5) and corroborated in other studies (Anarfi & Kwankye, 2005; Kwankye et al., 2009; Tagoe & Kwankye, 2009, Kwankye, 2012), children who migrated to Accra and Kumasi reported that their main aim for moving to the two cities was to find jobs, to work, and to accumulate some resources and then return to their home villages. This means that migrant children from northern Ghana have the desire of returning home when embarking on migration. In addition, Kwankye (2012: 17) in a study of returned migrants in the Northern region of Ghana, observed that child migrants do not engage in migration of no return, because many of them desire to return to their communities of origin with accumulated resources for the benefit of not only themselves but their families at large. Indeed, many children do not intend to migrate permanently and desire to return one day to their places of origin, to contribute towards the development of their communities (Anarfi & Kwankye, 2005). Although the reasons that inform their decision to return are varied, the process begins with the decision to return, preparation to return, the return and re-integration or re-migration.

In this study, although many of the respondent migrant children did not stay in their destinations for long and considered other settlements as likely destinations, few of them returned to their home villages at the time of the study. However, the process of return was not as distinct in stages as explained above, probably due to the short duration of their migration. Nonetheless, elements of return decision making, preparation to return, re-integration and/or re-migration can be deduced from the experiences shared in their narrations. Indeed, all the children interviewed at their destinations expressed strong desires of returning to their home villages after achieving their goals for migrating. There was no single instance where a migrant child was not willing to return. They all considered migration as a temporal and stopgap measure to solving some challenges at their places of origin. They all maintain close contacts with their parents and relatives in their home villages through frequent and occasional telephone

conversations and were quite abreast with events back home. In most cases, it was the migrant children who gave me contacts of their parents at their places of origin, in order for me to interview them. Their parents also indicated during interviews that their children will return after spending some time at their destinations. Nevertheless, Atipoka who migrated to Accra in 2009 and returned in 2011 with the intention to pursue vocational education shared her experience in the following narration.

> I think the travelling has helped me because I have now seen the need to go to school and learn well. I also saw other people working at better places and I think some of them also faced difficulties before getting to where they are now working. So I told myself that I also have to come back and go to school and be like those people. That was why I came home. I went there (Accra) in 2009 and I came back here (Namoo) in November 2011. I came back because I wanted to come and try and see if I could get any vocational school here to attend…When I was coming, I bought a bag, bowls (utensils) and clothing. I bought some clothing for my mother too and school sandals for my sister. I bought bowls because I will use them when I am going to cook. I bought some reading books and notebooks for my sister who is still in school. For myself, I was thinking that if I come and get a vocational school, then I will know the kind of books I will need and buy them. But when I came back in 2011, I had a boyfriend and got pregnant and gave birth. He was a teacher at the JHS and said he wanted to marry me. Because I couldn't go to school I thought I should marry, so he came to my family and informed them and did the necessary things, then I went to him. After I gave birth he refused to take care of me. He failed to carry out his responsibilities, so I came back to my father's place. When I returned I wanted to go to the school but my father said he doesn't have money and that the man should pay for me. But the man too is telling me that he doesn't have money. He is not fulfilling his responsibilities as a husband. If I want anything, he says he doesn't have money. The child is a boy, 1 year and 2 months old. I thought my father would have helped me but he says he has no money. I have another auntie in Ouadadougou but she too said she doesn't have money now. I don't know the time she will get the money for me. If I get it early it will help, otherwise hmmmmm, I will have to go back to Accra. At least, for there, I can get some work to do and take care of myself (Interview with Atipoka in Namoo, October 9, 2012).

The narration of Atipoka typifies those children who got exposed to urban lifestyles and opportunities they never knew of when they were in their home villages. She realised through her work in a chop bar in Accra that she had the potential of also becoming like the customers she served. According to her, some of the customers could have faced situations similar to those she was facing, but they overcame them and were working at better places. This therefore motivated her to decide and return to her home village with the hope of attending a vocational school to acquire skills that will give her the opportunity of a better paid job in future. Although Atipoka was not in school at the time of the interview in her home village, she bought clothes for her mother, books and sandals for her younger sister, who was in school and other items such as cooking utensils for herself.

Buying utensils is common practice among female migrants from northern Ghana (Tagoe and Kwankye, 2009; Awumbila, 2007) as a sign of readiness for marriage upon return. These items are bought by girls in preparation to return home for marriage. Furthermore, Kwankye (2012) argues that returning seasonal female child migrants portray their "wealth" in the form of acquired cooking utensils to their peers back home, thus suggesting that migrating to the south would be better than not migrating. Although Atipoka decided to return in order to pursue vocational education and bought utensils for her personal use, she ended up marrying (albeit unsuccessful) and gave birth to a baby boy. It is not very clear why her parents readily consented to such arrangement. The plausible reason is that, they had no option as she had already been impregnated by the teacher. Though Atipoka was not a pupil at the time she became pregnant, the phenomenon lends credence to the accusations of parents during interviews in the district, that teachers misconduct themselves and have amorous relationships with their students, leading to poor learning outcomes in schools. Atipoka did not buy books for her proposed vocational studies, as she did not know the kind of books she will need, but she appeared prepared to buy such relevant books, possibly through her personal savings, if she got admission to further her education. Sadly however, her involvement in the infantile marriage and

the unwillingness of her father to support her ambition of pursuing vocational education upon return had a debilitating effect on her reintegration and thus strengthening the possibility of her re-migration intension to Accra. She admits that she has no option but to re-migrate to Accra where she can work to take care of herself. Although her parents are helping to cater for her child, her only hope of pursuing the vocational training was on the hope of financial support from her auntie who lives in Ouagadougou (neighbouring Burkina Faso).

Relying on social networks such as family relations is important for successful reintegration of return migrants as they offer support in various forms to the returnee child migrants. Support in the form of residential accommodation, marriage and security have been observed from parents and family members of returnee child migrants (Kwankye, 2012), which helps in their integration. Atipoka was therefore relying on the support of her parents for accommodation, upbringing of her son and money to pay for the cost of her vocational training. However, the uncertainty about whether she will get the support from her auntie (for which reason she was still in the village) might compel her to re-migrate to Accra.

Similarly, Dolanire who returned after engaging in illegal gold mining in Ashanti region for two years, shared his experience in the following.

> I am in JHS 2. I will be 18 years old on the 19th of this month. I travelled to Nsuta, near Koforidua New Site in the south. That time I was 16 years old. I stayed for one year and I was mining gold. We were not mining on our own but we were working for someone. I have come back because of school. When I was there, I saw how people who have gone to school are working in big, big places and paid big salaries. Some of them (those I was free with) advised me that I am young, so I should go to school first. That when I complete school and have my qualification, I will be able to get a good job and get money for myself and my parents because the work I was doing (galamsay) has no future. So I decided to come back home and to continue my education. I didn't go to school there because school fees are very high there and I had no one to take care of me to go to school there. When I finish school and pass to go to SHS fine, but if I am not able to go to SHS, then I will go back to the place (Interview with Dolanire in Feo, October 1, 2011).

Although Dolanire was to attain 18 years a week after the interview, he was in JHS 2 when in fact he should have completed the University or a vocational school at that age. This was due partly to his involvement in migration or beginning his education at an older age as it is common with children in rural communities. Nevertheless, his interest in education was rekindled through personal experiences and pieces of advice he got from people while at his destination. According to him, besides seeing how people were living better lifestyles and advice from some of the people he associated with, he was encouraged and therefore decided to return to continue his education. He contends that it was better to be educated at an advanced age than forfeit education all together (in exchange for migration) which could not guarantee any certainty of his future. He did not send money to his family, but saved all and returned with GH¢600.00 to support himself and the family. Although part of the money was used to renovate their house, he used the rest to buy items he needed for schooling and as pocket money to buy food during break time in school.

It is also evident from the narration of Dolanire, that although migration exposed him to different lifestyles and rekindled his interest in education, he could not continue his education at the destination because of high cost of education in southern Ghana. Whereas basic education has been free in the north of the country since independence, the same is not the case in other parts of the country (Hashim, 2007: 916). Besides, cost arising from miscellaneous necessities, such as school equipment, extra teachers and teaching, school uniforms, and exercise books are borne by parents and children who are unable to meet such school costs are not able to access or progress in their education. As such, not only was Dolanire unable to afford the fees to access education at the destination, he could not also find any philanthropist to sponsor his education. He therefore had no option but to return to his home village where he could attend free JHS. Nevertheless, he is not oblivious of the challenges of SHS education, should he overcome the hurdle at the level of JHS. He narrates that "*when I finish school and pass to go to SHS fine, but if I am not able to go, then I will go back to the place*". This is similar to the

situation of Atipoka, as Dolanire was already psyched up over the difficulty of continuing his education to the SHS level and was considering re-migration as a last resort.

Furthermore, migrant children at their places of destination articulate good intentions of returning to their home villages. Although this category of child migrants had not returned, they were preparing both in the form of savings and acquiring skills that will enable them successfully return and reintegrate into their communities of origin. The following narrations give credence to this assertion.

> If I get a place which is better than Accra here, I will go but if I don't get a place better, I will stay here and be doing small, small and then finally go back home. Accra here is difficult, but if I don't get a nice place I will stay here and when I make some small money, I will go and open a provisions shop in my hometown and be selling there (Interview with Abudu in Accra, November 7, 2011).
>
> I am still searching for a place where I can get what I want. I am now growing and will need to become a man and settle. If I get a better place, I will go, but for now I am here doing small small. I want to make enough money to start [establish] my own business [preferably at home] where I can be working for myself and make money to support my mother and brothers and sisters. So if I get a better place where I can make more money, I will go. You know, I am not in school, so I will also like to marry and make my own family in the future but I cannot do that if I don't have my own work and money (Interview with Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).

From these narrations, Abudu appeared to be nurturing a return intention to engage in retail business. He was therefore saving to raise the required capital towards his ambition for his future provision sales business in his home village upon return. Although he considers life in Accra to be difficult and was open to re-migrate to a better place than Accra, his ultimate aim is to return to his home village to establish a shop to retail general provisions. Similar sentiments were made by Attis to ultimately return and establish his own business to work for himself.

It is worth noting that although the idea of returning to establish and operate business enterprises is laudable, it is not easy to accomplish by return migrants. For instance, in the study of return migrants in the Northern region, Kwankye (2012:14) observed that, whereas 1.7% of 300 respondents reported not working while they were at their destinations, 34.7% reported not working upon return while 14.7% worked in farming (the work they were doing at home before they migrated). A lot more support is required to supplement the little savings, skills and experiences migrant children acquire in order for them to successfully establish and operate their own business enterprises when they return.

Furthermore, a greater chunk of the GH¢600.00 that Dolanire returned with was used to renovate portions of their family house while Attis and Atipoka reported supporting their mothers and siblings who are still in school. In the light of such high family expectations and demands, the little earnings from such small scale establishments would go into the maintenance of the families, with the tendency of suffocating the businesses. It is therefore not surprising when Kwankye (2012: 20) observed that return migrants who made savings for the purpose of returning were more likely to re-migrate compared to their counterparts who did not. This is because, such persons are the ones who may think they had benefitted from migration and that by migrating again, they anticipate being able to earn more and/or accumulate more wealth than relying on their establishments at home.

8.5 Summary

Three main issues have been discussed in this chapter. They include networks, remittances and return in child migration in Ghana.

Networks play crucial roles in promoting child migration as most of the children benefit from such networks at no cost. They 'ride free' on such networks by virtue of kinship and other relationships with members. As such, networks identified are mainly based on family, school, hometown and multi-locational household networks. Whereas family and multi-location

household networks consist of family and household relations and therefore very close, school and hometown based networks are more opened to include members who do not come from the same families or households. Children benefit from such networks though information about potential destination, accommodation, feeding, menial jobs and medical care at their destinations. Furthermore, they are able to maintain contacts with their parents and siblings back home through such networks and improvement in mobile telephone communication.

On the other hand, remittance is an essential component in child migration and includes mostly monetary but also non-monetary reciprocity in the form of labour, foodstuffs and prayers. Although recipients of remittances of child migrants include parents, siblings, friends and other relatives, mothers are most favourites while the uses of such remittances include supplementing household food requirements, buying seeds, school items and renovating portions of their houses. Furthermore, although remittances are mostly sent through acquaintances such as friends, relatives and drivers of long distance haulage trucks, mistrust is their main challenge as some of the people are not trustworthy.

Furthermore, return migration forms an important component in the process of child migration and is not necessarily seen as the closure of the migration cycle. It is considered one of many steps within the process of migration, which could lead to other forms of migration (Tagoe and Kwankye, 2009). As such, all the migrant children expressed strong desire to return after achieving their goals for migrating. All the children regarded their involvement in migration as a temporal measure in response to challenges they experienced in their origins. Nevertheless migrant children at their destinations maintained close contact with their origins through telephone conversations. This made them to be conversant with what was happening to their relatives back in their villages. However, efforts need to be made to help returnees to integrate through entrepreneurial training to help those who attempt to establish small scale retail business. The success of such returnee entrepreneurs will not only help reduce their vulnerability and dependence on their parents, but will also widen the tax base for revenue to the District Assembly.

CHAPTER NINE: INSTITUTIONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS IN CHILD MIGRATION

Institutions and organisations play very important roles in shaping human behaviour in general and child migration in particular. Institutions and organisations have the potential of either promoting or restricting the phenomenon of child migration. Whereas a favourable institutional environment helps streamline child migration and ensures the protection, welfare and development potential of children and the phenomenon of child migration, unfavourable institutions and weak organisations have the tendency to obscure child migration. In this context of child migration, institutions are used to refer to rules governing the phenomenon of child migration, while organisations are used to mean the actors involved in child migration. The discussion in this chapter focuses on how institutions and organisations involved in child migration act to shape the phenomenon of child migration in Ghana.

9.1 Institutions on child migration in Ghana

Generally, institutions comprise the basic rules of society to which its members adhere when interacting with one another (Boettke and Fink, 2011). In other words, institutions are regarded as "*rules of the game"* that regulate the behaviour of actors through both formal and informal rules, enforced by third parties (North, 1990). Societies with efficient institutions (regulations) are protective of its inhabitants, making life worth living and ensuring the welfare of it's members. Nevertheless, institutions can be constraints as well as resources that actors can use in order to achieve their goals (Thelen, 2003; Jackson, 2009).

Although there are regulations governing the movement of children within and outside Ghana, greater attention tends to be focused on trafficking and child labour (Awumbila, 2006; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011) thus obscuring other forms of child migration. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana, which is the Supreme law of the land, makes adequate provision for all categories of persons, including migrant children, to live peacefully and move freely in the country. For instance, sections (1) and (2) of article 17 of the constitution, provide for equality of all persons before the law and abhors discrimination on grounds of gender, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed and social or economic status. Similarly, section (1), subsection (g) of article 21 guarantees free movement of individuals and groups of people within, and out of the country; the right to leave and to enter Ghana and immunity from expulsion from Ghana. This implies that, all persons (including children) can move without any hindrances in Ghana and should therefore not be discriminated against because of their involvement in migration. It therefore ensures the rights of migrant children to descent life and education at their destinations. Consequently, section 1 of article 25 guarantees that, all persons have the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities, and with a view to achieving the full realization of those rights. As such, basic education shall be free, compulsory and available to all while secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular, by the progressive introduction of free education. Furthermore, high education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular, by the progressive introduction of free education. Therefore, the 1992 Republican Constitution provides the legal foundation for all children to access and progress in the pursuit of their education, irrespective of where they are located within the country and whether or not they are involved in migration.

Besides the National Constitution, the Children's Act of 1998 (Act 560) constitutes the basis for a comprehensive reform and consolidates the law relating to children. It seeks to among other things, provide for the rights of the child, maintenance and adoption, regulate child labour and apprenticeship, for ancillary matters concerning children generally, and to provide for related matters in Ghana. Section 16 of the Act specifically mandates District Assemblies to

protect the welfare and promote the rights of children within their areas of authority and to ensure that governmental agencies within their districts, liaise with one another in matters concerning children. When and where it becomes necessary, bye-laws are enacted to protect and promote the interest and welfare of children. Furthermore, subsection 2 of the Act, specifically mandates the Social Welfare and Community Development Departments of District Assemblies to investigate cases of contravention of children's rights within their jurisdictions. Therefore by implication, the Children's Act mandates the Departments of Social Welfare and Community Development of district assemblies to cater for migrant children who find themselves in their areas of jurisdiction.

Likewise, traditional authority constitutes an integral part of the local government structure in Ghana and local traditional norms and practices have strong influence on the phenomenon of child migration in the country. Although local traditional practices and norms are often not documented, they are strongly protective of children and strangers (including migrants) in communities. For instance, Ghanaians are generally considered hospitable, as such, strangers in any local community are treated with outmost respect and care. Furthermore, although a child is born to a couple, the upbringing of the child is regarded a shared responsibility with every adult member in the community. Such norms and practices protect all children (including child migrants) in their destination communities.

Moreover, fosterage is a common practice, especially among people of northern Ghana, where children live with relatives for various reasons including illness, poverty of biological parents, old age, childlessness of adult relatives, and for social cohesion among extended families and clans. Subsequently, section 63 of the Children's Act of 1998 (Act 560) defines a foster parent as a person who is not the biological parent of a child but is willing to undertake the care and maintenance of the child. Therefore, undocumented traditional practices and local norms work in concert with national and local level laws to regulate the phenomenon of child migration in Ghana.

Besides the domestic institutional framework, norms and practices, Ghana is signatory to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) which sets out the rights of all children and how those rights should be met. For instance, Articles 28 and 29 of the convention specifically enshrines the rights of children to good quality education to the highest level, in order to develop their talents and abilities, while Articles 32, 33 and 34 guarantee the rights and protection of children from harmful activities and exploitative labour, drugs and other forms of abuse (including sexual abuse). These articles in the convention therefore seek to protect migrant children irrespective of their location; including international migrant children.

Although the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana and the Children's Act of 1998 (Act 560) are some domestic laws that are meant to protect children in the country, and Ghana ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990, there is yet to be a comprehensive policy document on migration in the country. Meanwhile migration policy forms the overarching structure for effectively managing migration in any country. It helps to harmonise various policy approaches and sets a programmatic focus, geared towards the most urgent problems of a country, such as education, foreign policy and finance (GIZ, 2013). Furthermore, a coherent migration policy also means that relevant aspects and issues of migration are included in national development strategies and are also taken into account for developing an effective Poverty Reduction Strategy for the country. Notwithstanding efforts that have been made to develop a national migration policy, it is still at the draft stage, awaiting approval from relevant state agencies. Nevertheless, this draft policy, which was expected to be operationalised in 2012 makes relevant provision for the care and protection of migrant children. It further proposes the establishment of a migration commission with an ultimate aim of a ministry for migration and related issues (Interview with Professor Awumbila in Accra, March 14, 2014). However, there is uncertainty regarding the relevance of the proposed ministry to address issues of children as a Ministry for Gender, Children and Social Protection was created in 2013. There could perhaps be the need to incorporate the proposed child centred activities into those of the existing ministry, instead of creating a parallel ministry as suggested in the draft policy.

In this study, many of the children involved in migration were not aware of any law (s) governing the movement of people in Ghana. In fact, none of the 35 children interviewed admitted knowing of any law that regulates the migration of adults and children in the country. Akobinire for instance argued during an interview in the following.

> I don't know of any law that says children should not travel. I only knew (at the time I was leaving) that the Education Office in Bongo didn't want school children to travel to the south, but I did not know why they were doing that (Interview with Akobinire in Accra, November 1, 2011).

In the view of Akobinire, it was the Education Office in Bongo that did not want school children to travel, and he did not understand why they were preventing children from migrating. Although ignorance of the law is not an excuse, Akobinire and his colleagues nonetheless, migrated out of the district to Accra where they were hopeful of a better life. It is however not clear whether children's knowledge of existing laws on migration will prevent them from migrating. Attis for instance explains in the following narration, that.

> I did not get anyone to help me when my father died. Only my elder sister did (helped) but only for a short period since she was not able to continue and no one was there to help me. So how could I continue to go to school? I didn't care even if there was any law against my travelling. I just wanted to get myself a good future and to be able to help myself, my mother and my siblings (Interview with Attis in Accra, October 12, 2011).

It is obvious from the narration of Attis, that even if he knew of any law that restricted children from migrating, he would have nonetheless still migrated, because he could not get any support to continue his education after the demise of his father. Accordingly, his sister helped, but only for a short period because she did not have the means to meet the miscellaneous cost for him (Attis) to continue schooling. He therefore had no option but to migrate to Accra, where he could work and support himself as well as his mother in the village to keep his siblings in school. The experience of Attis in this narration suggests failure of support system which hitherto existed in extended family system in rural communities, where the upbringing of children was regarded a shared responsibility for all adult members of the community.

Furthermore, although basic education is supposed to be free under the fCUBE policy, it is indeed not the case in reality, as parents still have to meet the miscellaneous cost (albeit small) for the education of their children. Hashim (2007) observed that, although basic education is theoretically free, schools usually demand levies for a range of miscellaneous necessities, such as school equipment, extra teachers and so on, in addition to costs such as school uniforms. Furthermore, the experience of Attis in this narration is not different from an earlier study by the Ghana Statistical Service in 2003, involving 17,034 children. The study found that 64% of the children in Upper East region who participated in the study and who did not attend school, failed to attend because their parents could not afford for them to do so (Hashim, 2007: 916). Therefore, lack of financial support for children will compel them to migrate, irrespective of their knowledge of regulations on migration.

Lack of knowledge of laws on migration is not only akin to children in Bongo district, as adult members in the district equally had very little knowledge of the institutional framework on child migration. This became evident during interviews and discussions with parents of child migrants and leaders in communities in the district in the following narrations. It is worth acknowledging that, these narrations were in response to a question on how societal norms and laws on migration in one's area promote or constrain the migration of children.

> There are no laws like that here. There are only laws against, may be, the type of things you do. In other sections they taboo taking this, that, that, that but travelling, no (Interview with a parent, Anthony Atanga, November 10, 2011).
>
> I know they were going to travel. They told me, but I don't know of any law that says children should not travel (Interview with Mma Semiskama Adongo - mother of Akobinire and Lamisi - in Boku, November 29, 2011).
>
> There may be laws at the national or district level on the movement of children, but we don't know of any here in Namoo. There may be by-laws at the district level but it has not reached us here yet. Although child migration is an issue here, it is not being discussed by the elders here during our meetings (Discussion with community leaders in Namoo, November 30, 2011).

It is evident from these narrations that, parents and local community leaders in Bongo district have very little knowledge of laws on child migration. Both Anthony and Mma Semiskama Adongo admitted having no knowledge regarding regulations on movement of children. Anthony for instance, asserts that, there might be laws regulating other things but not travelling. This could be premised on the ease and freedom of movement of people in his community and other communities in Ghana. Furthermore, community leaders admitted there might be laws at the national and district levels, but not in their village. Although child migration is a concern to them in their community, the issue is not discussed during community meetings.

Even though knowledge of regulations on child migration was low among children, parents and local leaders in the district, the same was not the case with organisations working on issues of child migration at the national and regional levels. Scheduled officers at the national and regional levels were more articulate on issues regarding regulations on child migration than those at the district level. The following are excerpts from narrations of schedule officers of organisations who were interviewed during the study.

> Let me start from the Children's Act (CH), that you can't leave the child alone until he is 13 or so. I think it presupposes that you can't let the child travel alone until the child is 13 years and even that you need to inform the driver and the driver needs to know that somebody will be picking the child up at the destination. The Human Trafficking Act (HTA) prohibits any form of trafficking of people, whether it is men, women or children. It could even be their children...Members of GPRTU have been told not to allow a group of children to use their cars to travel without any parent in the car and without any reason. I am sure you have heard of the police arresting people because the children were many in the car and they were suspicious of human trafficking…Some cultural practices do promote child migration. In Ghana, everybody is a family relative, although they may not be close. So sometimes the parents allow their children to go and live with some relatives in the cities and these relatives may end up abusing those children. But the HTA caters for that. When you promise parents that you are bringing the child here to take care of him and end up abusing or forcing him to work. That is a breach of the contract. That was not what was agreed upon. It is good to train the child at home by making him learn some skills, otherwise the child becomes an incomplete human being. Letting the child help at home becomes child labour when it affects the child's education and when it affects the child's health or moral upbringing (Interview with a schedule officer of MOWAC in Accra, October 22, 2011).
>
> The laws are there and they are good, but we have problems with enforcement and one of the major problems is logistics. Even in the children's Act, fosterage is allowed. Our norm over the years is that, we should respect the rights of everybody. People must be treated with decency, with dignity. So when it happens that way, then we are rather deviating from our norms as Africans (Interview with a representative of DOVVSU in Accra, October 20, 2011).

From these narrations, the schedule officers for MOWAC and the Department of Social Welfare at the national level alluded to the Children's Act of 1989 (Act 568) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child as part of the gamut of regulations (including the Human Trafficking Act – HTA) affecting child migration in Ghana. Further narration by a social welfare officer in Accra is as follows.

> Certainly, there is a whole gamut of laws. If you go into the Children's Act you will find some there, if you also go into our migration act, you will see the various laws there. There are various Legislative Instruments (LI) emanating from the various Acts that have been promulgated by our Parliament. So if you read them you will have a broader perspective of what it is that offends the law in terms of this migration of children. ….. Internal migration is a bit more fluid, but in terms of external, I must say that our approved exit points are doing quite well. But internally, what government has tried to do over the years has been since the last 5 to 10 years, there was a local government act that empowers District Assemblies (DA) to stop and search vehicles moving and I do recall that some districts did that and managed to rescue children. Because if for example you say one adult is supposed to be a guardian of say 10 or more children travelling, the social services subcommittee at the district level has the responsibility, working in partnership with the GPRTU, to ask how come that you this adult, you are the only person leading these 10 or more of these children you are moving with. And when you interview the children you will realise that these children themselves only know one thing, well my mummy or my daddy says that this man is going to send me to Kumasi or Sunyani or to Accra to do A, B and C, and to come back. At times some even do not know where they are going, so from such answers you are able to rescue such children and then hand over the adult to the law enforcement agencies (Interview with a schedule officer of the Department of Social Welfare in Accra, October 31, 2011).

The Social Welfare Officer explains the responsibilities of District Assemblies under the Local Government Act to stop and search moving vehicles within areas of their jurisdiction for unaccompanied traveling children. He regards this as a possible move to curb child trafficking and migration of children in general. This assertion is however not accurate, as the Local Government Act 1993 (Act 462), does not specifically direct District Assemblies to search moving vehicles. Rather, Sections 79 to 83 of the Act, empowers District Assemblies to enact bye-laws that will ensure their functionality. Therefore, bye-laws can be made by district assemblies to search moving vehicles for unaccompanied children, as a means of curbing the phenomenon of child migration in their areas of jurisdiction. However, the search has to be conducted by law enforcement agencies such as the Ghana Police Service. Similar narrations emerged during an interview with a schedule officer of a non-governmental organisation in the Upper East region (Bolgatanga) in the following.

> I am not so sure of that, but I think these are issues of ethics. Like we are looking at what is good, what is bad, what is wrong or right. We are looking at issues of vulnerability, enlightenment, ignorance, illiteracy, a combination of factors. But I am not aware of any societal norms or laws that will say that a child cannot travel with somebody. I am not sure I know that. As I said we try to work close with stakeholders: the Ghana police service, the GPRTU, DOVVSU and others. There have been instances where, as I said, police have had to stop children who were allegedly being taken away from some parts of the region to southern Ghana. I think the Regional Minister made a pronouncement on it a year or so ago, that children should not travel alone and was even empowering the police to arrest and prosecute adults who engage in these acts. So yes, in the last 2 or 3 years there has been such a thing, but as to whether it has been made a bye-law in the communities, I am not pretty sure about that (Interview with a schedule officer of AfriKids in Bolgatanga, November 30, 2011).

It can be realised from this narration that, although the schedule officer of the NGO is unsure of regulations governing child migration, his outfit collaborates with other agencies such as the Ghana Police Service and transport organisations to curb the migration of children out of the Upper East Region. He was however not certain, whether the pronouncement of the Regional Minister for the police to arrest and prosecute adults who engage in the act of trafficking children was a bye-law. Nevertheless, such a pronouncement falls within the realm of measures to curb child migration in the region.

Similar explanation was given by the District Social Welfare Officer of Bongo district during an interview as follows.

> I don't know of any law that prevents or promotes the travelling of children here, but I know it is an admonishing by the Paramount Chief of the area. He has been admonishing parents not to allow their children to travel out. He does this when there is any gathering. Like when they are celebrating festivals and what not. … I know that Garu-Tempane district has a bye-law on this, but it is the implementation that is the problem. I came here in 2010. So I don't know if there is a bye-law like that here, but I don't think there is anything like that here (Interview with a Social Welfare Officer in Bongo, December 6, 2011).

The officer admits in the explanation of not knowing of any law regulating child migration in the district. He was however aware of a bye-law in a nearby district (Garu-Tempane district) on the movement of children. Although he was only one year old at his post at the time of the interview, he had no knowledge of any bye-law in the district on child migration. My interaction with the Plan Coordination Unit of the District Assembly confirmed the assertion of the Social Welfare Officer, as there was no documentary evidence of a bye-law in that regard, although out migration is a general concern in the district. Furthermore, he narrates of efforts by the Paramount Chief of Bongo traditional area and explains that the chief always admonishes his subjects not to allow their children to migrate.

Nevertheless, a practice in the district, which contributes to delinquency and migration is "Tanzaba", which literally means "sister-in-bed". It refers to a practice where a young man can have a flirting relationship with a blood female relative (e.g. cousin) and give birth but cannot marry her. The following narration by the district social welfare officer elucidates the seriousness of the practice.

> One main cause of single parenting in this district is what they call 'Tanzaba'. That means having children with a cousin that one is forbidden to marry in a family. In southern Ghana cousins can marry but this place, they know very well that these people (cousins), according to culture, are not supposed to be married. They can go to bed, they can make children, but the children belong to the girl's family. So in future if she gets an opportunity to marry someone, she has to leave the children she had with the cousin in the family house and move out. Such children have no proper upbringing, so when they get the least chance, they migrate to the south (Interview with Social Welfare Officer in Bongo, December 6, 2011).

It is clear from this narration and also my interaction with some other people in the district, that "Tanzaba" is a major cause of teenage pregnancies and to some extent, child delinquency in the district. Children born out of this relationships are usually left in the care of their mothers (who are mostly teenagers) and the elderly in the homes of the mothers who are unable to feed such children, let alone send them to school. Many of these children eventually migrate out of the district to seek livelihoods for themselves.

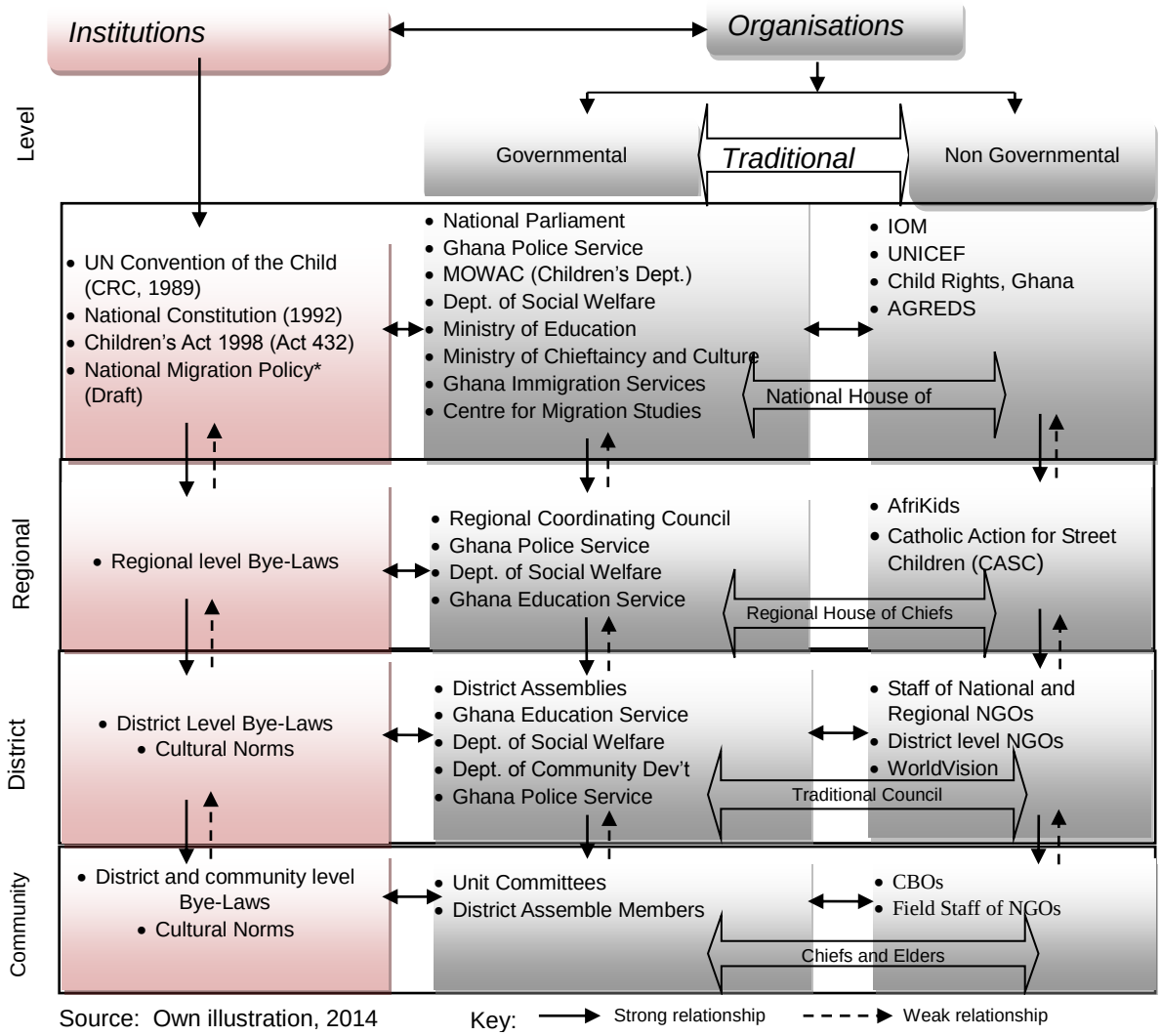
It is worth noting in conclusion, that although there are regulations on child migration in Ghana, they are not known in Bongo district as the people have little or no knowledge of them in their communities. However, knowledge on such regulations was high among scheduled officers of agencies and organisations whose work relate to child migration at the national level but not with people at the communities.

As rules and regulations do not implement themselves, knowledge among actors, especially those with the responsibility of implementing them, are crucial at regulating the phenomenon of child migration. Therefore, to have complete understanding of institutions, one must look at both the rules and the players, seeing each in an interdependent context of the other (Jackson, 2009:6). Institutions shape interactions, but actors retain the scope for choice within constraints or even alter those constraints by strategic or interpretative acts (ibid: 10). Consequently, laws and rules govern the movement of people but the acts and movement of people also influence and refine laws on migration. Therefore having laws or policies in the books may not necessarily address the challenges of child migration, unless they are backed by effective sensitization and enforcement by committed and dedicated actors. The next section discusses agencies and organisations involved in child migration in Ghana.

9.2 Organisations in child migration in Ghana

There are several government and non-governmental organizations involved in issues of migration (and by extension, child migration) in Ghana. These organizations operate at the national, regional and local levels with objectives and efforts at prevention, education and sensitization, rescue, reintegration, skills acquisition among others, of migrant children. However, it appears such efforts are drops in the ocean of a complex web of issues of child migration in Ghana. Not only does poverty remains high in the sending areas and parents and children are still unable to meet the household and school level challenges, but also, children continue to migrate to urban settlements where they think hold more prospects to good life. Similar to the levels of institutions in the preceding discussion, organisations involved in child migration are categorised into three levels and presented in figure 9.1.

Figure 9.1: Levels of institutions and organisations in child migration



Source: Own illustration, 2014 Key: → Strong relationship - - - - → Weak relationship

As the phenomenon of child migration is complex and multi-faceted, several organisations were identified to be involved in issues related to child migration. As shown in figure 9.1, the organisations are categorised into national, regional and local (district and community) levels. The national level organisations are more concerned and associated with issues of child migration at the national level. There is direct and strong linkage between the organisations and institutions at the national level. However, these linkages tend to weaken as they cascade down to the regional and local levels. Consequently, there is a weak link between organisations and institutions at the local level and those at the national level.

As shown in figure 9.1, the organisations are grouped into two main types; government and nongovernmental. However, there is a third type which has components of both categories, unique to Ghana and known as the Traditional Authority (TA).

The traditional authority consists of the structures, systems, and processes that communities have evolved in the course of their history and development, to govern themselves (Kendie and Guri, 2007). It is the most enduring traditional organisation in Ghana, which have displayed remarkable resilience from pre-colonial, through colonial to contemporary times (Dapilah et al, 2013). It is distinct from formal national governance authorities, which are the creations of the modern state and play vital roles in governance, as it can be a very useful instrument for the promotion of Ghana's local government and decentralisation process. It therefore forms an intersection between government and nongovernmental organisations

9.2.1 National level organisations

Government organisations identified as working on issues related to child migration at the national level include: the National Parliament, which is charged with the main responsibility of making laws, Children's Department of the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (now Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection-MGCSP), the Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU) and the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU) of the Ghana Police Service, the Department of Social Welfare (DSW), the Ministry of Education (MOE) through the Ghana Education Service (GES), Ghana Immigration Service, and the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS). On the other hand, the Non-Governmental Organisations include the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), UNICEF, Child Rights International-Ghana, the National House of Chiefs and the Assemblies of God Relief and Development Services (AGREDS).

It was observed in this study that, the national level government organisations set the regulatory environment and also directly and indirectly regulate the phenomenon of child migration at the national level. For instance, parliament has the responsibility of formulating and enacting national institutions such as the National Constitution. Articles 17 and 21 of the 1992 Constitution and the Children's Act of 1998 (Act 432) seek to promote and protect the welfare of children in Ghana. Therefore, there is a direct and strong link between parliament and national level institutions. Similarly, UNICEF played a leading role in the enactment and ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989) by many countries, which Ghana ratified in 1990.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection is the main government entity designated to promote the welfare of women and children in Ghana. It initiates, coordinates and monitors gender responsive issues as well as promote the rights of children. It also collaborates with other government and non-governmental organisations in the country, to formulate gender and child specific development policies, guidelines, advocacy tools, strategies and plans for implementation by Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies under the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. Nevertheless, it collaborates with the Child Labour Unit (CLU) and Social Welfare Department of the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations as its main focal points for child labour and related matters, the Basic Education Division and Ghana Education Service (GES) of the Ministry of Education (MOE) as well as the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Traditional Affairs, and the Ghana Police Service (through the Ministry of Interior) to prosecute the welfare of children in the country. These governmental agencies collaborate effectively with private sector agencies, NGOs, Civil Society Groups, the Traditional Authorities and other development partners to achieve their goals. A strong relationship was identified to exist between institutions and organisations (both governmental and non-governmental) at the national level. These linkages are shown with continuous arrows on figure 9.1. Furthermore, interviews I had with schedule officers of government and non-governmental agencies confirm these strong linkages. The following excerpt is from an interview with the Public Relations Officer of the Ghana Police

Service in Accra who does media relations and advocacy for the Ghana Police Service (GPS) and the Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU) since 2006.

> On the part of the police, our role is clearly defined. We handle the criminal aspect of trafficking. As I indicated, the Human Trafficking Act, the Domestic Violence Act, the Children's Act, the Juvenal Justice Act, the criminal Offenses Act, the Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, the Criminal Procedure Act, among others, form the legal framework of our work. .. In the Ghana Police Service, we have the DOVVSU, the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU) with presence in all the 10 regions in Ghana. The mandate of the Police Service is to prevent crime and also apprehend perpetrators of crime. So generally, since these units are under the police, and where there are no AHTUs and the DOVVSU, the traditional police takes over the responsibilities. .. There are a lot of cases on child migration and I happen to be a beneficiary of the sensitisation programmes on human trafficking and Trainer of Trainers (ToT) workshop on anti-human trafficking, organised by IOM and the MOWAC of Ghana. There are a lot of cases, but we as a unit look at the violence aspect of it. We look at the interest of the child and we look at areas that the child might be abused physically, sexually and emotionally and general child exploitation. It is a criminal act when it is seen that a movement is human trafficking. Then we have the sector minister. At the policy level we have the MOWAC, the Department of Social Welfare, Department of Community Development, civil society, the NGO community, child rights international, the Ark Foundation, Women Initiative for Self-Empowerment (WISE), WILDAF. We have a lot of the international NGOs as well as the UN systems. The UNFPA, the UN Population Fund, the UN Women's Fund, we also have the IOM. Then the Ghana Immigration Service also has an AHTU. The MOWAC also has an AHTU. Under the Ministry, we have the Department of Children and the Department of Women, so you realise that with the structures, they are perfectly on the ground, but as to whether they are working is another thing altogether… The structures/laws are there and they are good, but we have a problem with enforcement and the major problem is logistics. For instance the police, we have the AHTU and the DOVVSU, but the logistics are inadequate. Both the human resource and the logistics are not adequate. So these are the challenges we are facing. There is supposed to be collaboration with stakeholders, but I think there is a gap there. Our major challenges are logistic constraints and inadequate personnel (Interview with DSP Freeman Tetteh in Accra, October 20, 2011). See appendix 6k for transcript of this interview.

This narration supports the observation of strong and direct relationship between national level institutions and organisations (see figure 9.1). DSP Freeman Tetteh admits adequacy of regulations as well as structures to promote the welfare of children in Ghana. He enumerates the Human Trafficking Act, the Domestic Violence Act, the Children's Act, the Juvenal Justice Act, the criminal Offenses Act, the Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, and the Criminal Procedure Act as constituting the legal framework of the work of the Ghana Police Service. He also admits the collaboration between organisations to ensure effective implementation of the regulations, including capacity building workshops organised in collaboration between the IOM and MOWAC (now Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection).

Although there appear to be strong linkages between the institutions and organisations, and among governmental and non-governmental organisations at the national level, the same is not the case at the lower levels. He admits logistical and human resource capacity challenges, especially at the lower levels, which need to be addressed. Similar observations were made during my interactions with the Child Protection Unit of UNICEF. The following is an excerpt of the discussion with Eric, the Child Protection Officer in his office in Accra.

> What we do is to support organisations, especially government, to be able to deliver on their mandate and we support them in different spheres. For example, we talked about the child labour. We provide technical support to the national programme on the elimination of child labour and cocoa. We provide technical and financial support to child labour units and for this year alone, we have provided such technical assistance to be able to have a National Plan of Action, the social mobilisation strategy for the plan of action and the review framework for the plan of action. Also to develop a standard operation procedure for children who are engaged in the worse form of child labour. We also work with the Department of Children of the MOWAC on some issues related to trafficking, especially at the policy level, at the human trafficking board. We work also with the Ghana Police and Immigration. Just this year, we helped the Ghana Immigration to open a human smuggling and a human trafficking unit at Paga and that is the third unit that we have supported the Immigration unit to do. We supported the Police to establish seven (7) Anti Human Trafficking Units across the regional capitals in Ghana. So that is where we collaborate with the security agencies in the areas of smuggling or migration and human trafficking. The challenge is the capacity of the institutions to deal with the issue. We also support some NGOs but in terms of government, it is the capacity in terms of the numbers that will be there. The staff strength is very weak and also the budgetary allocation given to such organisations/agencies is often very small. They eventually have to depend on what you are bringing to them and this does not augur well for sustainability. Logistics is also a problem. Vehicles to move around, computers to work with and even the work environment is a major issue (Interview with Eric-Child Protection Schedule Officer, UNICEF in Accra, October 22, 2011).

This narration is similar to that of the schedule officer of the Ghana Police Service. Although, UNICEF is more involved in issues of child labour and trafficking, it is inevitably involved in child migration since independent child migrants could end up in the web of trafficking and exploitation. Therefore, resolving issues of trafficking and labour exploitation will also benefit all children including migrant children in the country. UNICEF as with other international organisations, does not deal directly with migrant children. However, they support through capacity building of local organisations and agencies to deliver on their mandates. Consequently, UNICEF supported the Ghana Police Service to establish seven (7) AHTUs across regional capitals and also support local NGOs to implement programmes that have the potentials of promoting the welfare of children. It is also evident from the narration that, although there are governmental organisations to enforce institutions on children, they are practically ineffective due to challenges with human resource capacity and logistic support. These challenges are not only experienced at the national level, but trickles down with more severe effects at the local level.

Similarly, the mission of the IOM is to act with partners to among other things: assist in the operational challenges of migration management; advance understanding of migration issues; encourage social and economic development through migration; and uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants (IOM, 2011). Consequently, the IOM has since 1987 been active and has contributed to the efforts of the Government of Ghana to manage migration effectively through a wide variety of projects and programmes in the country. These programmes include supporting to build the capacities of local organisations, enhance the humane and orderly management of migration, and the effective respect for the human rights of migrants in accordance with international law. The IOM also supports the efforts of the state in the area of labour migration, in particular short term movements, and other types of circular migration. It deals with issues of child migration through capacity building of local partner organisations and has been very concerned with mainstreaming migration issues into the development agenda of the country. In other words, the IOM is working to ensure that migration issues are integrated into the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation stages of development, poverty reduction strategies and policies of the country. To this end, an amount of USD 550,000.00 has been earmarked in its 2011 - 2015 strategic plan for Ghana, to help develop a comprehensive migration management and development policy for the country (IOM, 2011:54). This has partly contributed to the development of a national migration policy, which is awaiting cabinet and parliamentary approval.

Furthermore, the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) established in November 2006 at

the University of Ghana, undertakes research, teaching, training, capacity building, policy assessment, development and dissemination on issues of migration. This centre was very instrumental in the development of the National Migration Policy, which is awaiting presidential and parliamentary approval. The following is a narration of Professor Mariama Awumbila (Director of CMS) about the draft migration policy.

> We were hoping the policy would take effect before the elections in 2012 (presidential and parliamentary) but because of the elections, it was not realistic, but we are still pushing for it. You need to get government to come on board to agree and that has financial implications. We have recommended an institution to drive the policy. We looked at the institutional framework and we have recommended a National Migration Commission, like we have a population council. This one we have said a commission, which will be on top or in charge of coordination. You know migration is very much inter sectoral, so it will move people from various places or work with people in other ministries. But ultimately, we want to have a ministry for migration affairs. Even the National Migration Commission has cost implications and we have a lot of issues to do with money. We also need strong government support. Government should really be convinced to drive it. For me, I think that is what has been a little bit lacking (Interview with Professor Mariama Awumbila at the CMS in Accra, February 12, 2014).

It is obvious from this narration, that government ownership is sine qua non for the success of the draft policy on migration. Not only is there effort to establish a national migration commission, but also, the ultimate objective is to have a ministry for migration affairs. It is therefore to be expected that, building the capacities of the structures at the lower levels to improve their effectiveness and eventually having a ministry will be impossible without approval and commitment of the government. It is thus not surprising that the draft policy has still not received presidential and parliamentary approval, although it was expected to have been approved in 2012.

Notwithstanding the strides made at the national level by government organisations and agencies to fulfil their mandates, there appears to be minor operational constraints in relation to clarity in roles performed. This is not surprising because the issue of child migration is complex and involves multiple agencies and organisations. Therefore, there is potential for misunderstandings when roles and mandates are not clearly spelt out. This challenge appears to affect the operations of the Children's Department and the Department of Social Welfare, who are directly responsible for handling issues of children in the country. The following are excerpts of narrations of representatives of the Children's Department of the MOWAC (now Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection) and the Department of Social Welfare in Accra.

> The issue of child migration, first of all is an intersectoral and intergovernmental approach. Then we also have the government-private sector engagement to address it. If you come to the intergovernmental agency approach, we have our own, of course we are lead agents. We have the Department for Children at MOWAC, we also have the Labour department. Indeed, the Ghana Statistical Service is also one, that is, what readily comes to my mind now in terms of government agencies. We sometimes have some challenges with who does what and who should not do what. The roles are not too clear, but we are managing to work in harmony. Indeed, any time we rescue children being trafficked or children who escape by themselves to the city centres, we send them to our centres (i.e. social welfare centres) in Labone and Madina for rehabilitation and reintegration. Largely, the funding has always come from UNICEF. This is just one example of how the private-public sector responds to these challenges (Interview with Alois Social Welfare Officer in Accra, October 31, 2011).

Furthermore, the schedule officer for the MOWAC narrates the following.

> There seems to be a kind of challenge with the way we work here. For instance, between us and the Department of Social Welfare, there seem to be a friction. If there is a reported incidence of child migration, is it our duty to go there or that of the social welfare. When we go there first, Social Welfare thinks they should have been there, and when they go there first, we also feel that we should have been involved. So there is always some kind of institutional or organisational clashes between us. Because of that institutional clash, there is no clear cut demarcation of what that institution should do, in terms of children and what we should do, and it affects the work. For instance when we wanted funding for the cocoa issue (use of children in cocoa farms), we wrote a proposal to UNICEF only to be told that Social Welfare had brought a similar proposal and because their work is more related to labour, we will give them but we will not give to you. But when the problem comes, then they will be complaining about MOWAC, but when it comes to money, they will not give to us. They will give it to Social Welfare, but when the problems arise, then they will push it to us, and for me it is a big challenge. Although we are trying our possible best to collaborate and synergise our efforts, there are still some problems (interview with schedule Officer of MOWAC in Accra, October 22, 2011).

Both officials (MOWAC and Social Welfare) admit in their narrations that the issue of child migration requires synergy among intersectoral and collaborating organisations. However, roles are not clearly specified as to who is the lead agency. Nevertheless, rescued children are sent to the centres of the Department of Social Welfare for rehabilitation and reintegration. The only two centres in the country are located in Accra with none in the other regions. The implication therefore, is to refer all such cases to Accra. This further explains the challenge with resources and capacity confronting child migration. Both narrations acknowledge the support they seek from UNICEF in order to discharge their duties. However, both agencies were planning exclusively, independent of each other, to solve a problem of child labour on cocoa farms with the intension of seeking funding from the same source (UNICEF). This 'friction' could be minimised if the two frontline agencies foster relations through joint planning, so that, each is aware of the activities of the other, in order to eliminate duplication of meagre resources. Furthermore, these challenges do not suggest that creating a ministry for migration (as suggested in the draft migration policy) would solve the challenges as those role conflicts and capacity might render the ministry equally ineffective.

On the other hand, the National House of Chiefs is an indigenous traditional structure of leadership in the country's organisation at the national level that collaborates with government and NGOs. Although there appears to be strong relationship between and among institutions and organisations at the national level, the same cannot be said about the regional and local levels.

9.2.2 Regional level organisations

Article 142 (1) (a) of the Local Government Act of 1993 (ACT 462) mandates Regional Coordinating Councils (RCCs) to monitor, co-ordinate and evaluate the performance of District Assemblies within their regions. The organisations at the national level therefore have units at the regional levels and monitor as well as co-ordinate the local level structures. Therefore regional level organisations serve as important links between the organisations at the national and local levels. The RCC of the Upper East region therefore co-ordinates and monitors the 13 districts in the region. However, the challenges of capacity and logistics as discussed at the national level appear more pronounced at the regional and district levels.

Aside the local government structure that has representation of District Assemblies with their decentralised departments in all the 13 districts on the region, the NGOs and DOVVSU/AHTU had relatively weak presence in the region. The following is a narration of an interview I had with a schedule officer of the AHTU in the Upper East Regional capital in Bolgatanga.

> Although there are no enough police personnel in this region as we should be, it is more serious with the AHTU and the DOVVSU. But I am sure you also know that the phenomenon is not limited to only this region. It is a countrywide problem. On the issue of AHTU and DOVVSU, you know we have all gone through the general police training, but that alone is not enough for one to adequately do the work of human trafficking or domestic violence. You need some additional training. Unfortunately, only five (5) of us have gone through that training. So if there are 13 districts and we are only 5 trained on human trafficking issues, how do you expect us to be present in all the districts. So that is the main problem. What we do is that, we work with our district police stations and the Assembly members to inform us about cases of trafficking in their districts and electoral areas, so that we move there to handle such cases. On the other hand, if there are some cases that our personnel (police) in the districts can handle, they do and then inform us here, so that we will check to see that it has been appropriately handled...Apart from our numbers, we don't also have the logistics to be able to work as we will like to work. For instance, we have only one vehicle and you cannot be in all the 13 districts at the same time. On the issue of the migration of children as you are talking about, we are working with the GPRTU and other transport organisations. They have our phone numbers. So we have educated them to call us if they see children travelling with people with suspicious behaviours. Our men (Police personnel) at the check points are also checking the vehicles when they are going down south, so that when they suspect cases of trafficking, they call us. That is how we are working here. We also work with the Social Welfare departments in the districts, since they are those responsible for such issues (Interview with a schedule officer at the AHTU in Bolgatanga, October 20, 2012).

It is apparent from this narration that, the challenges of enforcing regulations on child migration are not only about inadequate numbers but also the capacity in terms of speciality to effectively handle issues of child migration in the region. Although there is low police to civilian ratio of about one police to 1,200 citizens in the country (GNA, November 12, 2013) the officer narrates of only five trained personnel, responsible for the AHTU in the Upper East region, which consists of 13 districts. It is therefore not possible for the unit to maintain physical presence in all the districts. Nevertheless, they work through their colleagues who are general police personnel and District Assembly members in the districts, to address issues involving trafficking and child migration.

Furthermore, the challenge with logistics as indicated at the national level, is highlighted in the narration. There was only one vehicle for the unit to do its work in the region. I also observed only one desktop computer in the office, which was covered and not in use at the time of the interview. There was no communication garget to effectively communicate although the officer narrates giving their phone numbers to stakeholders such as the GPRTU, to contact them of suspicious movements of people, especially children at the lorry stations. As the unit is concerned with all issues of trafficking, child migration only forms part of the duties of the AHTU. The challenges confronting the AHTU are not peculiar to law enforcement agencies, but with all the other organisations operating in the region. The following is an excerpt of an interview I had with a schedule officer of an NGO operating mainly in the Upper East region in Bolgatanga.

Cletus (the schedule officer) narrates that AfriKids is based mainly in the Upper East region with its head office in Bolgatanga, although they have a satellite office in a sister (Upper West) region. AfriKids was at the time of the study implementing a programme it started in 2005 which was aimed at reducing the north-south child migration, child streetism, and child labour in the Upper East region.

> We are mainly based in the Upper East region where our head office is located, but we have a satellite office in the Upper West region. We launched a programme in the Bolga area for instance in 2005 which was meant to solve three problems: reducing north-south child migration; child streetism; and child labour…We work with stakeholders, but our key collaborators are the GPRTU, DOVVSU, Social Welfare and the DAs. Other sister organisations who we are working with are; WorldVision International, World Food Programme, Sensudi which is just in Bolga here, and we used to have Youth Alive, ISODEC and some other organisations in and around the upper East region… With the Department of Social Welfare, we say we are working with children and we know that the Social Welfare is to look out for issues of vulnerability. With the DAs, they are the local authorities and they take their mandate from the central government. The government is working to reduce poverty and create jobs for the people and by what we are doing; by bringing people back and giving them skills, we are also empowering them and reducing the unemployment situation in this part of the country. The DAs are aware of our programmes and in their planning, they earmark programmes and projects that we can support them to implement, which will lead to the reduction of poverty in the districts. We think we can still further collaborate with the DAs in a number of ways like the Youth Employment programme. We have the expertise (because we are already doing it) and can help the Assemblies train the youth they want to train in their respective districts. We can also share best practices on issues like that. I think that is the level at which we are collaborating and can still collaborate in future…We have collaborated closely with the GPRTU in the last 3 to 5 years, just to let them understand that we don't want children travelling unaccompanied. We are aware of stories where people from southern Ghana or elsewhere, will come, make a few friends in town, so that those people they have had contacts with, they intend will look for young boys and girls for them to be employed elsewhere, then they give token gifts to their family members who also take those things and allow their children to go with them. Now they are unable to monitor, where this child is going, what he is going to be doing and so these people can end up in situations they don't like and cannot also leave. So we are aware of cases like that with concrete evidence…With the GES, we have moved from skills training to supporting students in training. We are able to pay the fees of students to stay in schools. These are students who have been identified as likely to drop out of schools if their fees are not paid. This is most particular at the SHS level. This year we have reached out to 90 of such children/young people in the Bolga Area alone. Out of the 90, 53 are in the SHS. And all these 53 students stood the risk of dropping because they were unable to pay their fees. So we stood in there and had to pay the fees for them. All these children are in public schools (Interview with Cletus Anaya; Schedule Officer for AfriKids in Bolgatanga, November 30, 2011).

From this narration, AfriKids operates by collaborating with District Assemblies and other stakeholders such as DOVVSU, GPRTU, among others, in the region. Although AfriKids do not have a branch office in Bongo district (as would be explained later), they implement programmes in the district through field staff who are based in the head office at the regional capital. These programmes include financial assistance to needy students in schools, which was implemented in collaboration with other organisations, especially the social welfare departments of district assemblies, who are in direct contact with the beneficiary students.

The indigenous traditional authority is represented at the regional level by the Regional House of chiefs. This consists of all the paramount chiefs of the traditional areas within the region and mostly work in collaboration with formal government and NGOs to promote the culture and welfare of their people. It is worth noting that, the role of the traditional authority has been duly recognised in Ghana and provisions made for them in the National Constitution and the Local Government Act (Act 462). They are therefore represented at all levels (national, regional and district) of the local government structure and offer valuable contribution to local and national development.

Although I did not find any bye-law at the regional level, the excerpts discussed, suggest some amount of linkages among the organisations, aimed at enforcing or implementing regulations on child migration in the region. However, the situation at the district and community levels (as shown in figure 8.1) appears to be slightly different, as there were weak linkages between organisations and institutions at these levels.

9.2.3 District level organisations

As shown in figure 8.1, the organisations at the district level include the formal government and non-governmental organisations as well as the traditional council. The District Assembly and its decentralised departments (the Social Welfare and Community Development, Education Service, DOVVSU and the AHTU of the Ghana Police Service) are the government agencies directly responsible for implementing regulations on child migration at the district level. These agencies are expected to work in collaboration with non-governmental organisations and the traditional council, to ensure harmonious development and the protection and welfare of children in the district.

In this study, the DOVVSU and AHTU of the Ghana Police Service had no personnel and offices in Bongo district. These units were located at the regional level and worked on cases referred to them from the district. Although there is a district police station in Bongo, it lacked trained personnel for the DOVVSU and AHTU units. This is partly due to the relative small number of police personnel in the district. For instance the Police-Citizen Ratio for the period 2009 to 2012 has been 1:4,500, 1:4,000, 1:3,500 and 1:2,600. In other words, 1 police officer was responsible for 4,500 inhabitants in 2009. Although this ratio reduced to 1 police officer to 2,600 inhabitants in 2012, it was short of the target of 1 police officer to 2,000 inhabitants set by the District Assembly (BONDA, 2012). This target ratio is still higher than the prevailing national ratio of 1:1, 200. Therefore cases of human trafficking, domestic violence and child migration are referred to the regional level in Bolgatanga for redress.

Furthermore, the Local Government Act of 1993 (Act 462) specifically mandates the decentralised department of the Social Welfare and Community Development to promote the welfare of children and vulnerable persons in their areas of jurisdiction. The effectiveness of thess decentralised departments ensures that, regulations from the national and regional levels are explained and implemented, to ensure that vulnerable people and children within the districts and communities are well catered for. However, these departmente are ineffective, resulting in poor knowledge of regulations on migration at the district level. The ineffectiveness is mainly attributable to neglect and inadequate resourcing of the unit, to discharge its responsibilities. For instance, of the total expenditure of GH¢7,649,587.00 that the District Assembly made in the 2012 fiscal year, only 0.1% (GH¢7,736) was spent on projects related to the protection and welfare of vulnerable people and children in the district (BONDA, 2013:17). This was expenditure made by the Central Government, through the Department of Social Welfare, on goods, services and other ancillary expenses, of which the local department had no control over, but only disbursed as was directed by the central government. The following narration throws more light on the activities of the Department of Social Welfare, a key unit of the government agencies in Bongo district.

> Our main problem here is lack of resources. We are not resourced to do our work. Not even a motor bike or bicycle do we have to be able to move around to do our work. Imagine, how we can cover all the villages, and even here in Bongo town, when you don't have the means to move around. We don't also have a budget that you can hire a motor bike to conduct an investigation, when we have issues to investigate. Sometimes you have to go and beg the big people up there to be able to move to a village. When World Vision was here, they were helping us with means to respond to reported cases of vulnerable people and children. They could send us there in their pickup vehicles or give us money to buy fuel into motor bikes and go. But now their programmes have ended and they have left the district. So things are really not easy for us. For instance, I have my personal motor bike, but for how long will I be able to use my small salary to buy fuel into my own motorbike for official duties. So you see, it is not that we are lazy or we don't want to work, but how can you produce your best when the resources are not there.. We do collaboration when it comes to emergency cases, whereby you have to do a rescue mission or something of that sort and you know according to the Human Trafficking Act, the main prosecuting body is the Police. So the police will take the lead and we will come in to assist. With the traditional authorities too, we have been educating them to help in this case because they are closer to the children and the citizens than we are… MOWAC (Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs) is not decentralised. So we virtually play the roles that MOWAC is supposed to play at the district level.

He narrates further that.

> We have AfriKids, who were formally in Bolga, but currently they have extended their services to this district. This year for instance, they have sponsored about 40 people in both vocational education and the formal education…Another NGO is CAMFED (Campaign for Female Education) which is sponsoring them in the JSS and SHS. They are even instituting this child protection and all that. I know where some of the sponsored students are because I am a member of the implementation committee. We have data on all the selected pupils. We have 3 SHSs in this district and they are supporting two and in each of the two, they are supporting 30 students and then in the JHS they are supporting 83 students. These children who are being supported are supposed to be citizens of Bongo district, first and foremost, and secondly, they are supposed to be in need, not necessarily brilliant. The main condition is that they should be citizens of the district, needy and should be attending the selected schools for the sponsorship (Interview with Social Welfare Officer in Bongo, December 06, 2011). See appendix 6j for transcript of this interview.

It can be realised from this narration, that the department of social welfare is seriously under resourced, resulting in its inability to discharge its duties as stipulated in the Local Government Act of 1993 (Act 462). It is evident that, although the personnel are qualified and willing to discharge their duties and responsibilities, the enabling environment is lacking. One has to understand the challenging environment and employ tacit means to get things done. The use of "big people" is in reference to senior officers at the District Assembly, who are able to influence and employ unorthodox means of getting things done in the district. This is sometimes possible through misapplication of resources, usually from internally generated funds, to ensure that the activities of the assembly do not grind to a halt. Although he had a personal motor bike and sometimes used it for official duties, the sustainability of such sacrifice (if at all necessary) cannot be guaranteed and this stifles motivation to work.

The phenomenon of delay in release of budgetary allocations to government agencies is not limited to Bongo district, but applies to all Metropolitan/Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) in Ghana. It is due mainly to bureaucracies, resulting in untimely disbursement of allocated resources to public institutions. Most MMDAs receive their allocations in the third quarter of the year, compelling these agencies to either postpone their planned expenditure or seek other means of meeting such obligations at higher cost. For instance, it is common and almost an annual phenomenon for heads of boarding second cycle schools to threaten closure of their schools before feeding grants are released from the central government. This does not only stifle initiatives, but results in the MMDAs entering into expensive contractual arrangements with suppliers who are conscious of such delays and would therefore factor such delays and depreciation in their cost estimations.

Moreover, although there is a ministry responsible for issues of gender, children and social protection, which used to be called the Ministry for Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC), as referred to in the narration of the Social Welfare Officer, there were no personnel of the ministry at the district level. The department of Social Welfare was therefore performing its duties, together with those of the "absentee ministry" in the district. It is important observing in the light of these challenges, that creating another ministry for migration, as narrated by the Director of the Centre for Migration Studies, would not only duplicate efforts, but further deepen the role conflicts between the government agencies.

Similar challenges were raised during my interactions with his counterpart Social Welfare Officer (Prosper Oye) in Accra. Prosper lamented the difficulty in discharging his responsibilities due to resource constraints. Nevertheless, Prosper lead me to interview some children in schools in Accra, where his outfit (the Department of Social Welfare) sought admission for migrant children who were living in Accra. This was however possible because of sponsorship from an Italian NGO (Ricerca e Cooperazione) through the department. Prosper had no means of transport to monitor the progress of the children in their schools and was not certain of the future of such children as their sponsorship package was due to end before they complete their studies. Other areas, including local sponsorship were being considered, albeit with great uncertainties.

Furthermore, and as observed in the case of the DOVVSU and AHTU of the Ghana Police Service, NGOs did not have offices in the district. They had field staff who were running their projects while the offices of the organisations were based in Bolgatanga. A typical example is AfriKids which was implementing projects in the district but with their offices based in Bolgatanga. This observation is confirmed in the earlier narration presented at the regional level by the schedule officer of AfriKids and further by the Social Welfare Officer that AfriKids are based in Bolgatanga, but are implementing programmes in the district, including sponsoring 40 children in schools. The maintenance of offices in Bolgatanga instead of Bongo could partly be due to proximity. As Bongo is only 15 km from Bolgatanga, some of these NGOs consider it prudent not siting offices in Bongo as a way of minimising operational cost. Nevertheless, they ensure that their projects operate in the district. As narrated by the social welfare officer, another NGO, Campaign for Female Education (CAMFED) was sponsoring 30 students in two SHSs and 83 in JHSs in the district. Accordingly, these children are supposed to be citizens of Bongo district and also be in need, not necessarily brilliant. Therefore, these NGOs were implementing programmes, although they had no office structures in the district.

Besides the activities of non-resident NGOs in Bongo district, the work of World Vision (an international NGO), who wound up their programmes after 15 years (1996 to 2011) of operation, was very visible in the entire district. Perhaps their visible presence everywhere in Bongo discouraged other NGOs from maintaining physical presence in the district, as their work would be over shadowed by that of World Vision. Within the 15 years of operation, World Vision was able to link 2,500 children in Bongo district to sponsors in Switzerland. This resulted in sourcing funds to undertake various programmes and projects in the district, including health and education (Ms Benedicta Pealore, Bongo Area Development Programme (ADP) Manager, July 11, 2011). Furthermore, during a discussion with leaders of communities, the contribution of World Vision was particularly acknowledged when a contributor pointed to a school structure and told me that: "*have you seen the building with World Vision written on it? That is because it was built by the NGO (World Vision), but they are no longer operating in this district. They have ended their programmes in the district*" (Discussion with Chief and Elders in Namoo, November 30, 2011). This is also supported in the narration of the Social Welfare Officer that, *"when World Vision was here, they were helping us with means to respond to reported cases of vulnerable people and children. They could send us there in their pickup vehicles or give us money to buy fuel into motor bikes and go. But now their programmes have ended and they have left the district. So things are really not easy for us".* This narration suggests that beside the programmes that World Vision implemented, they collaborated with agencies of state, such as, the District Assembly and the Department of Social Welfare in particular, to promote the welfare of children in the district. This is consistent with the narration by Eric (the Child Protect Officer of UNICEF) in Accra, that government organisations virtually depend on what other organisations support them with, which does not augur well for sustainability of projects and programmes. It appears therefore that when funding for projects by NGOs end, the projects are stalled or discontinued.

Another organisation worth discussing in relation to issues of children and child migration is the indigenous traditional organisation Traditional Authority). This organisation is used in this study to refer to the leadership structures within the communities (i.e. chiefs, queen mothers, *tindaanas or the traditional land-owners,* elders, clan heads, etc) and their functional roles, which ensure that the norms and values of the communities are respected and complied with. These organisations and their associated institutions have played crucial roles in the development of their communities spanning pre-colonial, colonial and contemporary times in Ghana. Pra and Yeboah (2011) in a study of chieftaincy conflicts in Tuobodom (a town in the Brong Ahafo region) report of how traditional authorities were able to mobilize their people to undertake projects in the form of establishing schools that were called the Native Authority and which after colonial rule, became the Local Authority Schools.

The traditional organisation of chieftaincy is very prominent and effective at the district and community levels. This is mainly because the chiefs are closer to their subjects at the district and community levels, where kinship ties are relatively more homogeneous than it is in

the urban areas at the regional and national levels. There are traditional councils at the district levels, which coordinate the activities of chiefs in the district and have representation at the District Assembly, who are nominated by the council for appointment to the District Assembly by the President, through the District Chief Executive. They are thus well recognised within the framework of governance and play crucial roles in making and implementing laws (traditional) and norms at the district level (Bandie and Guri, 2007). The council constitutes chiefs from settlements within the traditional area, which sometimes coincides with the district and is headed by a paramount chief.

Although the traditional council (through chiefs) is the custodian of the culture and norms and appear vibrant in Bongo district, there are no bye-laws on child migration in the district. Nonetheless, child migration emerged as a major issue in all the discussions I had with the chiefs and elders in the district. The following is an excerpt of one such concern expressed by the paramount chief of Bongo traditional area (see also figure 9.2) at his palace in Bongo.

> The travelling of children out of this district is a big problem for us. In almost every house, you have 1 or 2 children who have travelled. We are trying, but they are still going. I always advice my sub chiefs, especially during our festivals and when we have the chance to meet, that they should try their best to advice their people not to allow their children to travel. They should keep them in school. For instance, we celebrated our "Azambene" (fire) festival last week and I told them to try and send their children to school, instead of them travelling to the south. We have not made any law in our district about the travelling of children and I don't know if the Assembly has made some, but it is a problem for us here and I think we have to consider making some local laws, so that parents will be forced to send their children to school instead of letting them migrate to the south. I am working on establishing an endowment fund, which we can use to support the development of the district and I think the education of our children will be my number one priority (Interview with Paramount Chief of Bongo Traditional Area in Bongo, December 15, 2012). See appendix 6L for transcript of interview

It is clear from this narration that, child migration is of concern to the traditional authorities of Bongo district. The paramount chief is not only concerned about the phenomenon, but seizes any opportunity, especially during festivals such as their annual fire festival (Azambene) to appeal to his subjects not to allow their children to migrate out of the district. Furthermore, he is working through his sub chiefs to educate parents in the traditional area (which also constitutes the district) to regulate and control the migration of children in the district.

Figure 9.2: Interview with Paramount Chief of Bongo Traditional

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Although he admitted the lack of bye-laws on the phenomenon in the district, he was in favour of such regulations to control the phenomenon. Enacting bye-laws at the district and community

levels by traditional/local authorities is permissible under the Local Government Act of 1993 (Act 462). However, such initiatives have to be channelled through the District Assembly, which has the mandate to legislate at the local level. There are instances of bye-laws enacted elsewhere in Ghana as solutions to emerging social challenges in communities. For instance, the Gomoa-Adaman Traditional Council of Chiefs in the Central region enacted bye-laws, through the District Assembly, that made it an offence for men to impregnate school girls in the district, when it was realised that many of the school girls were getting pregnant (GNA, Sunday June 2, 2013). This bye-law had the support of the District Assembly and was hailed by many commentators as a positive contribution of indigenous institutions to solving problems in society.

Beside the admonition, the Paramount Chief of Bongo also narrated working to establish an endowment fund that would be used to complement the efforts of government to promote the education of children in the district. He was however not ruling out the possibility of enacting bye-laws that could compel parents to send their children to school instead of allowing them to migrate. The success of such a bye-law would be crucial in reducing child migration in the district, but it would need the boost of the endowment fund, since most of the children migrate because of inability of their parents to provide their basic needs to stay in school. There will also be the need to court the support and collaboration of other organisations (government and non-governmental) as well as the support of members of the communities in the district.

9.2.4 Community level organisations

Grassroot organisations are more effective at enforcing regulations in communities than those at regional and national levels (Kendie and Guri, 2007) as they are closer to the point of impact or implementation. Communities are the smallest units of planning and development attention within the structure of decentralisation in Ghana. As shown in figure 8.1, unit committees, CBOs, faith-based organisations, field staff of NGOs and the traditional authority (chiefs and elders) were organisations identified in communities in Bongo district.

Unit Committees constitute the lowest level or building blocks of the local government structure in Ghana. A unit is a settlement or a group of settlements with a population of between 500 and 1,000 people in rural and 1,500 for urban areas. A Unit Committee therefore consists of not more than 15 persons; made up of 10 elected residents in the unit and not more than 5 other persons resident in the unit and nominated by the District Chief Executive, acting on behalf of the President (Local Government Act of 1993 (Act 462; FES, 2010). However, following criticisms of the overwhelming number of members of these committees in the country and general lack of interest in them, the membership has been reduced to five (5) elected persons who hold office for four years (Ahwoi, 2010). These committees are expected to among other things, organise communal labour and voluntary work, educate the people on their rights, privileges, obligations and responsibilities, provide focal points for discussion of local matters and make recommendations. These recommendations are then forwarded to the District Assembly through the Assembly member of the area, who is elected and liaises between the community and the District Assembly. Therefore, the theoretical expectation is that, issues relating to child migration in communities are discussed at the unit committee levels and forwarded to the Assembly that has legislative powers for bye-laws to be made, if deemed necessary.

Although the structure described is plausible in theory, unit committees are practically weak and ineffective in the communities. As the work of unit committee members is purely voluntary without remuneration, the commitment of members is suspect, rendering these units ineffective (Ahwoi, 2010; FES, 2010; Edusei-Asante, 2012). Many people I interviewed could not tell who the members of the unit committees in their communities were. This was partly because these committees were either practically non-existent or ineffective in instances where they were acknowledged to be present. For instance, a participant in a discussion with the chief and elders of Namoo (see figure 9.3) shared his experience as.

> I was a member of the unit committee in this town, but I don't know if I am still a member. This was many years ago when we started to vote (elect) people to represent us at the District Assembly. They said the big men in Bongo said we should form unit committees in our towns to help the Assemblyman, so they selected us. They didn't vote to select us, they just asked us to form unit committees and so we had a community meeting and some of us were asked to be members. But since then (about 18 years or so, it is a long time) I don't even know the work we have done and the other members too. I don't remember them any longer. In fact, I don't think the committees exist in any of our towns here. This our area, anything that comes new, people will rush and do it but with time, it will die naturally (Adongo, an elder in Namoo, November 30, 2011).

Adongo admits in this narration that unit committees in his community were not effective. Although the unit committees were constituted during the first district level elections to establish the structure in fulfilment of the Local Government Act of 1993, he did not offer himself for election but was selected during a community meeting to be a member of the unit committee in his village. It is therefore not surprising that, there seems to be a strong case in favour of the abolition of Unit Committees for reasons of dysfunction, in spite of their election processes being expensive (Ahwoi, 2010). Furthermore, using an ethnographic study of the World Bank-funded Community-Based Rural Development Projects (CBRDP) implemented in Ghana between 2005 and 2011, in nine localities from three regions in Ghana, Adusei-Asante observed that, unit committees are weak. Also, that in all nine localities researched, almost 85% of respondents indicated that they did not know who their Unit Committee members and what their functions were, while about 90% of Assembly members interviewed explained that their Unit Committee members were inactive (Edusei-Asante, 2012).

However, this ineffectiveness is not limited to unit committees as concerns were raised about District Assembly members. Although District Assembly elections are contested on non-partisan bases and have been regular since 1993, there are concerns about inaccessibility of some Assembly members by their constituents. For instance, the Assemblyman for Namoo resides and works in Bolgatanga (the regional capital) and was not present in the meetings I had with the community leaders. Although he was represented by his younger brother, he (the representative) could not effectively articulate and share experiences on deliberations at Assembly meetings. The Assembly member of Namoo later shared his experiences in the following narration.

> My brother, it is not easy to combine the work of an Assembly Member with the work I am doing. Although I want to help my people, but I have to also survive by working. I cannot stop my work here and go and live there (Namoo) with them. You know the District Assembly work is voluntary and we are not paid by the Assembly. Although my people like me and I am also sacrificing to help them, I cannot abandon my work. So when there is a problem for me to solve, my younger brother calls me, but if it is a small problem which he can solve, he solves it and calls to inform me (Interview with Joseph Atanga, Assemblyman for Namoo in Bolgatanga, December 3, 2011).

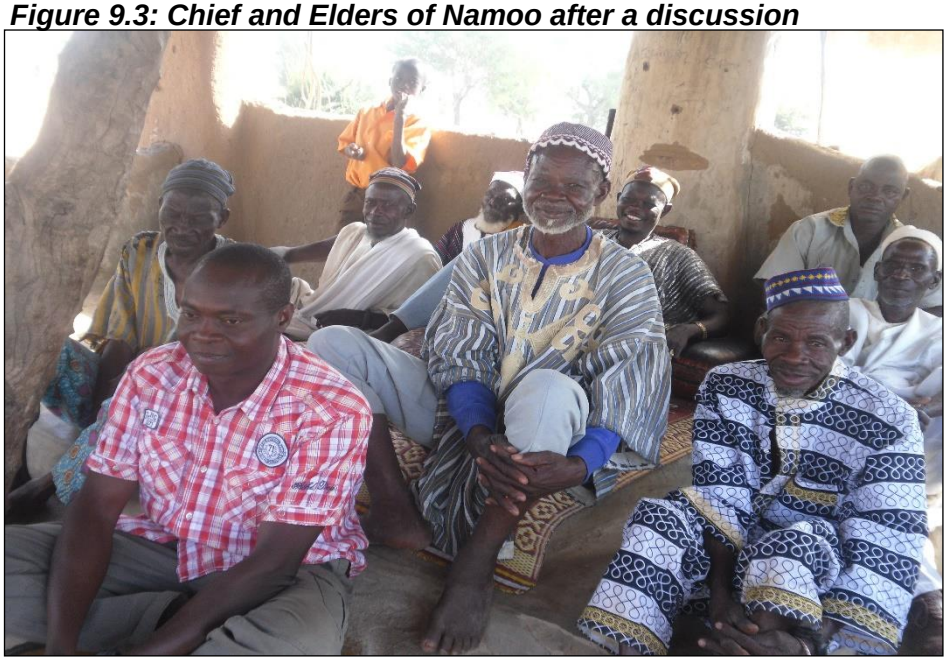
Although the narration of Joseph Atanga (the Assembly Member) corroborates those by community members and my own observation, he justifies his perceived absence to the voluntary nature of the work of a District Assembly member. Though he is committed to helping his people by representing them at the District Assembly, he has to work to meet the needs of himself and his immediate family. Nevertheless, his representative (brother) addresses the concerns of the people in his electoral area and refers those he is incapable of, for his attention. The explanation of Mr Atanga confirms the reasons given by Edusei-Asante when he identified non-payment of salaries, partisanship, weak unit committees and poor relationship with traditional chiefs as the plights of District Assembly members (Edusei-Asante, 2012: 104). Although, these observations are similar to those in this study, the relationship between Assembly members and chiefs was cordial. The Assembly members collaborated well with the chiefs in making decisions about their communities. Nevertheless, even though the issue of child migration is widespread and acknowledged in communities in the district, it is not discussed during community meetings. The following was shared during a discussion I had with

the chief and elders of Namoo in his palace (see figure 9.3).

> Children from this place also travel but mostly to the south. It is difficult to tell you the numbers, but it is a problem here. Many of them travel during their school holidays and the lean season. We don't know the numbers but they are many. In almost every house, you will find children who have migrated. They don't tell us (parents) when they are travelling. They just run away to where they want to go. There may be laws at the national or district level on the movement of children, but we don't know of any here in Namoo. There may be bye-laws at the district level but it has not reached us here yet. Although child migration is an issue here it is not discussed by the elders here during our meetings (Discussion with the chief and elders in Namoo, November 30, 2011).

It is implicit in this excerpt, that local leaders appear perplexed about the issue of child migration in their communities as almost all households have children involved in migration. Not only were they ignorant about regulations on child migration (both at national and local levels) but also, the issue is often not included in their agenda during community meetings. This contradicts the narration of the Paramount chief, suggesting that more needs to be done to get his subjects to implement his ideas in the communities.

Figure 9.3: Chief and Elders of Namoo after a discussion



Source: Field data, 2012

Furthermore, it appears child out migration is an acceptable practice and parents are not concerned when their children migrate without their knowledge. Parents seem comfortable, probably because it is so widespread in the district, that they do not report the sudden absence of their children to law enforcement agencies. As explained by some parents in separate interviews, they only pray for God's protection for the children hope that they do not fall into the hands of miscreants who would abuse them when they migrate without their knowledge.

Similar to the situation at the district level, there was little presence of NGOs in the communities. Besides the work of World Vision and the presence of religious organisations (churches and mosques) very few CBOs were present in communities in the district. Nevertheless, there were groups in the communities, which were mainly based on economic activities such as shea butter processing, basket weaving, and guinea fowl farming. However, none of these groups were working on issues directly related to child migration. On the other hand, as poverty was identified to be the main motivation for child migration in the district (see chapter 5), economic benefits from these groups could empower parents to meet their financial commitments and responsibilities, which could subsequently reduce child out migration.

As indicated in figure 9.1, organisations at the community and district levels in the study area are weak and ineffective at enforcing regulations in communities in the district. Not only was knowledge of regulations on child migration poor, there were also no bye-laws to be enforced in the communities. This weak relationship is indicated in figure 9.1 with broken arrows

linking the community and district levels to national level institutions and organisations.

9.3 Summary

In his chapter, the institutional and organisational environments within which child migration takes place in Ghana have been discussed. The organisational and institutional milieu consists of three main layers in accordance with the structure of the local government system in the country. These include national level institutions and organisations with strong linkages between and among one another but reduce as the system cascades down to the local and community levels. Currently, there are scatted regulations on migration in general and child migration in particular in the national constitution, the children's Act, among others. However, there is no comprehensive policy document on migration. Although efforts have been made through the collaboration of agencies and organisations to produce a draft policy document, which was expected to be operationalised in 2012, it is still pending parliamentary and presidential approval. There was less knowledge or presence of regulations on child migration at the regional, than at the national level. Furthermore, there were no bye-laws at the district and community levels on child migration, while knowledge of existing national regulations on mobility was very low in the communities.

On the other hand, there exist good linkage in the structure of government organisations through the local government system. However, this structure is inadequately resourced with low capacity to deliver its mandate. For instance, the Social Welfare and Children's Departments of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection are mandated to directly promote the interest and welfare of children. However, whereas the Social Welfare Department is present in all districts, the Children's department is not present in Bongo district. Furthermore, unit committees in the communities were mostly non-existent while the existing ones were not functional. Although child migration is an issue of concern to traditional leaders in the district, it is often not discussed during their meetings, while sudden absence of children are not reported to the police and other law enforcement agencies.

It is worth observing therefore, that there is the need for capacity building and resourcing of existing organisations to make them effective in order to discharge their mandates, which if well done could lead to the effective management of the issue of child migration in Ghana.

CHAPTER 10. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATIONS

In this chapter, I summarise and reflect on the findings and their implications for planning and the general development of the country. Furthermore, recommendations on how to harness the potential of the phenomenon of child migration for development are made, based on the findings and reflections.

10.1 Summary and reflections on findings

The main findings of this research are that, poverty, peer influence and pursuit of education motivate children in Bongo district to migrate, while migration has mixed effects on children's education. Using academic performance as proximate determinant for progression, it emerged that school children who do not migrate perform relatively better than their colleagues who migrate and are therefore more likely to progress in their education than those who migrate.

10.1.1 Parental poverty and peer influence are main motivations for child migration

Children in Bongo district are motivated to migrate for various reasons which can be grouped broadly into circuitous and proximate, push and pull conditions. Circuitous conditions refer to conditions or factors that are indirect, but remotely predispose children to migrate. They include unfavourable environmental conditions and socio-cultural practices. On the other hand, proximate conditions such as parental poverty, poor schooling conditions and outcomes, and peer influence are immediate conditions that either push or pull children to migrate. Although these conditions are many and varied, they work contiguously and motivate children to migrate.

Nevertheless, poverty, peer influence and the quest for education emerged as the main motivations for child migration in Bongo district. The district is described as "poverty-stricken" and is among the poorest districts in the country. Consequently, the contiguous effects of inadequate food, shelter and inability to meet basic school cost of children are the major causes of child out migration. These children migrate to Accra and other cities and towns, to engage in menial jobs such as selling khebab (roasted meat) and food in chop bars, house helps, and head portage as well as seek educational opportunities. Furthermore, imbalances in spatial development leading to concentration of commercial, industrial and administrative activities in Accra attract migrant children to the city. This is further catalysed by growing uncontrolled development of Accra, promoting the development of slums which facilitates livelihood activities of unskilled people, making it easy for migrant children live and work in Accra.

Furthermore, the lifestyles of migrant children during home visits and acquisition of property by those who return, serve to influence other children to migrate out of Bongo district. Lifestyles in the form of fashionable clothing, appearance, additional language skills and disposable income exhibited by migrant children during such visits motivates other children to migrate with the hope of ameliorating their economic circumstances. Although some of the clothing and money displayed may be borrowed, it nonetheless creates false perceptions about child migration and motivates other children to migrate.

Controlling child migration in the district is undoubtedly a major challenge as such conditions (poverty and peer influence) have perpetuated the phenomenon and involves not only children but also adults. In other words, migration is a livelihood strategy for the inhabitants of the district who consider it beneficial and an integral part of their socialisation process.

10.1.2 Decision making continuum

Child migration decisions are made within the context of motivational conditions and involves not only individual child migrants, but also with their parents or households and the communities in

which they live. This tripartite arrangements allow for sharing of responsibilities and diversification of risks associated with child migration, as each party works to implement the decision. On the other hand, child migration decisions are made on a continuum of unilateral, consultative and imposition. Children in the district are active participants in their migration decision making and employ lucid approaches at convincing the other parties to consent to their migration intensions. This is however, facilitated by unfavourable household circumstances, such as poverty and death which predisposes the other parties to accept such initiatives from children. Such decisions do not only get monetary support for transport fares, but also, advice and continuous prayers for good health and success. The decisions are followed with migration journeys and the patterns that emerge.

10.1.3 Patterns and livelihood in child migration

A close scrutiny of trajectories of child migrants reveal patterns that seem to depend on the decisions and support from parties involved at arriving at the decisions. As journeys involve cost in the form of fare, various strategies are employed to raise the needed fares, including children's own sources, from parents and friends as well as free transportation. Although, most children petronise the services of commercial bus transport, long distance cargo haulage trucks are alternative means for some who are able to negotiate with operators of such trucks to travel to their destinations. However, children from less accessible villages either walk or ride bicycles to nearby settlements where they can access public transport.

Emerging patterns of trajectories of child migration are similar to those of adult migration and include seasonal, cyclical, chain and step-wise migration. Nonetheless, a variant of step-wise pattern is identified in this study as "leapfrog" migration, which denotes journeys that do not continue from intermediate destinations (as with step-wise migration), but instead, return to the origin and then leap the intermediate destinations to the final destination. However, as this type of migration is novel in the discourse, more data is needed for its confirmation as it was identified in the movements of only two out of the 35 migrant children.

Furthermore, livelihood activities vary among child migrants and across destinations, with children engaging in various kinds of menial jobs. However, working at food vending joints and selling of roasted meet are most popular among child migrants from Bongo district. The choice of work also depicts gender affiliations and familiarity with the task. Whereas more girls than boys worked in helping to prepare and serve food, majority of boys worked in roasting and selling meat which they are familiar with, through upbringing in their home villages. Also, migrant children use their earnings to supplement family income, defray school fees to progress to SHS, pocket money in school and support for schooling of their siblings.

However, child migrants encounter challenges including transportation, finding jobs, accommodation, abuse and insecurity at their destinations. For instance, children who travel by cargo trucks have to contend the arduous challenge of sharing space with animals in the trucks while at the same time, attend to such animals and sleep in tents and tarpaulins tied to iron bars in the trucks. Furthermore, they travel long distances without money and risk hardship in unlikely events of mechanical breakdown of the trucks or accidents while enduring verbal abuses from employers and customers.

10.1.4 Mixed nexus between child migration and education

The connection between the phenomenon of child migration and education is complex and often depends on the motivations and processes. Whereas, some children drop out of school due to migration, others are able to access more resourced schools while others learn trade through apprenticeship. Therefore, the connection is not straight forward and depends on the individual migrant and the context within which the migration takes place. However, there were minor variations between the nexus emerging from qualitative data analysis than that of the quantitative. Whereas the qualitative data revealed positive, negative and mixed relationships,

the quantitative data analysis yielded only positive and negative nexus. This deviations, though small, is a justification for the choice of the mixed method approach in this research, which has in a way triangulated the responses and outcomes given it more credence. For instance, quantitative analysis alone would have obscured the third nexus (mixed effect) but the use of both methods have affirmed the negative and positive nexus with high levels of confidence to report on.

Furthermore, analysis of academic performance between migrant and non-migrant children showed significant difference between both groups. Whereas the average performance of non-migrant children was 50 out of 100, that of migrant children was 47. Nonetheless, the performance was low for both groups, with that of the non-migrant group 3 mean points higher than their migrant counterparts. This indicates that migration has negative impacts on academic performance. However, the low performance by both groups suggest the influence of other factors which combine to produce poor schooling outcomes. For instance, the performance of candidates in BECE in the district has been poor over the years. Official records at the district headquarters indicate that 46% passed in 2006, 39% in 2007, 36% in 2008 and then 30% in 2009 (BONDA, 2010). This trend suggest the influence of other factors such as role of teachers, school, home conditions, and poor supervision.

The choice of academic performance as a proximate determinant for progress in education is not out of place. This is because progression from JHS to SHS in Ghana is dependent on performance of children at the BECE, with emphasis on obtaining credits in the core subjects of Mathematics, English Language and Integrated Science. It can therefore be inferred from the trend of BECE performance presented that, 54% of children who completed JHS in the district in 2006 could not progress to the SHS. This percentage increased consistently to 61% in 2007, 64% in 2008 and to a catastrophic 70% in 2009. In other words, 70% of children who completed JHS in the district in 2009 could not continue to the SHS due to poor performance, which is catastrophic and unacceptable.

10.1.5 Networks, remittances and return

Most of the children who migrate in Bongo district make use of networks consisting mainly of families, school and hometown. They ‘free ride’ on such networks by virtue of kinship and other relationships. Some members of this networks are split and live in multiple locations. However, whereas family and multi-locational networks are defined by kinship and limited to only kinship members, school and hometown based networks are more opened to include members who do not come from the same families or households. Children benefit from such networks though information about potential destinations, accommodation, feeding, menial jobs and medical care at their destinations, while maintaining contacts with their parents and siblings back home. These linkages are catalysed by improvements in communication, mainly through mobile telephone communication.

Child migrants remit their families back home through members of their networks and haulage truck drivers. Remittances are mainly monetary and reciprocated in kind with foodstuffs and prayers by recipients who are mainly parents and siblings. Although remittances are mainly used to supplement household food requirements, it is also used to buy seeds for sowing, school items and renovating portions of their houses.

Child migrants expressed strong willingness to return to their origins after they have achieved their goals for migrating. They regard migration as a temporal measure in response to challenges in their places of origin and maintain contact with their origins through telephone conversations. This affords them the opportunity to be abreast with conditions and happenings back home.

10.1.6 Weak and ineffective local level institutions and organisations

Organisations and institutions were observed to be prevalent and effective at the national level,

but weak at the regional and local levels. Nevertheless, there is currently no comprehensive national policy document on migration in Ghana. Although collaborative efforts have yielded a draft which should have been in operation since 2012, it is still pending approval by relevant authorities. The main regulations used are the Children's Act of 1998 (Act 590) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989). However, there was less knowledge or presence of regulations, specific to child migration at the regional level. Furthermore, there were no bye-laws at the district and community levels on child migration while knowledge of existing national regulations on mobility was very low.

On the other hand, although there exist good linkages between local government organisations through the decentralised system of administration, it is inadequately resourced with low capacity to deliver at the local level. The Social Welfare and Children's Departments of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection are mandated to directly promote the interest and welfare of children. However, whereas the Social Welfare Department is present in all districts, the Children's department has no offices and personnel at the district level. For instance, the Social Welfare Officer in Bongo district combines the work of his office with that of the Children's Department. Furthermore, unit committees in the communities in the district were mostly non-existent while the existing ones were non-functional.

Finally, although the phenomenon of child migration is an issue of concern to traditional leaders in the district, it is not discussed during their meetings, while sudden absence of children are not reported to the police and other investigative and law enforcement agencies. This phenomenon does not only promote child migration but an opportunity for child trafficking as traffickers could exploit such lapses and operate with impunity.

Conceptual reflections

This study began with a guiding framework of concepts (see figure 2.2). Although this conceptual framework has been largely helpful, it emerged from the analysis that shocks (war, disaster, etc.) did not motivate migration in Bongo district. Rather, the continuous decline in rainfall, soil fertility and crop yield have remotely predisposed the people to poverty. The only experience related to shocks had to do with the death of a parent. However, this has more to do with socio-cultural motivation and analysed as such.

10.2 Conclusion

Children in Bongo district migrate mainly because of household poverty, pursuit of education and influence of peers to Accra and other urban destinations, where they engage in paid menial jobs. The earnings they make are used to supplement their household consumption needs, purchase items they need in school, support their siblings and savings for future investment in small scale retail enterprises. Children are therefore active and use migration as an opportunity to support themselves and their families in the face of unfavourable environmental and household conditions. Therefore, addressing the fundamental issues of poverty is sine qua non to efforts at controlling the phenomenon of child migration in the district and other deprived areas in Ghana.

On the other hand, although the effects of migration on the education of children are mixed, it generally leads to poor academic performance which could ultimately inhibit their progress in education. However, as this difference was observed to be small, it would be important to address the many challenges confronting the delivery of education in order to offset the influence of migration on performance, since academic performance is a proximate determinant for progress in education.

10.3 Recommendations and implications for planning and development

Following the summary and conclusion arrived at in the preceding sections, the following recommendations are made to enhance an understanding of the phenomenon of child migration

in Bongo district and similar contexts in Ghana.

i) Parental poverty and peer influence are main motivations for child migration

As poverty is amorphous and difficult to conceptualise, addressing issues of poverty requires holistic and concerted efforts involving all stakeholders within and outside the district. The root causes of poverty in the district stem from the unfavourable environmental conditions and high population density. As the predominant farming population relies on 70 days of rainfall in the year, with about 2 hectares per head and found around dwellings of compound houses, continuing with traditional farming techniques will remain elusive at alleviating poverty in the district. Therefore, modifying farming through improved early maturing crops and irrigation could increase crop yield as the Vea Dam is insufficient for all the small holder farmers.

Furthermore, working through traditional authorities to amend some of the cultural practices, such as allowing women to own farm land, could help increase food crop production in the district. This is particularly important because of the effects of the hunger or lean season which compel children as well as adults to migrate in search for food for the sustenance of their families

On the other hand, diversification of livelihood options in the district is the panacea to reducing poverty of the inhabitants. Currently, about 90% of the population are into crop farming and animal rearing, with very little reward to feed their households. However, there are other income generating potentials in the district that could be harnessed for the benefit of the people. Some of these alternative income generation sources are sheanut picking and processing, basket weaving, smock weaving, rice parboiling, hairdressing, rope making, basket and hat weaving, malt processing and pito brewing (see section 3.1.5). Most of these activities are dominated by women and have enormous potentials of alleviating household poverty. However, there is need for building synergy among stakeholders for implementation. The District Assembly will have to effectively collaborate with NGOs operating in the district, central government to source funding. Furthermore, there is need to build the capacity of interested people and organise them into groups to be able to develop good business plans to source funding from financial institutions. Although the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) was formed with the aim of reducing poverty and bridging the development gap between the north and south of the country, its implementation challenges presents a bleak picture for success. Nevertheless, more efforts need to be made to streamline the operations of SADA, while collaborating effectively with NGOs and other stakeholders, to diversify the economic base of the district in order to reduce their overdependence on subsistence crop farming.

The idea of an endowment fund (as proposed by the Paramount Chief) needs support to be realised, as this would leverage parents to be able to keep their children in school and thus reduce out migration of children.

Furthermore, the influence of peers can be minimised through education and counselling. Migrant children who visit during festive occasions, exhibit only the positive aspect of migration. They do not tell their colleagues during such visits, about the reality of urban life. Therefore, there is need for regular counselling in schools, churches and parents on the unintended consequences of child migration and the real challenges such children face. The story by the Social Welfare Officer in Bongo (see section 5.1.2) about how a girl was influenced by her colleague and ignored her mother's advice not to migrate. She regretted and returned when she was faced with the reality of cleaning toilet facilities at the destination. Such experiences need to be shared with potential child migrants and counsel them on the dangers of child migration, to help reduce the "all-rosy" perception children have about migration.

ii) Patterns and livelihood in child migration

This study identified leapfrogging as a novel type of migration. However, only two trajectories, out of the 35 migrant children interviewed, conformed to leapfrog migration. I therefore recommend more research in order to validate or falsify this identified pattern.

Furthermore, some children migrate through long distance haulage trucks with animals and

sleep on tarpaulins on top of the trucks. This is not only risky during mechanical breakdowns, but could be fatal if such trucks are involved in accidents. I recommend that law enforcement agencies (especially the police) be more vigilant at check points to prevent children from using such means to travel. This will reduce the risks associated with such journeys and prevent fatalities in times of accidents.

In addition, child migrants encounter several challenges and have to survive through ingenuity and tolerance. Tolerance from abusive employers and customers are some of the demeanours migrant children exhibit to survive at their destinations and work places. Therefore, as most children migrate without employable skills, such experiences by established migrants could help such children overcome the nostalgia associated with the early stages of migration. This could be achieved through opportunities that could be created by hometown based networks at the destinations

iii) Mixed nexus between child migration and education

The most effective but with long term prospects recommendation on migration and education nexus is improvement in education delivery in the district. This will require an "affirmative" action in order to address the poor outcomes of education in the district. My observation and concerns from parents is that, most teachers in schools in the villages do not reside at their duty posts. They live in Bongatanga or Bongo Township and commute daily to school. However, with the poor road network and transportation in the district, several contact hours are lost, resulting in ineffective teaching and learning. This can only be addressed with effective supervision, mainly by circuit supervisors. This would not require so much money to implement, because each of the seven education circuits is assigned a supervisor with a motor bike for ease of movement. Their major challenge is fuel to move to the schools in their circuits. The District Assembly should be able to mobilise some money from their internally generated funds to enable the Circuit Supervisors effectively discharge their duties. Consequently, teachers found culpable should be punished to deter them and others from doing same. This will help reduce absenteeism, lateness and lose of instructional hours with the possibility of reversing the unacceptable abysmal performance of pupils at the BECE. This will improve their chance of progressing on the educational ladder to acquire skills that will improve their future employment prospects. They will then be able to get good jobs, both within the district and at the destinations, where they choose to migrate to.

On the other hand, parents should be encouraged to show more interest in what their children do in school. There is a disconnect between parents and the schooling of their children, as they do not monitor whether children actually go to school or they just wear their school uniforms and loiter in the communities, instead of being in school. Children in school uniform could be seen loitering during school hours (see figures 5.8 and 9.3), which is an indication of little or no learning in the classrooms.

Therefore my conviction is that, when school supervision is improved and parents take keen interest in the learning of their wards, the poor outcomes would be reversed and children as well as people in the district will see the benefit of education. This would encourage parents and children to complete their education before migrating.

iv) Networks, remittances and return

Migrant networks of all kinds play crucial roles at promoting child migration as children often "free ride" on such networks in decision making, travelling and living at the destinations. The District Assembly in collaboration with the Traditional Council should work with the network groups (especially the hometown based networks) to support children to continue schooling at the destinations. As discussed earlier in section 7.1.3, none of the children from Bongo district knew of any colleague who was benefiting from NGOs or government support, to continue with their schooling in Accra. Such networks could link the children to NGOs and other support organisations for sponsorship.

Migrant children remit through acquaintances (mostly network members) and long distance haulage truck drivers. This mode of remittance is not secured as it relies on trustworthiness of

the people. Although bank transfers are possible and used in other contexts (especially adults as observed in China: see Schmidt-Kallert and Franke, 2013) there was only one rural bank in Bongo and could not be easily accessed by the poor recipients in the rural communities. Nevertheless, the Mobile Money Transfer service provided by mobile telecommunication service providers, could be exploited as it is less restrictive than the traditional banking system.

Furthermore, all the migrant children interviewed expressed strong interest in returning to their communities after sometime in migration. They were mindful of the need to accumulate wealth and to return to invest in the district. However, they did not have the necessary skills and experiences to operate such establishments, if it was feasible to establish. I recommend that the District Assembly initiates plans to build the entrepreneurial capacities of return migrants. This would help the few who have initiated some small scale ventures to succeed and the potential to increase the revenue base of the district through payment of taxes. Again, hometown based networks could help build the entrepreneurial capacities of children at their destinations. They could be guided to save their earnings and other sources of capital through regular meetings and sharing of experiences to reduce the bottlenecks of small business start-ups. This would result in enhancing the benefits of child migration as their return would not only benefit the individuals involved, but the district as a whole.

v) Ineffective institutions and organisations

It emerged from this study that, issues of child migration are regulated through the Children's Act of 1998 (Act 590) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989). However, the draft national migration policy which was expected to be operational since 2012 should be given the necessary approval to provide a comprehensive framework within which migration and child migration in particular, can be effectively regulated. Furthermore, the Bongo District Assembly which has legislative powers at the local level should work closely with the traditional council, to enact bye-laws to address child migration issues in the district.

On the other hand, the District Assembly should work to strengthen the grassroots of the local government structure to make Unit Committees, in particular, functional in all communities. The reason for their non-existence and non-functionality stems mainly from the fact that it is purely voluntary and people are prepared to volunteer but not their entire lifetime. Therefore, commitments fade with time and the grass root structures become non-functional. It would be necessary for the District Assembly to occasionally motivate such volunteers with monetary tokens to keep the spirit of voluntarism alive and burning.

Furthermore, there is need for effective collaboration between the District Assembly and the Traditional Council, through chiefs in the communities, to modify some of the cultural practices and traditions which are inimical to the development of children in the district. For instance, the practice of Tanzabe could be addressed through education and bye-laws which will discourage young men to have sexual relations with their nieces but which cannot result in marriage or accepting and keeping children from such relationships. Moreover, bye-laws could be enacted to compel parents to send their children to school as indicated by the Paramount chief. This will be in furtherance of the fCUBE policy which seeks to make basic education not only free, but compulsoryfor all children.

It is my fervent hope that, implementing these recommendations would help regulate the phenomenon of child migration and harness its potentials for the development of the district and other areas not only in the Savanah region, but all districts in the country.

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http://www.citypopulation.de/php/ghana-admin.php?adm2id=0704 (map of Bongo district)

Appendices

Appendix 1: Link between research questions, variables, sources of data and tools

Appendix 1a: Link between main research question 1, variables, sources of data and tools

Main Question 1: Why do children from the Savannah Regions of Ghana migrate?			
Question	Variable/Data	Source of Data	Field Tools
1.1 What motivates children to migrate?	Disasters/shocks Climatic conditions Parental/Household poverty Conditions of schools Peer influence Culture Access to resources Support system	Offices of DAES, DPCU Meteorological office Parents Schools Children in/out of schools Local community leaders Traditional authority	Archival review In-depth Interviews Expert interviews Group discussion Observation
1.2 How do children's migration history and experiences influence their migration decision making?	Previous Involvement in migration by: Parents Children	Child migrants Parents of child migrants Community members	In-depth interviews KIIs Expect interviews Group discussions
1.3 What roles do households and communities of child migrants play in their migration decision making?	Levels of involvement in decision making by: Children Parents Community members	Parents of child migrants Child migrants Local community leaders	In-depth Interviews KIIs Expect interviews Group discussion Observation
1.4 What are the processes involved in child migration?	Mode/means of transport Transport cost/routes and arrangement Distance and duration	Child migrants Offices/operators of public transport Ghana Police Service	In-depth Interviews Group discussion Archival review KIIs Experts interviews
1.5 How do institutions and organisations promote or constrain child migration?	Existence/levels of institutions Laws & bylaws Cultural norms and values Children's Act 1998 (Act 590)	District Assembly Ghana Police Service Traditional Authority (Chiefs) Local community leaders	In-depth interviews KIIs Expert interviews Document review Observation Group discussion
	Levels and capacity of organisations Governmental agencies NGOs Traditional governance	District Assembly Governmental Agencies NGOs Traditional leaders (Chiefs)	
1.6 What livelihood options are available and utilized by child migrants?	Types and nature of: Jobs Skills training opportunities Fosterage Adaptation/Survival strategies	Child migrants Beneficiaries of services of child migrants Management of training institutions	In-depth Interviews KIIs Document reviews
1.7 How do child migrants relate with their families back in their areas of origin?	Frequency of visits/trips back home Remittances	Child migrants Parents of child migrants	In-depth interviews
1.8 What implications does child migration have on planning and the spatial development of Ghana?	Nature/Levels of regional development Conditions of schools Academic performance Poverty and employment situations	DA (DPCU) GES Offices and Staff Governmental Agencies NGOS Local community leaders Traditional authority (Chiefs)	In-depth interviews KIIs Observation Examination of records Discussion

Appendix 1b: Link between main research question 2, variables, sources of data and tools

Main Question 2: How does migration influence children's access and progress in school education?			
Question	Variable/Data	Source of Data	Field Methods/Tools
2.1 Are children able to access schools or study when they migrate?	Availability of schools Enrolment requirement and procedure Miscellaneous cost School enrolment data Books and study materials	Schools premises/ offices Enrolment registers Class attendance registers Book stores Pupils	In-depth interviews KIIs Questionnaire Observation Document review
2.2 Are there differences in academic performance of children who migrate and those who do not?	Performance data Attendance data	Class attendance registers Continuous assessment record books	Questionnaires In-depth interviews FGDs KIIs Observation Examination of records Discussion

Appendix 2: Interview guides

Appendix 2a: Interview guide for child migrants

1. Background information
    i. Name of place of origin
    ii. Nature of place of origin
    iii. Location of place of origin
    iv. Main economic activities of the place of origin
    v. Characteristics of family and economic activities

Family characteristics

Family's economic activities

    vi. Nature of schools and level of education attained

Nature of schools

Level of education attained

    vii. Source of information about place of destination
    viii. Expectations/image about place of destination
2. What motivates and facilitates child migration and what are the processes involved?
    i. What motivated you to migrate from your town/village?
    ii. How did you move out of your town/village?
    iii. Who made it possible for you to move out of your village/town?
    iv. What processes did you go through in moving out of your town/village to this place?
    v. What challenges did you encounter in moving from your village/town to this place?
    vi. Why did you continue to migrate in spite of the challenges you faced and still facing now?
    vii. Will you still want to move to another place, stay here or return to your origin and why?
3. How do children's migration history and experiences influence their migration decision making?
    i. Have you personally ever been involved in migration before moving to this place?
    ii. Are there members of your family who have migrated before?
    iii. How did your personal migration experience influence your decision to migrate?
    iv. How did the migration experiences of members of your family influence your decision to migrate?
4. What roles do households and communities of child migrants play in their migration decision making?
    i. What role (s) did members of your family play in your decision to migrate?
    ii. Which family members played what roles and how did they play those roles in your decision to migrate?
    iii. How did members of your home community influence your decision to migrate?
    iv. How did you, on your own, decide to migrate?
5. How does migration influence children's access to and progression in education?
    i. What would you want to become in the future?
    ii. In which way (s) has your school education been affected by your involvement in migration?
    iii. How will you be able to realize your school education dreams?
6. Are there institutions and organisations which promote or constrain child migration?
    i. Are you aware of any institution(s) (laws, societal norms, etc) on migration both in your home village/town and your destination?

ii. How did/does the institution(s) (laws, societal norms, etc) help or make it difficult for you to migrate?
iii. Are you aware of organisations (District Assembly, Schools, Churches, NGOs, etc) whose activities affect you as a child migrant?
iv. How did/does the activities of the organisation (District Assembly, Schools, Churches, NGOs, etc) help or make it difficult for you to migrate?

7. What livelihood options are available and utilized by child migrants and how do they influence their commitments and support for their families back in their areas of origin?

i. How do you manage to survive here as a child migrant?
ii. What do you do for a living here at your destination?
iii. How do you do what you do for a living?
iv. In which way (s) are you able to support your family back home?
v. How much money are you able to send home and how often do you send it?
vi. How are you supported here by your family?

8. How can migration be used to promote access to education and harness the potential of children for national development?
    i. What do you think should be done for you to be able to access and continue your school education?
    ii. In which ways do you think you can contribute to the development of your home community?

Appendix 2b: Interview guide for parents

1. Community characteristics
    i. Name of community
    ii. Location of community
    iii. Community characteristics
    iv. Socio-Economic activities
    v. Livelihood options and techniques
2. Household characteristics
    i. Household size and characteristics
    ii. Household economic activities
    iii. Household production techniques
    iv. Household production outputs
    v. Household techniques for livelihood
3. What motivates and facilitates child migration and what are the processes involved?
    i. Why do you think your child/children left this village/town?
    ii. How did the child/children leave your town/place?
    iii. Why did you allow your child/children to go in spite of the challenges involved?
4. What roles do households and communities of child migrants play in their migration decision making?
    i. What role did you play in the decision of your child/children to leave this village/town?
    ii. Have you or any member of your family been involved in migration in the past?
    iii. How did that involvement influence the decision of your child/children to migrate?
5. How does migration influence children's access to and progression in education?
    i. How far did you want your child to go in his/her school education?
    ii. How has the education of your child/children been affected by their involvement in migration?
6. Are there institutions and organizations which promote or constrain child migration?
    i. How do institutions (societal norms, laws and school system) in your area promote or constrain the migration of your child/children?
    ii. How do organisations (District Assembly, Schools, Churches, NGOs, etc) in your area promote or constrain the migration of your child/children?
7. What livelihood options are available and utilized by child migrants and how do they influence their commitments and support for their families back in their areas of origin?
    i. How is your child coping at his/her current place of residence?
    ii. How does your child remit you and the family?
    iii. How much does your child remit you?
    iv. How often does your child remit you?
8. How can migration be used to promote access to education and harness the potential of children for national development?
    i. What, in your opinion, could be done to make your child access school education?
    ii. How can child migrants contribute to the development of your community?

Appendix 2c: Interview guide for community leaders

1. Name and location of community
2. Size and locality of community
3. Main economic activities of community
4. Household size of community
5. Nature of poverty in the community
6. Nature of adult migration in the community
7. Nature of child migration in the community
8. Possible number of child migrants into or out of the community
9. What, in your opinion motivates, and facilitates the migration of children from your community?
10. How do children in your community migrate?
11. Why do you think children continue to migrate in spite of the challenges involved?
12. What roles does your community play in children's migration decision making?
13. How does migration influence children's access to and progression in school education?
14. Are there institutions (laws, cultural norms, etc) which promote or constrain the migration of children in your community?
15. How do the institutions function/operate to either promote or constrain child migration in your community?
16. Are there organisations (District Assembly, religious bodies, schools, etc) which promote or constrain the migration of children in your community?
17. How do the organisations (District Assembly, religious bodies, schools, etc) promote or constrain child migration in your community?
18. In which ways do child migrants remit their families and support your community?
19. How can migration be used to promote access to school education of children in/from your community?
20. In which ways can the potential of children be harnessed for the development of your community and the nation in general?

Appendix 2d: Interview guide for Teachers

1. Profile of teacher
   i. Age: Sex : Class:
   ii. Subject taught: Duration of Lesson:
   iii. Academic qualification: Teaching Experience:
   iv. Number of years teaching in this school:
   v. Number of years teaching this class:
   vi. Class size: Female: Male:
   vii. Number of child migrants in class: female: male:
2. How do child migrants cope with teaching and learning in your class?
3. Which language do you use in teaching your class and why that language?
4. How does the language of instruction affect teaching and learning in your class?
5. How do you make migrant children to participate during lessons in class?
6. How do you handle child migrants who are not doing well in your lessons/class?
7. Are there institutions (laws, norms, etc) in your school and community which constrain or promote migrant children's learning in your class?
8. How do organizations (DA, religious organizations, private sector, NGOs, etc) promote or constrain access to learning by child migrants in your class?
9. How do you think child migrants can access education better in your school?
10. Are there examples/stories of migrant children in your class/school that you will like to share?

Appendix 2e: Interview guide for Headteachers

1. Profile of school
    i. Name of school
    ii. Location of school
    iii. Year of establishment
    iv. Ownership status (public/private)
    v. Availability and nature of school infrastructure
    vi. School enrolment
    vii. Staffing situation (adequacy and qualification)
2. What, in your opinion, motivates and facilitates child migration?
3. Why do children continue to migrate in spite of the challenges involved?
4. How do child migrants access and progress in your school?
    i. School enrolment
    ii. Attendance
    iii. Medium of instruction (language)
    iv. Ethnic stereotyping/discrimination
    v. Performance
    vi. School cost
    vii. What kind of special consideration do you have for child migrants in your school?
    viii. How does the special consideration influence access and progression of child migrants in your school?
5. Are there institutions (laws, cultural norms, etc) on child migration and school education in your school community?
6. How do those institutions promote or constrain child migrants' access to your school?
7. How do organizations (DA, religious organizations, private sector, NGOs, etc) promote or constrain access to education by child migrants?
8. What livelihood options are available and utilized by child migrants in order to access education in your school?
9. How can migration be used to promote access to education and harness the potential of children for national development?

Appendix 2f: Interview guide for Schedule Officers

1. What is the profile and mandate of your organisation (Seek documents)?
    i. Name, location and mandate

Name:
Location:
Mandate:
Year of establishment: .....

    ii. Structure of organisation
    iii. Staffing
    iv. Programmes and activities
2. What, in your opinion, motivates and facilitates child migration in Ghana?
3. Why do you think children continue to migrate in spite of the challenges involved?
4. How does migration influence children's access to and progression in school education?
5. How do those institutions function in your operational area?
6. How is your organisation involved in issues of child migration in Ghana?
    i. Child migration programmes/projects of your organisation: their location, duration, size, etc
    ii. Progress/successes of the programmes/projects
    iii. Challenges of the programmes/projects
    iv. Suggestions for improvement of programmes/projects
7. Which other organisations, apart from yours, are involved in child migration in Ghana?
8. Which aspects of child migration are they involved in?
9. How does your outfit work with other organisations involved in child migration in Ghana?
10. How can migration be used to promote access to education and harness the potential of children for national development?
11. Are there examples/stories of migrant children you have encountered in your work that you will like to share?

Appendix 3: Questionnaires

Appendix 3a: Questionnaire for child migrants

Dear pupil, this questionnaire **is not a school test or examination** but a research exercise. All I want from you is that, please be **truthful** with your answers. I promise you that the information you give here will be **treated in confidence** and will only be used for research purposes.

SECTION A DEMOGRAPHIC & BIOGRAPHIC DETAILS

1. Name of School: ----------

2. Class:

JHS1	JHS2	JHS 3
1	2	3

3. Location a) Region ..... b) District: .....c) Town.....

4. Locality:

Urban	Rural
1	2

5. Sex: Male [1] Female [2]

6. Age (in years):

10 – 12	13 – 15	16 – 18	19 -21	22 and above
1	2	3	4	5

7. Which of your parents is alive?

Both parents	Father	Mother	None
1	2	3	4

8. Who do you live or stay with?

Both Parents	Mother	Father	Sibling	Relative	Friend	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5	6	.....

9. What work do your parents do for a living?

Not working	Farming	Trading	Other (specify)
1	2	3	.....

10. Who pays your school cost?

Father	Mother	Sibling	Relative	Friend	My Teacher	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5	6	.....

11. Level of education of parent/guardian (tick as appropriate)

	Illiterate (1)	MSLC (2)	JHS (3)	SHS (4)	Tertiary (5)
Father					
Mother					
Brother/Sister					
Guardian					

12. How often are you given home work by your teachers?

None	Everyday	Once a week	Twice a week	Three times a week	Four times a week	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5	6	.....

13. Who helps you to do your homework?

Nobody	Father	Mother	Brother/Sister	Relative	Friend
1	2	3	4	5	6

14. Are you a member of a club in your school? Yes [1] No [2]

15. If your answer to 14 is yes, which club are you a member of?

Debate club	Reading club	Other (specify)
1	2	.....

16. Do you have a role model? Yes [1] No [2]

17. If your response to 16 is yes, which of these categories does he/she belong?

My father	My mother	A Sibling	My Teacher	TV Star	Politician	Football Star	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.....

18. Name of town/village you travelled to.....

Please read the following statements carefully and thick the appropriate response as they apply to you

	Reasons for migrating	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
19	I travelled because there are no textbooks for me to use in school					
20	I travelled because there are few teachers in my school					
21	I travelled because teachers in my school are not regular in school					
22	I travelled because teachers in my school are not regular in class					
23	I travelled because I did not understand what I was taught in class					
24	I travelled because I fear being punished when I am in school					
25	I travelled because I do not find schooling interesting					
26	I travelled because I do not get pocket money to buy food during break time					
27	I travelled because I do not get money to buy items I need in school					
28	I travelled because I do not get money to pay my school fees					
29	I travelled because my parents beat me at home					
30	I travelled because my parents are forcing me to marry					
31	I travelled because my parent(s) are died					
32	I travelled because Life in my village is boring					
	Decision to migrate					
33	I decided on my own to travel					
34	I wanted to work and get my own money					
35	It was my parents who asked me to travel					
36	My brothers/sisters asked me to travel					
37	Some relatives asked me to travel					
38	It was my friends who asked me to travel					

39. Who did you tell when you were going to travel from your village/town?

Both parents	Father	Mother	Brother	Sister	Friend	Relative	My teacher	No one
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

40. Who did you travel with to your destination?

Alone	Parent (s)	Brother	Sister	Relative	Friend	School mate	Stranger
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

41. By what means of transport did you travel?

Public Bus	Private bus/car	Cargo Truck	Other (specify)
1	2	3	.....

42. Did you travel direct from your home village to the place where you work? Yes No

43. If no, list the places where you first travelled to

1..... 2.....

3..... 4.....

44. Who paid your transport fare?

Myself	Father	Mother	Brother	Sister	Friend	Stranger	I did not pay	I hid in a truck
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

45. What kind of work did you do at the place where you are now or where you travelled to?

01	I did not work	04	Serving in a Chop Bar	07	Selling on the Street
02	Farm work	05	Selling Khebab	08	Illegal (Galamsey) mining
03	Fishing	06	Household work	09	Other.....

46. How long did you stay when you travelled?

Less than 1 month	1 month	Half year	1 year	2 years	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5	

47. How much are/were you paid per day?

Not paid	1GH¢/day	2GH¢/day	3GH¢/day	4GH¢/day	5GH¢/day	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5	6	

	Effects of migration on class/academic performance	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
48	I do not get time to study when I travel to work					
49	I do not have textbooks to study when I travel to work					
50	I do not get anyone to help me to study when I travel					
51	I learn better when I am at home than when I travel					
52	I am not able to return early when school reopens					
53	I have been able to get better tuition because I travelled					
54	I am now able to study better because I travelled					

Name of Pupil:----------

THANK YOU

Appendix 3b: Questionnaire for non-migrants children

Dear pupil, this questionnaire **is not a school test or examination** but a research exercise. All I want from you is that, please be **truthful** with your answers. I promise you that the information you give here will be **treated in confidence** and will only be used for research purposes.

1. Name of School: ----------

2. Class:

JHS1	JHS2	JHS 3
1	2	3

3. Location a) Region ..... b) District: .....c) Town.....

4. Locality:

Urban	Rural
1	2

5. Sex: Male [1] Female [2]

6. Age (in years):

10 – 12	13 – 15	16 – 18	19 -21	22 and above
1	2	3	4	5

7. Which of your parents is alive?

Both Parents	Father	Mother	None
1	2	3	4

8. Who do you live or stay with?

Both Parents	Mother	Father	Relative	Friend	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5	.....

9. What work do your parents do for a living?

Not working	Farming	Trading	Other (specify)
1	2	3	.....

10. Who pays your school cost?

Father	Mother	Sibling	Relative	Friend	My Teacher	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5	6	.....

11. Level of education of parent/guardian (tick as appropriate)

	Illiterate	MSLC	JHS	SHS	Tertiary
Father					
Mother					
Brother/Sister					
Guardian					

12. How often are you given home work by your teachers?

None	Once a week	Twice a week	Three times a week	Four times a week	Everyday	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5	6	.....

13. Who helps you to do your homework?

Nobody	Father	Mother	Brother/Sister	Relative	Friend
1	2	3	4	5	6

14. Are you a member of a club in your school? Yes [1] No [2]

15. If your answer to No.14 is yes, which club are you a member of?

No Club	Debate Club	Reading Club	Other (specify)
1	2	3	.....

16. Do you have a role model? Yes [1] No [2]

17. If your response to No. 16 is yes, which of these categories does he/she belong?

My Father	My Mother	A Sibling	My Teacher	TV Star	Politician	Football Star	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	.....

Please read the following statements carefully and thick the appropriate response as they apply to you

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
18	Teachers are not regular in school					
19	Teachers do not come to my class regularly					
20	I do not understand what I am taught in class					
21	I do not find schooling interesting					
22	I do not get pocket money to buy food during break time					
23	I do not get money to buy items I need in school					
24	I do not get money to pay my school fees					

Name of Pupil:----------

THANK YOU

Appendix 4: Data collection and management plan (Phase I&II)

NO	ACTIVITY	DURATION	LOCATION
	Phase I (Interviews)		
1	Observe protocol and build rapport with scheduled officers at relevant Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) responsible for Children and Migration related issues (Ministry of Education, Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs, Ghana Education Service, International Organisation for Migration-Ghana Office, International Labour Organisation- Ghana Office, UNICEF- Ghana Office and Catholic Action for Street children (CASC)	04 – 07. 10.11	Accra
2	In/depth interviews with scheduled/contact officers in relevant MDAs, community leaders and key informants	10 – 14. 10 .11	Accra
3	Selection and in/depth interviews with heads of schools and teachers of schools in which there are migrant children	17 – 21. 10. 11	Accra
4	Selection and in/depth interviews with child migrants and key informants	24 – 28. 10. 11	Accra
5	Observe protocol, select and build rapport with community leaders, parents and heads of educational institutions	28.11– 02. 12.11	Bongo
6	Interviews with child migrants and observe their schools and homes	05 – 09. 12. 11	Bongo
7	Interviews with educational authorities, heads of schools and teachers in schools with child migrants	12 – 16. 12. 11	Bongo
8	Interviews with community leaders and parents of child migrants	19 – 23. 12.11	Bongo
9	Mopping up interviews	27 - 30. 12. 11	Bongo
10	Transcription of interviews	Jan – March, 2012	Dortmund
11	Storage of transcribed and other data	April, 2012	Dortmund
12	Analysis of qualitative data	April – August, 2012	Dortmund
13	Development of questionnaire	Sept. 2012	Dortmund
	Phase II (Questionnaire administration)		
14	Observe protocol and appointment with Key Informants for interviews	26. 10. 12	Accra
15	Expert Interview with Director of Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon	29-30. 10. 12	Accra
16	Travel to Bongo to pilot and administer questionnaire	31. 10. 12	Bongo
17	Observe protocol and selection of schools	01 – 02. 11. 12	Bongo
18	Pilot questionnaire	12 –13. 11.12	Bongo
19	Input and analyse pilot data	14. 11 .12	Bongo
20	Revise questionnaire based on analysis	15, 17 &18. 11. 12	Bongo
21	Visit selected school to interact with school and community leaders	16. 11. 12	Bongo
22	Administer questionnaire in selected schools	19. 11 - 14. 12. 12	Bongo
23	Mop up interviews with community leaders	15 – 16. 12. 12	Bongo
24	Inputting of questionnaire into SPSS template	18 - 28.12. 12	Winneba
25	Screening and editing of inputted data	30.12.12 – 07.01.13	Winneba
26	Transcription of interviews	Feb – March, 2013	Dortmund
27	Storage of data	April 2013	Dortmund
28	Analysis and thesis write-up	May 2013 – May 2014	Dortmund
29	Validation workshops	Dec. 2013	Bongo

Source: Own construct from fieldwork 2011 - 2013

Appendix 5: Schools in Bongo District

No.	SCHOOLS BY LEVEL			TYPE
	KINDERGARTEN (KG)	PRIMARY	JUNIOR HIGH	
	CENTRAL CIRCUIT			
1	BONGO D/A KG	BONGO PRIMARY	BONGO JHS	PUBLIC
2	ANAFOBISI D/A KG 'B'	ANAFOBISI PRIMARY	ANAFOBISI JHS 'A'	PUBLIC
3	ST. ANNE'S R/C KG	ST. ANNE'S PRIMARY	ANAFOBISI JHS 'B'	PUBLIC
4	ATAMPIISI D/A KG	ATAMPIISI PRIMARY	ST. ANNE'S GIRLS JHS	PUBLIC
5	KUYELINGO D/A KG	KUYELINGO PRIMARY	ST. JOACHIM BOYS JHS	PUBLIC
6	GURIGO D/A KG	GURIGO PRIMARY	ATAMPIISI D/A JHS	PUBLIC
7	KUNKUA D/A KG	KUNKUA PRIMARY	KUNKUA D/A JHS	PUBLIC
8	ANAFOBIISI D/A KG 'A'			PUBLIC
9	ASALOKO D/A KG	ASALOKO PRIMARY		PUBLIC
10	BONGO ZION KG	BONGO ZION	BONGOZION JHS	PRIVATE
11	GREAT VISION KG	GREAT VISION		PRIVATE
	CENTRAL EAST			
12	SALIBGA KG	SALIBGA PRIMARY	SALIBGA JHS	PUBLIC
13	AKUNDUO KG	AKUNDUO PRIMARY	AKUNDUO JHS	PUBLIC
14	AYOPIA KG	AYOPIA PRIMARY	AYOPIA JHS	PUBLIC
15	ATAMPINTIN KG	ATAMPINTIN PRIMARY	ATAMPINTIN JHS	PUBLIC
16	BOGRIGO KG	BOGRIGO PRIMARY		PUBLIC
17	ISLAMIC SAL. KG	ISLAMIC SALVATION		PUBLIC
	EAST CIRCUIT			
18	ADABOYA D/A KG	ADABOYA D/A PRIM.	ADABOYA D/A JHS	PUBLIC
19	SAPOORO D/A KG	SAPOORO D/A PRIM.	SAPOORO D/A JHS	PUBLIC
20	TANKOO D/A KG	TANKOO D/A PRIM.	BEO R/C JHS	PUBLIC
21	WALIGA R/C KG	BEO R/C PRIMARY 'A'		PUBLIC
22	T. I. AHAMADIYYA KG	T. I. AHAMADIYYA		PUBLIC
23	KANSINGO R/C KG	BEO R/C PRIMARY 'B'		PUBLIC
24		KANSINGO R/C PRIM.		PUBLIC
	NORTH CICUIT			
25	BOKO D/A KG	ADABOYA D/A PRIM.	BOKO D/A JHS	PUBLIC
26	NAMOO D/A KG	SAPOORO D/A PRIM.	NAMOO D/A JHS 'A'	PUBLIC
27	NAMOO D/A KG	TANKOO D/A PRIM.	SAMBOLGO D/A JHS	PUBLIC
28	SAMBOLGO D/A KG	BEO R/C PRIMARY 'A'	NAMOO D/A JHS 'B'	PUBLIC
29	BUNGU D/A KG	T. I. AHAMADIYYA	ABOKOBISI R/C JHS	PUBLIC
30	SIKABISI D/A KG	BEO R/C PRIMARY 'B'		PUBLIC
31	ABOKOBIISE R/C KG	KANSINGO R/C PRIM.		PUBLIC
32	AZAMBIBUO D/A KG			PUBLIC
33	ABELZAAMA D/A KG			PUBLIC
	NORTH EAST			
34	SOE R/C KG	SOE R/C PRIMARY 'A'	SOE R/C JHS	PUBLIC
35	SOE R/C KG'	SOE R/C PRIMARY 'B'	AGOMO JHS	PUBLIC
36	KABRE KG	KABRE PRIMARY		PUBLIC
37	YIDONGO KG	YIDONGO PRIMARY		PUBLIC
38	AGOMO KG	V. AKURIGO MEM.		PUBLIC
39	AYELBIA KG	AGOMO PRIMARY		PUBLIC
40		AYELBIA PRIMARY		PUBLIC
	NORTH -NORTH EAST			
41	FEO AWIISI KG.	FEO D/A PRIMARY 'A'	FEO D/A JHS	PUBLIC
42	AMANGA KG	FEO D/A PRIMARY 'B'	FEO-AWIISI JHS	PUBLIC
43	ASAKULISI KG.	FEO AWIISI D/A PRIM.		PUBLIC
44	ST. JOHN BOSCOS KG	AMANGA D/A PRIM.		PUBLIC
45	FEO KG	ASAKULISI D/A PRIM.		PUBLIC
46		ST. JOHN BOSCOS R/C		PUBLIC
	NORTH WEST			
47	BALUNGO NABIISI KG	BALUNGU NABIISI	FR. LEBEL JHS	PUBLIC
48	GOO PRIMARY	GOO PRIMARY	BALUNGO NABIISI JHS	PUBLIC
49	BALUNGO KG	BALUNGU PRIMARY	GOO JHS	PUBLIC
50	FR. LEBEL KG	FR. LEBEL PRIMARY	NAYORIGO JHS	PUBLIC

51	NAYORIGO KG	NAYORIGO PRIMARY	BALUNGO JHS	PUBLIC
52	ATANSEKA KG	ATANSEKA PRIMARY		PUBLIC
	SOUTH CIRCUIT			
53	GOWRIE KG	GOWRIE PRIMARY	GOWRIE JHS	PUBLIC
54	AYONE KG	AYONE PRIMARY	VEA JHS	PUBLIC
55	NYARIGA KG	NYARIGA PRIMARY	NYARIGA JHS	PUBLIC
56	VEA KG	VEA PRIMARY	TINGRE JHS	PUBLIC
57	AWAA KG	AWAA PRIMARY	KULPEELGA JHS	PUBLIC
58	GOWRIE -TINGRE KG.	GOWRIE -TINGRE PRI.		PUBLIC
59	KULPEELGA D/A KG	KULPEELGA PRIMARY		PUBLIC
	SOUTH EAST CIRCUIT			
60	APUWONGO D/A KG	APUWONGO PRIM.	DUA JHS	PUBLIC
61	DUA PRIMARY D/A KG	DUA PRIMARY	APAATANGA JHS	PUBLIC
62	KANTIA PRIMARY D/A KG	KANTIA PRIMARY	KANTIA JHS	PUBLIC
63	GHANA DAA D/A KG	GHANA DAA PRIM.	APOWUNGO JHS	PUBLIC
64	TINDONBOKO D/A KG	TINDONBOKO PRIM.		PUBLIC
65	BEO-NAYIKUURA D/A KG	BEO-NAYIKUURA PRI.		PUBLIC
66	ST. AUGUSTINE R/CKG	ST. AUGUSTINE		PUBLIC
	WEST CIRCUIT			
67	KADARE D/A KG	KADARE PRIMARY	KADARE JHS	PUBLIC
68	KODOROGO D/AKG	KODOROGO PRIMARY	KODOROGO JHS	PUBLIC
69	KANGA D/A KG	KANGA PRIMARY	KANGA JHS	PUBLIC
70	KAN-KOOM D/A KG	KAN-KOOM PRIMARY	GAMBRONGO JHS	PUBLIC
71	GAMBORONGO D/A KG	GAMBRONGO PRIM.	TARONGO JHS	PUBLIC
72	TARONGO D/A KG	TARONGO PRIMARY		PUBLIC

Appendix 6: Specimen transcripts of interviews

Appendix 6a

Transcription of an interview with Abudu in Accra on November 7, 2011

Question: What is the nature of your family?
Response: My father has two wives but he had other childfen from outside who have come to join. My mother's children are seven; 3 boys and 4 girls while my stepmother has 4 children making us 11. Two girls are outside the marriage making it 13 in all.

My father has a large compound around the house so his farm is also big. He uses bullocks to till the land.
My father was a tax collector for the Bongo District Assembly at the border check point. But he has retired. My mother was selling food in Namoo but now she is old and has stopped. She is now only at home doing small, small farming. My stepmother sells provisions in the Namoo market.

Question: What is the nature of schools in your village and level of education you attained?
Response: There are two Primary and two JHS in Namoo: Namoo Primary "A" and "B" and then Namoo JHS "A" and "B" respectively. I completed JHS 3 in 2006, but my results was not good for me to continue to the SHS level. I registered and rewrote the exams in 2008 but I still could not pass. I didn't write in 2007 because at that time I was planning to go to school.

Question: What was your source of information about place of destination?
Response: Some of the boys from our home town [Namoo] have been coming here and when they return they tell stories about Accra so I also wanted to come and see things for myself. They were bringing nice clothes, bicycles and other things to our home town.

Question: What were your Expectations/image about place this place?
Response: Here things are not easy but they didn't tell us about that. Some also say Accra is bad some too I wanted to come and see how Accra is for myself. Things are hard here. I want to go back but I also want to get some small money and go and open a provision store at our place. That is why I am still here.

Question: What motivated you to migrate from your town/village?
Response: I have been here [Accra] for the past 8 months. I wanted to come and see for myself how Accra is because I had heard so many things about Accra from people who returned from here to our hometown.

Question: How did you move out of your town/village?
Response: I came here by car. First I took a taxi from Namoo to Bolga and then a "Kufour Bus" [Man diesel 67 Seater buses operated by the Metro Mass Transit Company in Ghana]. These bases were introduced during the tenure of office of the former President of Ghana, John Agyekum Kufour. Hence the name Kufour Buses] to Accra. I paid 25,000 Cedis (GH¢2.50) from Namoo to Bolga and then 150, 000 Cedis (GH¢15) from Bolga to Accra.

Question: Who made it possible for you to move out of your village/town?
Response: When I wanted to come here both my mother and father didn't want me to come so I didn't ask them for money. She didn't tell me to come but the way she behaved. She said she didn't have money so I know that it was because she didn't want me to come, that was why she said that. As for my father I didn't mention it to him because I knew he would become angry with me. It was my sister who I asked for money and her husband gave her to be given to me. She is

married to a man from Bongo but they stay in Namoo.

Question: What processes did you go through in moving out of your village to this place?
Response: Where we live, if I want to travel you will not know, unless I tell you. I just dressed up and took my small bag and then I was at the lorry station and then just entered one of the taxis going to Bolga. We take car from the road side and my house is not far from the road.

Question: What challenges did you encounter in moving from your village to this place?
Response: We started from Bolga at about 3pm and got here at about 8am the following morning. I didn't get any problem because the car just came straight from Bolga to this place. But here I didn't have my brother's telephone number so I had to take taxi which I paid 15,000 Cedis to where they said he was but I didn't find him there and the taxi brought me back again for another 15,000 Cedis, but he was also here waiting for me. So it wasn't easy the day I got here. Again at first I was helping my brother when I came here first at Dansoman and then anytime we closed late and I wanted to come here thieves were always worrying me on the way. I am no longer there so it is better for me.

Last week the task for AMA [Accra city authorities] came and destroyed our structures and destroyed our things. I lost 700,000 Cedis (GH¢70) but there is nowhere I can go and complain to. They will arrest me, but I don't want to be arrested so I am keeping quite.

Question: Will you still want to move to another place, stay here or return to your origin and why?
Response: If I get a place which is better than Accra here I will go but if I don't get a place better, I will stay here and be doing small, small and then finally go back home. Accra here is difficult but if I didn't get a nice place I will stay here and when I make some small money I will go and open a provisions shop in my hometown and be selling there.

Question: Have you personally ever been involved in migration before moving to this place?
Response: I have been to Burkina before coming here. I spent only about one month there to visit our grandfather in a village call Garaso. I just heard Burkina so I wanted to go and know the place. So my mother gave me 300,000 Cedis (GH¢30) which I used ad lorry fare.

Question: Are there members of your family who have migrated before?
Response: My mother went and stayed in Burkina for a very long time before coming back to Namoo. I don't know why she went there and she has not also told me what she went to do at that place.

Question: What would you want to become in the future?
Response: I wanted to finish school and to become a nurse in future. Right now I am no more in school so it is no longer in my mind. I will like to go back to our hometown and do some business. I will like to sit with people who are already in business for them to advise me on the type of business. But I will like to be buying goats from Burkina and bringing them here [Accra] and then also buy bicycles to go and sell in our home town.

Question: Are you aware of organisations (District Assembly, Schools, Churches, NGOs, etc) whose activities affect you as a child migrant?
Response: I know that some people who have been helping people to go to school. I heard they were in Bongo [the district capital]. I hear self that our MP [Member of Parliament] was helping people to go to school, but I didn't go. I heard also that worldvision [and NGO] also help people but I didn't go because it is when your papers are good and up that they help but if they are not good how can they help?

Question: How do you manage to survive here as a child migrant?
Response: I am staying with my brother and helping him to sell khebab. Like it will be difficult for

me if my brothers were not here. Like I will not get a plays to sleep. I would have gone back if I didn't have my brother here.

Question: What do you do for a living here at your destination?
Response: I stay here at Avenor [near Nkrumah Circle] with a friend from our hometown and work with my brother [a distant relative from our hometown]. He stays at Madina but I stay here and then we work together. We sell khebab at a drinking spot. The market is sometimes good but sometimes also bad. If there is market, the work is good but if there is no market it is not good.

Question: How do you do what you do for a living?
Response: When I get up in the morning I take my bath and wait here until it is 11am. We don't sleep early and the work is such that if you go early there are no customers to come and buy. So you will just be wasting your time. I get to Madina at 1pm then if my brother buys the meat from the Madina market and brings, we start to cut it into small, small pieces and then we put it on sticks. I will then count the sticks and take a number of them that I will be able to sell and then he will also take his share. We will then roast it and begin to sell until customers are no longer coming, then we close. We usually close at 10 pm but during weekends and festive occasions, we close later than 10pm. The place where I sell is called Jerusalem Garden but my brother sells at American House all in Accra. I usually roast my khebab very well and that attracts customers to come and buy from me. Those who buy from me tell their friends and they also come to buy. I also behave nicely towards my customers and joke with them so they like me very much.
We don't have plenty money so we usually buy 350,000 Cedis (GH¢35) worth of meat for a day. If we had enough money we could be buying goats ourselves and kill which will give us more money.

Question: In which way (s) are you able to support your family back home?
Response: I send money to my mother that was in October this year, but for my father, no.

Question: How much money are you able to send home and how often do you send it?
Response: I sent 300,000 Cedis (GH¢30) to her in October, just last month. She told me that she and my father were fighting [having some misunderstanding] and if she asks for money from him he will not give. That was why I sent her that money.

Question: How are you supported here by your family?
Response: No they don't support me. I will rather send money to them. As for Groundnuts, I don't like, if I want some, my mother will send some to me.

Question: What do you think should be done for you to be able to access and continue your school education?
Response: The teachers in our town are not doing well. The teachers should be disciplined. They should not be drinking alcohol and be chasing the girls in the school. The officers from Bongo have been coming but I don't know what they have been doing to the teachers, because they are not changing.

Thank you for your time

Appendix 6b

Transcription of interview with Lamisi in Accra on Novemeber 22, 2011

Question: What can you tell me about your family?
Response: My mother is from Namoo but my father comes from Namoo Boku. I grew up with my mother at Namoo Boku. My family consist of my mother, 4 brothers and two of us girls. Our father is dead but we belong to an extended family. One of my uncles is the chief of Namoo presently and has two wives. I am the last, but one, of our mothers children.
My mother resides at Namoo Boku. She is old now and only does small compound farming.

Question: What is the nature of schools and level of education you attained?
Response: There is one public basic school in Namoo Boku. I stopped school at primary 4. After the death of my father because my mother didn't have money to buy my exercise books and school uniform and other school cost. I was 13 years old when I stopped school. I left Boku in 2008 to Kumasi.

Question: What was your source of information about this place?
Response: I first went to my sister at Kumasi (Moshie Zongo) but I didn't get work there so I went back to Boku before coming to Accra. I just wanted to work so I wanted any work to do in Kumasi but my sister couldn't find me any so I returned to Boku. I stayed in Kumasi for one year and then left. I told my sister I wanted to go to school but she told me that she didn't have money to send me to and take care of me in school there in Kumasi because in Kumasi they pay school fees. I was helping my mother small, small in Boku when I returned from Kumasi and stayed for one year with her.

Question: What were your expectations/image about this place?
Response: Because I wasn't doing anything at Boku I thought that I will be able to get work in Accra. I heard it was better and one could easily get a job to do so that was why I came to Accra.

Question: what motivated you to migrate from your town/village?
Response: I left Boku because I wanted to get work that I will be able to do and get money. I was only helping my mother small, small in Boku and I wasn't getting any money from the compound farming. Because I didn't complete school and not doing anything at Boku I wanted to be able to do work, get some money and help my mother back in Boku.

Question: How did you move out of your town/village?
Response: I walked on foot for about one hour (1hr) from Boku to Namoo town. Then at Nomoo town I took an Articulator truck that was carrying animals to Accra. I did not sit with animals but they put me in the front of the car where the driver is. I knew of a brother [a distant relative of the extended family] who was working with the driver of the truck. I told him that I wanted to travel to my brothers in Accra but I didn't have money, so he went and told the driver and then they agreed that they will bring me to Accra. Because of that, they didn't collect money [lorry fare] from me.

Question: Who made it possible for you to move out of your village/town?
Response: That our brother working with the truck help me a lot. He told the driver of the truck and they allowed me to sit and come with them to Accra. I didn't have money and they didn't collect any money from me. They bought food for me in the course of the journey, so I didn't feel hungry. Some of my friends tell me how they suffered to get to Accra but I didn't suffer at all because that our brother helped to come.

Question: Will you still want to move to another place, stay here or return to your origin and why?
Response: I am here because I need money. If I get money, I will go back to Boku and take care of my mother. But now I don't have money yet. I am leaning to become a Hairdresser and will be passing out next year (2012). If I pass out I will like to open my shop either here in Accra or Winneba where my brothers are. I will have liked to open my shop at Boku where my mother is but there the people are not plenty so I will not get market, but I need money to take care of my mother. That is why I want to open my shop here where I can get market and get money so that I can take care of my mother and myself.

Question: Have you personally ever been involved in migration before moving to this place?
Response: Like I said before, I went to Kumasi but I couldn't find any job there so I went back to Namoo Boku.

Question: Are there members of your family who have migrated before?
Response: Three of my brothers [my mother's children] are all here in Accra and Winneba. They are working here and are doing well. Our elder brother (Awudu) has a house here in Winneba and I am here because his wife has given birth and we named the child just yesterday. If he was in the village he will not be able to do all these.

Question: How did your personal migration experience influence your decision to migrate?
Response: I just wanted a place where I will get work to do and get money to help my mother. I am not in school because my mother didn't have money for me and if I continued to stay there I will not be doing anything too apart from the small, small farming. When I first went to Kumasi I was disappointed because I couldn't get any work to do there and so I didn't get any money. Maybe I should have come to Accra first, but I didn't know where my elder brothers were and I heard (from friends) that there was work in Kumasi. But that didn't help me at all.

Question: How did the migration experiences of members of your family influence your decision to migrate?
Response: Like I said, first I went to our sister in Kumasi but I didn't get any work there before I came here. But here in Accra it is good for me because my elder brothers said it is better to learn a work. So they sent me to one of our sister [a woman from Namoo] who has her own shop in Ashaiman where I am learning hairdressing work. I am looking for money to pass out so that I can open my own shop.

My brothers didn't ask me to come to Accra but when I came here they have been helping me. I am praying and hoping that they will help me to pass out and help me to get my own shop where I can do my work.

Question: What role (s) did members of your family play in your decision to migrate?
Response: Nobody told me to travel, but I was just thinking and not happy that I could not go to school and was at home with my mother and suffering. I told myself, why should I sit here and be suffering like this. If I go to Kumasi or Accra I can get some work to do and get money to help my mother. Because people have been going to Kumasi and Accra and they get work to do there. Our place here, there is no work and I was not also in school because my mother didn't have money to give me to buy exercise books and school uniforms.

Question: How did you, on your own, decide to migrate?
Response: I was staying with my mother alone in Boku, but life in Boku is difficult and I was not doing anything. Only small, small farm work on our compound so I told myself that why don't I come to Accra where I can get some work to do. Because I hear that there is work in Accra and my brothers are also there. Our first born is making khebab and selling in Accra. Maybe he can find me a job. Then I told my mother that I want to go to Accra so that I can find some work to do

there. When I told her she first agreed that it is true because I was not doing anything in Boku. But when I told that our brother [the one working with the articulator truck] and he agreed and then I told my mother the evening that I will be leaving the following day, she wept the whole night. She said I am her daughter and she loves me and she didn't want anything bad to happen to me. I was also weeping when my mother was weeping. I felt sad and sorry that my mother was weeping but I wasn't doing anything and didn't have money too in the village.

Finally, I gathered courage and begged her to stop crying and then I promised her that I will take care of myself and nothing will happen to me. So she stopped crying and then she prayed for me that God will take care of me. Even now, she is still praying for me

Question: What would you want to become in the future?
Response: When I was in school, I wanted to become a police woman in future but now, hmmm, I still want to be. If I can get someone to help me I will go back to school and then when I complete, I will be able to join the police. But if I don't get someone to help me I can no longer go to school.

Question: Are you aware of any institution(s) (laws, societal norms, etc) on migration both in your home village/town and your destination?
Response: I don't know of any law that say people should not travel and I don't also know anybody or organisation that can help me.

Question: How do you manage to survive here as a child migrant?
Response: I am learning hairdressing, so I am staying with my madam in her house. My sister [distant/extended family member] took me to her. She says she is her friend so she is taking good care of me like her sister or daughter. She charged me to pay 1.5 million cedis (GH¢150.00) for the three years of apprenticeship training. When I am in the shop I use my own money to buy food to eat and also buy whatever I want for myself.

Question: What do you do for a living here at your destination?
Response: Now I am learning hairdressing so that I will have my own handwork in the future but I also sell oranges so that I can make some small, small money for my pocket. I have off days [days that they are allowed to rest and not going to work for the trainer] so I sell oranges during my off days to get money for my personal use and to also save some towards my passing out.

Question: How do you do what you do for a living?
Rsponse: When I wake up in the morning, I fetch water from a standing pipe in the house into our water containers then I sweep the compound. Then I take my bath and go to the shop [saloon]. At the shop I sweep and clean the place and then when madam comes we start work.

I wash their hair and follow the instructions that madam asks me to do. Sometimes she will say I should bring the creams for her to apply but now she let me do the whole thing for the customers. But some customers do not want us, the apprentices, to do their hair. Only our madam will do their hair. For such customers we only look at how madam does it and when she wants something, she tells us and then we pick for her to use.
My madam is very good to me. She does not insult me. She threats me like her daughter or younger sister

Question: In which way (s) are you able to support your family back home?
Response: I don't have anything doing yet apart from selling the oranges but when any person who I know is going home and I have money I send some to her.

Question: How much money are you able to send home and how often do you send it?
Response: It depends, sometimes GH¢5, GH¢10, GH¢15 and GH¢20. The last time that I sent was GH¢15. I don't often send regularly, this year for instance I sent only once. That was the

GH¢15.

Question: How are you supported here by your family?
Response: My mother has not sent me anything. She doesn't have anything to send to me here. I am looking to get money and send to her. But I know is I tell her that I want groundnuts, she will send some to me but I have not asked her to send some to me.

Question: What do you think should be done for you to be able to access and continue your school education?
Response: I don't have anything and I will be happy if any person can help me to go back to school or help me establish my own shop.

Question: In which ways do you think you can contribute to the development of your home community?
Response: I know people in Boku do not have money, so in future is I have money I will help those who do not have money. I will pay the fees of children in school whose parents cannot get money to pay for them.

Thank you for your time

Appendix 6c

Transcription of an interview with Anabiisi in Accra on October 24, 2012

Question: Can you tell me a little about yourself and your family?
Response: My father and mother are alive and we are four (4) children in the family. I am 17 years old and the only boy and also the last born child in my family. The first three are females with the first born being 32 years old. Only the sister I come after is married and I am currently living with her and her husband. All my siblings (sisters) are not at home. The first two are in Kumasi and the one I come after is here in Accra. My father and mother are living alone at home

My father went to school up to MSLC but my mother never went to school. They are at home doing peasant farming. My father and mother are doing subsistence farming on less than 3 acres plot of land at home. My mother also does basket weaving to supplement the income of the family. My first two sisters are living and hustling in Kumasi. They are not married. The other sister that I come after is married and living here in Accra with her husband. She sells assorted drinks in a kiosk here in Accra and her husband sells Khebab at a drinking spot in town.

Question: What is the nature of schools in your village and level of education you attained?
Response: There are four (4) a Primary and a JHSs in Bongo. I was attending E.P JHS, which is a small school and there are not enough teachers in the school.

I was in school, JHS 1, when left the school to come here. I continued here and have completed JHS here in Accra. I am waiting to continue to the SSS here in Accra. I got admission to Bawku but my sister cannot support me there so I am waiting to attend one here in Accra. Here in Accra, I can go to school at the same time assist my sister and her husband with their work. In that case, I will not be a total liability on them. Going to Bawku will mean, not doing anything and I will not be able to get any person to give me money. That is why I am waiting to attend school here in Accra.

Question: What was your source of information about place of destination?
Response: It was my sister and her husband who told my father to let me come here and attend school and also be helping them small, small with their work. So my father also told me about it. I was already praying to get the chance to come here so I was happy about it.

Question: What were your expectations/image about this place?
Response: I was expecting that since here is a big town one can learn many things here than at home. There are good schools here with better facilities and accommodation than at home. I came here in July 2009 when I was 14 years old. Now I am 17 years and have completed JHS.

Question: What motivated you to migrate from your town/village?
Response: I want to be able to continue with my education here. The schools there are not good so I was happy to come here to get good schools to attend and to be able to continue my education.

Question: How did you move out of your town/village?
Response: I came here by public means of transport. I paid lorry fare of GH₵15 that my father gave me.

Question: Who made it possible for you to move out of your village/town?
Response: It was my father who called me and told me that my sister and her husband had asked me to come and live with them. It was he who gave me the lorry fare to come. There was a lady (an Auntie) from our village who lives in Accra. She was at home at the time my father told me to come so he (my father) told the lady to bring me to Accra. So I came with the woman.

Question: What processes did you go through in moving out of your village to this place?
Response: I took public Bus from Bolgatanga to Accra with fare given to me by my father.

Question: What challenges did you encounter in moving from your village/town to this place?
Response: I did not encounter any problem when we were coming here. It was the woman who bought food for me to eat when we were coming. So I did not face any problem when I was coming here.

Question: Will you still want to move to another place, stay here or return to your origin and why?
Response: I will like to stay here because I want to be able to continue with my education (schooling). If I go to another place, I don't think I will be able to continue with my schooling.

Question: Have you personally ever been involved in migration before moving to this place?
Response: No. This is the only place that I have travelled to. I was in school when I was at home and so I could not travel to any place.

Question: Are there members of your family who have migrated before?
Response: My father said he travelled to Accra to work sometime back (when he was young). All my sisters are not at home. Two (2) are in Kumasi and the last one is here in Accra with her husband.

Question: How did the migration experiences of members of your family influence your decision to migrate?
Response: It was my sister and her husband who asked me to come and my father gave me lorry fare to come. I followed my Auntie to come here because she is already living here in Accra.

Question: What would you want to become in the future?
Response: I will like to become an Accountant

Question: In which way (s) has your school education been affected by your involvement in migration?
Response: It has helped me a lot because my sister helps me to buy books, school uniforms and everything I need to go to school. There are good facilities here like Computers, textbooks, teachers and the teachers here teach more than those in our village

Question: How will you be able to realize your school education dreams?
Response: By learning hard.

Question: Are you aware of any institution(s) (laws, societal norms, etc) on migration both in your home village/town and your destination?
Response: What I know is that if you are a small boy/girl and you want to travel, you have to travel with and adult. You cannot travel alone.

Question: How did/does the institution(s) (laws, societal norms, etc) help or make it difficult for you to migrate?
Response: Because i was travelling with my Auntie, they police did not ask me anything

Question: Are you aware of organisations (District Assembly, Schools, Churches, NGOs, etc) whose activities affect you as a child migrant?
Response: No
Question: How do you manage to survive here as a child migrant?
Response: I am living and helping my sister and her husband

Question: What do you do for a living here at your destination?
Response: My sister sells drinks in a container kiosk and her husband sells khebab in town. So I help them when I return from school to sell

Question: In which way (s) are you able to support your family back home?
Response: I don't support them. It is my sister who sends money to my parents

Question: How much money are you able to send home and how often do you send it?
Response: She sends between GH¢ 60 and GH¢100 to them when they ask for money

Question: In which ways do you think you can contribute to the development of your home community?
Response: It is because our parents are poor that is why we are here. If our parents can be helped to get work to do at home we will stay there with them and go to school.

Thank you for your time

Appendix 6d

Transcription of an interview with Adalooro in Accra on October 24, 2012. Adalooro is from Zorkor Tarongo and was 16 year old and in JHS 2

Question: Can you tell me a little about yourself and your family?
Response: I am the only child of the family. My grandfathers, uncles, aunties are also there. My mother was a dressmaker but now she is dead in February 2011. My father sells wood in the market here in Accra. He doesn't stay in our village. He has been here (at Timber market in Accra) for about 3 years. Before I came here, I was staying with my Auntie at the village. My mother was living in Oda as a Seamstress. She fell sick and was sent to our home and she died there (our home town).

Question: What is the nature of schools and level of education you attained?
Response: There were 8 teachers with the headmaster
I left in JHS 1. But before then I was in Oda up to P4 before I went to our hometown. We were about 45 in our class

Question: What was the source of information about this place?
Response: It is my auntie who told me about this place. When she came there she told me she will bring me here.

Question: What were your expectations/image about this place?
Response: I was thinking that I will come and attend school here.

Question: What motivated you to migrate from your town/village?
Response: When she told me that she wanted to bring me here to attend school. That was why i followed her and came here. I was happy because I will be able to come and stay with her here and attend school. When i was there (at home) I was going to school but not everyday. I was going to the farm and also helping my mother with her sewing work.

Question: Who made it possible for you to move out of your village/town?
Response: It was my Auntie who brought me here. When i was in our home town and my auntie came and said she wanted to bring me here to attend school, the other auntie I was staying with agreed that I school follow here and come here. She was working with ZoomLion (a Sanitation company in Ghana) and so she didn't give me anything. She didn't have money to give me to come.

It was my Auntie (the one I am staying with here) who paid all my expenses to come here. She came there (our home town) and when she was coming back I came with her to this place. My father was staying here in Accra when I wanted to come. He didn't say anything that I should not come.

Question: What processes did you go through in moving out of your village to this place?
Response: We came here in a lorry. The one we use to go to our home town (public Bus). We took taxi to Bolga (Bolgatanga) and then from Bolga we took Kufour bus (Metro Mass Transport busses) to Accra I don't know how much my auntie paid I was just following her and she paid everything for us.
I am 16 years old now and I am one (1) year old here, since I came.

Question: What challenges did you encounter in moving from your village to this place?
Response: We spent two (2) days to come here. In the car I was not feeling comfortable. I got a seat but it was small for me. My auntie bought a seat for me but i was not comfortable. There were some big women that I was sitting with and they were pushing me. I didn't feel comfortable

at all.
Question: Will you still want to move to another place, stay here or return to your origin and why?
Response: I want to stay here and finish my schooling. I came since 2011 and want to stay until I finish my schooling here.

Question: Have you personally ever been involved in migration before moving to this place?
Response: Before I came here I have been to Kumasi, Obuasi and Oda too. I was staying with my mother at Oda. There, I don't know how many years but my mummy told me that I was 10 years. Then in Obuasi with one of my Auntie's daughter. I was there for about two (2) weeks in Obuasi. In Kumasi, it was one of my aunties who was there, so I stayed with her. I was attending school there (Kumasi) at SDA Primary school at SoldierLine. I was there from P3 to P4, then I left. I was coming to Accra during vacation and then schools reopen I will go back to our home town.

Question: Are there members of your family who have migrated before?
Response: My mother's friend who sells pito (local alcoholic beverage) in the village was helping me small, small. Sometimes when I didn't have money she will give me to go and buy food in school. Sometimes too, she will buy exercise books and pens for me.

Question: How did the migration experiences of members of your family influence your decision to migrate?
Response: It was my auntie that I followed and came here because she is already living here.

Question: What would you want to become in the future?
Response: I am attending JHS here at READS (REEDs JHS). Before they accepted me I was asked to read a passage before they accepted me. I didn't write exams I only read and they said it was ok.

I am now in JHS 2 and I understanding what they are teaching us in school. Sometimes when I first came it was difficult small for me but know it is no more a problem for me. I can now speak the Fante (local language taught as a subject) so it is not like at first.
I want to be a doctor in future. I will learn hard to become a doctor in future.

Question: In which way is your school education affected by your involvement in migration?
Response: There are all the same. When I was there (home town) we were learning 8 subjects but here we are learning 10 subjects. I am better here. There they were teaching but here they are teaching us more. Sometimes when you don't something here, the teachers will let you come to them when they are free for them to teach you, but it was not like that when I was at home. Sometimes when we have free period, they will come and teach us, so here is better because at home some of the teachers were not coming to teach us.

Question: How will you be able to realize your school education dreams?
Response: I will learn hard.

Question: Are you aware of any institution(s) (laws, societal norms, etc) on migration both in your home village/town and your destination?
Response: No

Question: Are you aware of organisations (District Assembly, Schools, Churches, NGOs, etc) whose activities affect you as a child migrant?
Response: There is no help. When we were there (home) sometimes it rained and there was flood so we were sleeping in our school, so the MP (Member of Parliament) came there and gave us some blankets and cement to build our house. Our MP is called Albert Abongo. That was in 2008.

Question: How do you manage to survive here as a child migrant?
Response: Here I go to school. When I close from school sometimes they send me to the market to buy things and sometimes I cook. They send me to bus things like foodstuffs to cook in the house. I also wash bowls and clothing at the weekend. I also sweep the compound.

Question: What do you do for a living here at your destination?
Response: I get up at 5:00 am, I go to bath and sweep the room and go to school. When we close from school at 2:00pm and I come home I ask what they want me to do and then I do it for them. Then I will read my books. When we finish cooking in the evening I will read again and then I will sweep the room. If I finish sweeping the room I will take my bath and sleep. I am sleeping with my auntie and her husband. They sleep in their room and then I sleep in the hall.

Question: In which way (s) are you able to support your family back home?
Response: I can't support them. I am in school. It is my auntie who is looking after me here.

Question: How are you supported here by your family?
Response: If i want something and I ask my father he sends it to me. He sends me money so that my auntie can pay my school fees and he also buy books and school uniform for me. Sometimes I buy the sandals by myself. Sometimes if my auntie gives me money to go to school I don't spend all in school. So when I see that my sandals are dying then i will use some to buy it.
My father sometimes send GH¢30 and sometimes too GH¢100
Apart from my father and auntie, my auntie's friends and co tenants also helps me small small. When my auntie is not there and I need something she will give me or give me money to go and buy what I need.

Question: In which ways do you think you can contribute to the development of your home community?
Response: I am happy that I am here. I am in JHS 2 now. I will finish next year. I want to go to BOGIS when I complete here. I want to go there because of the school fees. My father will pay but he will not get the money for me. Bogis is (Bolgatanga Girls SHS located in the regional capital of the UER, Bolgatanga. SHSs in northern Ghana do not charge parents or students to pay fees. It is the central government that pays tuition and feeding grants of students. As Diana originates from the north, she will not pay fees if she admitted at BOGIS, so it is not surprising that she wants to further her SHS education at BOGIS.

Thank you for your time

Appendix 6e

Transcription of an interview with Badabatu in her house at Namoo on December 12, 2011

Question: What is your level of education? Or can you tell me about your level of education?
Response: I am in JHS 2 and 17 years old. I travelled to Kumasi Zongo and was selling Kenkey.

Question: How did you get the source of information about the place of destination?
Response: From my auntie who lives in Kumasi.

Question: What were your expectations about the place of destination?
Response: That Kumasi is a big place where I could easily get work to do and get plenty of money.

Question: What motivated you to migrate from your town/village?
Response: I was not doing anything here and I didn't also know where I will be able to get money when school reopens. But I heard from my auntie and some of my colleagues in school that you could work and get money in Kumasi. So I wanted to go there and also work and get the money to buy the things I need in school. When you are in school other people will be having money to buy food during break time and also have nice bags and uniforms and you will not have anything.

Question: How did you move out of your town/village?
Response: I went to the road side and took a taxi to Bolga and then I entered Kufour bus to Kumasi.

Question: Who made it possible for you to move out of your village/town?
Response: My mother gave me GH¢10 and that was what I used to pay for my lorry fare.

Question: What processes did you go through in moving out of your village to this place?
Response: I took taxi from Namoo to Bolga and then from Bolga I took a Kufour bus to Kumasi. We left Bolga in the evening and by 4 in the morning we were in Kumasi. I called my auntie on her mobile [cell phone] and told her that we were leaving Bolga and when we got to Kumasi I called her again then she told me to stay at the station until it was daybreak. She said it was not good for her to come and take me at that time. So I waited until she came to the lorry station to take me to her place at about 6am.

Question: What challenges did you encounter in moving from your village/town to this place?
Response: I didn't face any problem but I was feeling sleepy when I was waiting for her at the lorry station but I could not sleep because I was afraid someone would harm me.

Question: Will you still want to move to another place, stay here or return to your origin and why?
Response: I will like to go every long vacation because when I go I will be able to get some money and use to buy the things I want in school.

Question: Have you personally ever been involved in migration before moving to this place?
Response: No, I had never travelled before.

Question: Are there members of your family who have migrated before?
Response: My auntie is staying in Kumasi with her husband.

Question: How did the migration experiences of members of your family influence your decision

to migrate?
Response: Anytime my auntie comes to the house, she looks different from the women here and she always has money and nice things to wear. She said when I finish school she will take me to her place in Kumasi.

Question: What role (s) did members of your family play in your decision to migrate?
Response: They help me when I wanted to travel.

Question: Which family members played what roles and how did they play those roles in your decision to migrate?
Response: When I told my auntie I wanted to come to her place during the vacation she agreed that I should come and then my mother gave me GH¢10 to make lorry fare.

Question: How did you, on your own, decide to migrate?
Response: I was thinking that Kumasi will be better than here [Namoo] and I will get work to do there and get my own money so that I can also buy what I want in school.

Question: What would you want to become in the future?
Response: A nurse

Question: In which way (s) has your school education been affected by your involvement in migration?
*Response:*I was not getting time to learn when I was there but in class some of my colleagues who did not travel do better than me in some subjects and I also do better than some of them.

Question: How will you be able to realize your school education dreams?
Response: I have to learn hard

Question: Are you aware of any institution(s) (laws, societal norms, etc) on migration both in your home village/town and your destination?
Response: No

Question: How do you manage to survive here as a child migrant?
Response: I was selling food

Question: What do you do for a living here at your destination?
Response: I was selling Kenkey.

Question: How do you do what you do for a living?
Response: I was starting at 6 in the morning and we will close at 6 in the evening. When we start at 6 in the morning we will sweep the place and then wrap the balls with the leaves [dried maize ear wings]. The madam was making the balls and we were wrapping with the leaves after which we will boil it in a big cooking pot and then when it is dawn, we will sell. We were selling to people who will eat there and also to those who wanted to take away. I was given GH¢ 2 a day, but I wasn't keeping it. The woman agreed with my auntie that she keep it and give it to me when I was to leave. So when I wanted to go, she gave me GH¢ 70 and my auntie also added GH¢30. So I got GH¢ 100.

The Zongo boys are very bad so my auntie was not allowing me to go out in the night. She said they could beat me up and even rape me. So I was always afraid to go out alone.

Question: In which way (s) are you able to support your family back home?
Response: I didn't have money when I was there

Question: How are you supported here by your family?

Response: It was my auntie who was taking care of me there. I was sleeping and eating and doing everything in her house. That is my auntie so she can't refuse to take care of me.

Question: What do you think should be done for you to be able to access and continue your school education?
Response: I f I can get someone to be taking care of me. My parents don't have anything so they cannot give me money to buy what I need in school.

Question: In which ways do you think you can contribute to the development of your home community?
Response: That is when I finish school and I get work and money but for now I cannot do anything.

Thank you for your time

Appendix 6f

Transcript of interview with Monasore in her house at Namoo on December 7, 2011. Monasore was still in school in Namoo but travelled to Ejisu, near Kumasi during end of year school holidays.

Question: Can you tell me about yourself and your level of education?
Response: I am in JHS 2 and 17 years old. I travelled to Ejisu, near Kumasi this year.

Question: Source of information about place of destination
Response: From my school mates. We all went together.

Question: What were you expecting about the place where you are now?
Response: That I will be able to get work to do and get some money for myself.

Question: What motivated you to migrate from your town/village?
Response: I wanted to get money and use when school reopen.

Question: How did you move out of your town/village?
Response: I went with my friends to Yeliwongo [a border town in Burkina Faso] and took a car from that place. When I was going I didn't take a bag because my parents will suspect, so I just went like that without a bag. It was when we got to Kumasi that I bought folks [used clothes] from Kajetia. That was what I was wearing in Kumasi.

Question: Who made it possible for you to move out of your village/town?
Response: I travelled with my colleagues. When I first told my mother she said I should not travel but later she said I should go. As for my father, he will not agree. That was why I had to hide and go to Yeliwongu market to take a car from there.

Question: What challenges did you encounter in moving from your village/town to this place?
Response: We didn't face any problem

Question: Will you still want to move to another place, stay here or return to your origin and why?
Response: I will like to always go back there because the woman I worked for treated me very well. We were sleeping in her house and she asked her son who is a teacher to be teaching us anytime we were not working. She bought exercise books for us and the son was teaching Twi and Social Studies. So when I write my BECE I will go back and be working there. I will come only when my results are out and I pass to go to school. She said she will find a school for me to go if I write my BECE exams. I have her telephone number here and I have been calling her.

Question: Have you personally ever been involved in migration before moving to this place?
Response: No, I didn't know there before. I went with my friends who knew Kumasi

Question: Are there members of your family who have migrated before?
Response: Yes, but I didn't tell anybody in my family that I was going to travel. It was only my mother that I told.

Question: What role (s) did members of your family play in your decision to migrate?
Response: I told only my mother that I was going to travel.

Question: Which family members played what roles and how did they play those roles in your decision to migrate?

Response: It was only my mother that I told that I wanted to travel and she said no, but later on she agreed for me to go. If my father heard that I was going to travel he will not have agreed for me to travel. That was why I didn't let him know.

Question: How did members of your home community influence your decision to migrate?
Response: I didn't tell anybody in the town. Only those my friends who I was going with knew. We were many.

Question: How did you, on your own, decide to migrate?
Response: My parents didn't give me money to go. I got my own money. Anytime I was going to school and they gave me money to buy food in school I will make sure that I did not spend all of it. I was putting part of it down and that was what I used to travel to Kumasi.

Question: What would you want to become in the future?
Response: I want to be a Doctor

Question: In which way (s) has your school education been affected by your involvement in migration?
Response: When I was there the woman made her son, who is a teacher, to be teaching us in the house. She also bought exercise books for us. So I was learning small, small. She even said she will help get a school for me if I write my BECE.

Question: How will you be able to realize your school education dreams?
Response: I will have to learn

Question: Are you aware of any institution(s) (laws, societal norms, etc) on migration both in your home village/town and your destination?
Response: No, I don't know of any law like that

Question: How do you manage to survive here as a child migrant?
Response: I was working there

Question: What do you do for a living here at your destination?
Response: I was selling food and washing bowls

Question: How do you do what you do for a living?
Response: When we wake up in the morning at 5, we will go and fetch water from the standing pipe and fill the containers. Then we will sweep and arrange the tables and chairs. Then I will help in the preparation of the soup. I wasn't cooking the banku or fufu. Some men were pounding the Fufu and other women making the Banku. After that we will go and bath and then come back and be selling the food. The house is just by the chop bar so we were not going far. We will close at 5 in the evening and then fetch water again before bathing then the teacher will also call us and then be teaching us.

I worked for one month and got GH¢60 because I was paid GH¢2 a day. But we were not buying food and we were also sleeping in the house of the woman. Her name is MameKokor [Coloured Mother]. I used some of the money to buy my sandals, school uniform and I bring some to school to buy food during break time.

Question: In which way (s) are you able to support your family back home?
Response: I was not sending any money home. She was not giving the money to us everyday. She gave it to us when we were coming back after the vacation.

Question: How much money are you able to send home and how often do you send it?

Question: How are you supported here by your family?
Response: My family is not supporting me

Question: What do you think should be done for you to be able to access and continue your school education?
Response: If I can get some help

Question: In which ways do you think you can contribute to the development of your home community?
Response: I cannot do anything, but I think if they can help us and make this place also like the south is we will not be going there again.

Thank you for your time

Appendix 6g

Transcript of an interview with Dolanire in his house at Feo in Bongo district on December 1, 2011

Question: What is the nature of schools in your town and the level of education you obtained?
Response: There is one Primary and JHS in NamooBoku. The teachers sometimes cane us in school. Not that it is very bad but sometimes they cane all of us when in actual fact some of us have not done anything wrong. Sometimes only one or few people will do something wrong in the class and they will just cane everybody in the class. That is what I don't like. We don't all have all the textbooks so we are paired, a number of students (2 or 3) to one textbook. That is why we cannot read all the time because the books are not enough.

I am in JHS 2. I will be 18 years old on the 19th of this month. I travelled to Koforidua New Site close to Nsuta. That time I was 16 years old. I stayed for one year and I was mining gold. We were not mining on our own but we were working for someone.

Question: How did you get the source of information about the place of destination?
Response: One of my friends from this village is staying there and working so I called him one day and then he said I should come there. That if I come there I will get some work to do and to get money for my schooling.

Questions: What were your expectations about the place of destination?
Response: That I will be able to get work to do and gat money to take care of myself.

Questions: What motivated you to migrate from your village?
Response: I went to Koforidua New Site to look for money to feed myself and to be able to go to school.

Questions: How did you move out of your town/village?
Response: I went by bicycle to Namoo then I entered an Urvan bus to Bongo and then to Bolga where I took a bus to Accra.

Questions: Who made it possible for you to move out of your village/town?
Response: I did everything by myself. Nobody helped me to travel from here.

Question: What processes did you go through in moving out of your town/village to this place?
Response: At that time I was having some goats here so I sold some of the goats and used the money as lorry fare to that place. When I sold the goats I got 250,000 cedis (GH₵25) so that was what I used to fare myself. From Bolga I went to Accra and then took another bus from the Neoplan Station. My friend told me to stop at a place called Nsuta junction. So that was where I stopped and then called him on his mobile phone. So he came and then we took a taxi to the place where we were staying.

It was a long journey. We started from Bolga in the evening and travelled throughout the night and got to Accra the following day's morning. Then I continued and got there after 3 in the afternoon.

Question: What challenges did you encounter in moving from your village/town to this place?
Response: I was tired for sitting in the bus for a very long time. And also because I didn't know there and was travelling alone I was afraid that I may get lost. So when I got to Accra I had to call him for him to tell me which station I should go and take the bus. I also told the driver from Accra that I didn't know the place that I was going to and so he should tell me when we get there. I told him [the driver] that the name of the place is called Nsuta Junction. So when we got there he told me that that was the place so I came down from the bus and then called my friend again to tell him that I had reached the place.

Question: Why did you continue to migrate in spite of the challenges you faced and still facing now?
Response: I didn't stop because I wanted to get what I want in life. To get money and be able to take care of myself and my mother and father in the house.

Question: Will you still want to move to another place, stay here or return to your origin and why?
Response: I have come back because of school. When I was there, I saw how people who have gone to school are working in big, big places and paid big salaries. Some of them (those I was free with) advised me that I am young, so I should go to school first. That when I complete school and have my qualification, I will be able to get a good job and get money for myself and my parents because the work I was doing (galamsay) has no future. So I decided to come back home and to continue my education. I didn't go to school there because school fees is very high there and I had no one to take care of me to go to school there. When I finish school and pass to go to SSS fine, but if I am not able to go (to SSS), then I will go back to the place.

Question: Have you personally ever been involved in migration before moving to this place?
Response: No

Question: Are there members of your family who have migrated before?
Response: No

Question: What role (s) did members of your family play in your decision to migrate?
Response: I told them that I wanted to travel and they agreed that I should go

Question: Which family members played what roles and how did they play those roles in your decision to migrate?
Response: My father said that I can go but when I am there I should take proper care of myself. That I should not be following girls and that I should not make friends with bad boys.

Question: How did you, on your own, decide to migrate?
Response: I discussed it with my friend who is there and he asked me to come there

Question: In which way (s) has your school education been affected by your involvement in migration?
Response: We were closing from the mine at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. So from work, I will come home and bath and take my pamphlet and start reading. That is how I was learning over there.

Question: How will you be able to realize your school education dreams?
Response: By learning hard to pass my exams and praying that I will get someone to help take care of me to continue to go to school

Question: How do you manage to survive here as a child migrant?
Response: By doing hard work

Question: What do you do for a living here at your destination?
Response: I was doing "Galamsey Mining" [illegal gold mining]

Question: How do you do what you do for a living?
Response: When we wake up in the morning we will bath and take taxi to the mining site. There machines were digging and crushing the rocks. Then we will collect the crushed rocks and then wash them to sort the gold out from the rocks. We were also using head pans to carry the

crushed rocks from the place where it was crushed or ground to the place where the washing was done, and that was very hard and tiring.

We were working at the place where the machines were and it was very dangerous because the machines could hurt you if you are not careful. We were using shovels and if you are not careful you can be hurt. There is a machine that pumps water from the river to the point where the washing is done and at times we were asked to go into the water to fix or direct the intake (the part of the pipe of the machine which draws the water). That was very dangerous because if you were not careful you could be hurt.

I was not paid but was given money [commission] depending on the amount of gold I was able to wash in a day. So the money was not fixed. I could get between GH¢ 5 and GH¢ 20 a day. I stayed there for one year and when I was coming I got GH¢ 600.

We were having our leaders. They called them Gang Leaders. They were those who will collect the money from our boss and share it among us so anytime they were sharing they will make sure they get more money and then we will get small, small money. The gang leaders were those who were cheating us not our boss.

Question: In which way (s) are you able to support your family back home?
Question: How much money are you able to send home and how often do you send it?
Response: I didn't send any money home because I was saving to be able to bring the money when I am coming. But when I came back, I gave some to my father to buy roofing sheets to roof some rooms in our house. They (my parents) were very happy when I showed them the money I came home with. I am using the rest of the money to buy my school items and also pocket money to buy food during break time

Question: How are you supported here by your family?
Response: No one was supporting me there.

Question: What do you think should be done for you to be able to access and continue your school education?
Response: If I can get someone to help to take care of me here it will be good
Question: In which ways do you think you can contribute to the development of your home community?

Thank you for your time

Appendix 6h

Transcription of Interview with Mr. Anthony Atanga in his house at Namoo on November 10, 2011

Question: How is your family and what do you do for a living?
Response: I am Anthony Atanga but popularly, they call me Tony. I was the f Assembly Member and I have been working with the Bongo District Assembly as a revenue collector for the Assembly. I have been doing that since 1988. I have been to school, up to Middle School. Our time it was difficult to go to the college or secondary school. If the Local Council didn't pay for you, you couldn't go to school, because our fathers didn't know how to pay school fees. The distance was also an issue, moving from here to get to Zuarungu [a community near Bolga, about 10 km from Namoo] to attend Middle school, it was terrible. But we will count ourselves lucky because at least the little English you understand is ok [enough] for me to interact with people.

My family is large anyway. Roughly we are getting to thirty (30). I had four (4) wives but one died so at the moment I have three (3). The children are around fifteen (15). My first wife has 3 children, the second wife six (6), the third wife has 2 and the fourth (late) wife had three (3).

Apart from being a revenue collector, I do farming and then (ehh) animal rearing. I don't do commercial farming. I farm for our domestic consumption. I do [cultivate] corn, early millet, late millet, groundnuts and beans. Yes that is what I do.
My first wife was a porridge (koko) seller [she is no longer working actively. She is at home and does little compound farming on the husband's compound]. My second wife too sells 'pure' [sachet] water and the third wife cooks food in the [Namoo] market.
I have another fourth with. She doesn't do anything. She was in school [SSS] by then she just completed.

The main economic activities of this area are our farming, what we derive from farming. Few people do mechanical farming and the rest do the normal farming, which is by using bullocks and then others use tractors. But those who use tractors are not many, but those who use the bollocks, they are many.

The people here grow corn, millet (early and late millet). They also grow beans, groundnuts, ground beans, sweet potatoes, and local potatoes (the black and small one not the European type of potatoes). Those are the main crops they cultivate.

We also have few traders among them, some they trade in yams, others, many of the youth, they trade in these second hand bicycles. Others too, the women, some of them sell clothing. But mostly, some of them do this rice parboiling, others do malt processing for Pito [a local alcoholic beverage]. Those are the main economic activities in this area. Those who sell the yams go to buy them from Kintampo to come and sell but we don't cultivate yam here. With animal husbandry, they do that. Some rare sheep and goats, others cattle.

I do not use tractor but bullocks in farming. We do around the house farming. We don't go to the bush and farm, so at times even to get the land to do enough farming, you wouldn't get the land. [You are limited to the plot of land that is around your house].

This year I harvested about nine (9) bags of corn but the millet, we have not yet thrashed it so you will not know the quantity and the groundnuts I think 12 bags or so but the peas, they are not much.

They help to keep the family, let's say if I run short of something and they have, they help. Yes, apart from Abdulai, I have two daughters who are in Accra at the moment. They are both married but the senior came home just recently and I have a son in either the Eastern or Volta region (around Akosombo side, that is why I said Eastern or Volta region) [Akosombo is in the Eastern region of Ghana but not Volta]. Another one [daughter] is married in Bolga (she just passed here into the house some few minutes ago I thought you saw her). My most senior girl

[daughter] too is married in Burkina [Burkina Faso].

Question: Why do you think your son left this village/town?
Response: The shortest answer is poverty. People cannot make ends meet, for that the children are somehow, they are not fed properly so because of that they will like to travel outside to see if they can get whatever they will get. Apart from poverty, there is no other reason why children travel out of this place. To me it is because of the poverty, because apart from that what do the children do? They don't do anything so when some of them, they go to school, when they finish JHS and want to go to secondary school (SHS) their parents cannot afford. So some even go and search for whatever they can get. So the poverty is the main problem. I don't see any other problem.

Question: How did your son leave your town/place?
Response: They are lucky now. There are so many bicycles, so anywhere they want to go they use bicycles. Now motors too are available. Their brothers have motors so anywhere they want to go they use motors and their brothers have motors so they use mostly motors and bicycle, but they use mainly bicycles.
They mainly travel to Accra and Kumasi. They get there because, you know these people who sell livestock, sometimes they beg them and they allow them to go with them.

Question: Why did you allow your son to go in spite of the challenges involved?
Response: I was aware that my son, Abudu, was going to travel to Accra. You know he was in JSS and when he wrote he couldn't make it so I asked him to repeat and when he repeated he couldn't make it so I wanted him to be a motor mechanic. So I gave him to somebody to learn and he said he was not willing to learn, in Burkina, so he was not willing to learn. The only thing he told me was that he was going to Accra to learn and I said ok, if you know you will continue learning then you can go.

I heard when he went he learnt small and left it and he is now selling Khebab or what is it. He said he was finding it difficult; that was why he left/stopped the motor mechanic work. I heard he was finding it difficult, something that can bring the upkeep. You know, it is only when you go to a learning place that if your master is good he will give you food but when you come home what do you do? That one is difficult.

Question: What role did you play in the decision of your son to leave this village/town?
Response: Initially I didn't agree. I didn't just want him to go. So the first time he went, he almost dodged me and went. It was only the last time he came and then I said, well, that is his field, so anytime he wants to go and tells me I say ok.
The mother, they only rely on me in whatever I do because I pay for everything, I do everything, and so whatever I do that is what they follow. When he was going the first time I didn't give him money to go (he dodged me) so I didn't know, but later on I learnt he followed the cattle people and went.

Question: Have you or any member of your family been involved in migration in the past?
Response: Two of his elder sisters are there in Accra and one boy is schooling in Akosombo, one in Bolga and the other in Gwouri SHS. Apart from that all his younger brothers and sisters are all here [at home in Namoo].
I don't know the age of Abdulai off hand, the number, if I don't refer to their birth certificate, I can't remember it.

Question: How did that involvement influence the decision of your son to migrate?
Response: The sisters are there (Accra) with him, maybe that was why he thought he could stay there too. Maybe if he has a problem they may be able to help him. He didn't tell me, but I am just trying to imagine for him.

No, none of my children travelled early. They didn't influence Abudu to travel. Apart from

that boy I put in school in Kumasi, the rest of them were grown before travelling. The one I said is in the Eastern region, he went to Bawku Technical Institute. He was doing this Auto Mechanic Engineering. When he was in form 2, he became sick and came home and treated himself. It took him a long time so he left school. So he was here until 2003-2005 then he left. He is married so he went outside. None of them went down south early. It is rather Abdulai's group. They went to south early, because I don't know what happened, when they decide to do something, they will do it without your notice. I am somebody who doesn't force children. If you tell me you want to do this I will tell you not to do it, but if you insist, it will not force you.

Question: How far did you want your son to go in his school education?
Response: I wanted him to, at times not exactly. When you send someone to school, it depends on stages. I am saying this because if he is not able to make it to the highest level, then you don't think of something for him. It is only when he moves from first step to second step, then you tell him you want this, then the third step, then you tell him you want this. So I was only praying that he will be able to make it through to maybe the SHS.

If he had gone to SHS then I will tell him ok take this course, you do this. It depends on the subject he is doing. Where he is good, that is where will ask him to do. He may be good in Science, so you allow him to do science. If he is not good in science how will you force him to do it? To me I always wait till they get to the stages. Right now I have a son in Tamale Secondary school, he is doing Science. He is good in the Science so I said should do Science. There is one too in Gouri SSS, he is doing Arts. There is one, he is at Bortech, he is doing business and I have one too, he is in the Volta region [Akosombo]. He is doing business, but he is a footballer, he is in one of the football Academies in Volta region. They travelled to Australia this year and came back.

Question: How has the education of your son been affected by his involvement in migration?
Response: If you study the children, you will know. Abudu is someone who is weak in learning, so I can even say that you can repeat him 10 times, he wouldn't qualify because he hasn't got that mind of studying. So if he had gone to learn handwork (technical work) it would have been better. So all along I was praying that if he had qualified then he should go and do technical that one will be better.

He said he was interested in motor mechanic, but later on he abandoned it, and he is growing. He now wants money quickly. His interest is now in business. He goes to buy bicycles to sell and when they finish he goes again to buy

The travel has not affected his education. He completed JHS here and didn't do well, so I asked him to register again and he did, but he still did not pass. I was expecting that he will go to a technical school and do a mechanics there but his grades could not get him admission there. He is weak academically so I think the technical side will be better for him. When he couldn't pass, I sent him to Burkina Faso (to a relative there) to learn fitting. That was what he said he wanted to do but he refused to stay there and came back. Latter he told me he wanted to go and learn the fitting in Accra and went. I hear now, he has stopped that one too and is selling Khebab and now bicycles, I see that he is more interested in business and not schooling.

Question: How do institutions (societal norms, laws and school system) in your area promote or constrain the migration of your child/children?
Response: There are no laws like that here. There are only laws against maybe the type of things you do. In other sections they taboo taking this, that, that, that but travelling, no.

Question: How do organisations (District Assembly, Schools, Churches, NGOs, etc) in your area promote or constrain the migration of your child/children?
Response: I don't think they have something doing about their travelling because, let me say it is democracy, whatever you want to do you can do. So no church member will come and say don't travel or don't do this, or the mosque. No. If he will do it he will do it to his own son but not to go publicly to say that.

Question: How is your son coping at his current place of residence?
Response: I don't know what he is doing there. He told me he wanted to learn [apprenticeship] auto mechanics there but I hear he is now selling Khebab there]. No, because he just came a few days ago. I haven't had time to sit with him yet. When he came and just greeted me he told me he has brought bicycles anyway.

He has been in Accra two years now but I am not aware how he is coping there because he never rang [telephone call] me and I don't have his number. When I asked him he said he misplaced my number and didn't know how to get it, but that is a lie because if he had gone to the sisters they will have given him my number.

I am somebody who doesn't always want to feel that my child should be here or there, no. I feel that wherever you are and you feel that you are ok, I feel you should be there because if I say I don't like it where will I put you? He has no skill, he has nothing, so if I say don't stay in Accra then where will I put him? He will be roaming here idling, so I will rather prefer if he is there doing something and can support himself. So that is it. Wherever you want to be and feel you are ok, I support.

No, I don't send money to him. Look at my age and look at how the children are growing, where will I be getting money and be sending to him. They will rather be looking for money and be sending to me, not me to send money to them. Oh, no. where am I going to get money from?

Question: How does your child remit you and the family?
Response: No, he does not send anything to me. I am satisfied, if he is only there and taking care of himself, fine and he doesn't even send me money it is alright.
For the mother, I have not asked her if he has ever supported her, but he may support the mother and the mother may never tell me. If she knows he has not given me anything, she will not tell me, so I wouldn't know.

Question: What, in your opinion, could be done to make your son access school education?
Response: We have that problem all over, not only here [Namoo]. They are not teaching well but what can you do. There may be enough teachers in the schools, but the commitment of the teachers in the schools is not like before. They are not committed to their work. They will come to school but leave the children in the classroom and be roaming in town. Others too will come and before you realise, I am going here to come back. That is what they do. It looks like they are not committed to their work. When we were attending school it wasn't like that.

Children here don't pass because of the way they are brought up from the elementary school. They are not taught properly. Before they get to the JSS, what they are supposed to know and catch up, they don't know and that is the most problem that is causing the failure.
I will say the teachers don't teach, and we have that problem all over. I have never seen a teacher being sanctioned because he doesn't teach. During our time, it wasn't so. When you are caught one day, your pay is deducted, but this time they don't do that, so they are free. I know we had a teacher here, he went down south, stayed for the whole term before he came and when they were questioning him he was rather giving the education officer tough time. You see, what did they do? They only said, ok, regional transfer, ok go. If it is our time, you will lose your pay, so the educational headquarters, the division there, the way they are handling the teachers now, they are encouraging them to do their own loose work. They don't sanction them like, I remember, when I completed middle school, I was a pupil teacher, but who are you. Even that time pupil teachers were teaching children and they were passing. I have most of my children [children he taught when he was a pupil teacher] who have graduated. At times they come to me, at times they even ask me. How is, why is it that the time we were teaching children were passing and they feel we didn't know anything, and now teachers from the colleges are teaching the children and they are not passing. I say it is the commitment, look they are not committed so they wouldn't teach. You see, if they are really committed to their work and they are teaching, they will pass, but they won't do it. Most of the teachers, they are traders. How can a teacher be a trader? Today is a market day, they will leave school and go to the market. None market days,

not in schools. Are you teaching? So it is a big problem.

Suggestions
That will come from the director general so that if you are a teacher, you fail to come to school, two-three weeks, you shouldn't be paid for that 2-3 weeks. If they are able to do that, punish them properly, everybody will be afraid, and they will be at work [post]. But this time it looks as if all these things are gone.

They say PTAs/SMCs, there are there. They say they should see to help the teachers to teach, but you go and talk to the m and they will still do whatever they want, and what can you do? You report to the district education office, they will turn round and even start blaming the community. Because when I was an Assemble member I go that same problem. There was a teacher here, everyday he will sit with the police here. He won't go to school, the JSS, he was the headmaster. He will sit with the policemen here. I reported to the education office. The technical materials they brought here, he sold all. They came and said ok they wanted to go into the case. Look we reported the case we wanted to be there, he Circuit Supervisor with somebody from the Audit Service who came to audit the teacher. They sacked us later on did whatever they wanted and left. He wasn't sanctioned, they never asked him to buy the things back, so he sold everything. The only thing is they transferred him to Bongo instead, so you become loose. When you see such things you don't know what to do so you just look at the things like that. You can't do anything, because senior men [education authorities] they turn round to help the teachers. So they contribute to all these things.

At present I don't think I have a solution to what we can do to enable our children access education at their places of destination. Because wherever you go you will pay school fees. So I wonder how if you go to Accra you will get somebody who is going to pay the school fees for you and you will stay to attend school. It is not like at first when you attended school freely, even if you attend school free and you don't have somebody who will be a care taker, how are you going to still attend school. So when the children travel that is the end, because he has no caretaker, he can't go and be depending on somebody, so how will he go to school. So he is going to depend on himself and by depending on himself means he has to work. So he can't go to school.

Afrikids, I have heard of the name but I don't know the work they do. Even when I was an Assemble member, they never came to the Assemble to tell us something, else I would have known about them. I served as an Assemble member for two terms. But I hear Afrikids but I don't know what they do.

Question: How can child migrants contribute to the development of your community?
Response: I will say that depends on luck. Whoever makes it to the top and is generous can contribute, but some of them will travel and they become or go to stay there, so how will they be able to contribute. They know themselves there. You go to foyer [Nkrumah Circle in Accra] and you see all Namoo people there, so many of them. They know. Some of them, they do well. They contribute. Look, when said that harvest and group members they contribute.

We will educate them about if they help it will be to the benefit of the children in future and all that. When you talk like that to them some of them can help. At times when we go to the elders we talk a little bit about all this things.

Nature of revenue
You know we are at the border point and we have a big market in Burkina, so on the Burkina market day, then goods from Ghana going, like yam and whatever they want to go to the market with, that is what we collect revenue on. The things they cross with differs. Some years back when we started, those years, Burkina, they didn't have corn, groundnuts, everything, they didn't have anything. So we could go with corn, beans everything, but this time, Burkina they are now doing well in corn farming. They harvest more corn so this time you won't see corn from Ghana going there. At times when it becomes hot we Ghanaians go there to rather bring corn. They are doing well in that, but this time it is yam. They don't have yam so our revenue is mainly on yams

and because they have a large market we go there to buy livestock.

The revenue collected at the border depends on the market days. There are some market days that you can collect up to 2,000,000.00 cedis (GH¢200), there are certain market days, you will be there and you cannot collect anything. These yam dealers have only one market day in a week. So in a week if all of them for this market, the next (second) market day they won't go except the other market day that they will go and bring yam. So if it happens that maybe they brought yam this market day and it didn't finish quickly and it took them to the next two market day, then the other market day, you won't get [revenue], but if it happens that that particular market day coincides with the yam market day, then the people from Burkina are able to come and buy all, then the following marked day, you will get [revenue]. So it depends on the market.

Challenges to Revenue Collection

It is a border point and we need to have a secure place, but we don't have. This is not good. Now raining season, you are not given a rain coat, and because it is not a secure place, like at least we need a small structure so that if it is raining, we can enter there and collect [the revenue]. At times you have to use an umbrella before you issue receipt. We reported to the Assembly that we don't even have torch lights. They feel whatever you get from your commission, you should use that to buy, but how much do we get as commission? It is 10% and if you are not able to get GH¢1000, you can't get GH¢100, so where are you going to get the money?

We pay weekly, so at the end of the week you go and pay, so at the end of the month the commission (10%) is worked on whatever you have collected. But the commission is 10%, which is very low. Other district pay 15% others pay 20%, but Bongo district, it is 10%.

Challenges child migrants face

You can just imagine if he goes to a place and he is not lucky, he is going to suffer. You go to Accra, no care take, you haven't seen somebody you are going to lodge with and all that, you are bound to suffer, then you take to the street. You will be sleeping around lorry parks and all that, are you not suffering? When you make a move, it depends on your luck, whatever comes your way, you take it.

I told you he [Abdulai] went without my knowledge. It was the first time that I was worried but now he knows his way, so if he goes he knows where to pass.

Not necessarily me allowing my child to travel, but if the child decides to travel, what can you do. You will say they shouldn't do this or that and if they do what can you do? You can't do anything especially if they are above 18 years old. The younger ones may listen to you but if the older ones say no you cannot do anything. When I told him not to go and sent him to Burkina to learn motor mechanic work, he was going nicely. It got to a time and when I asked of Abdulai, they said he had gone to Accra. What can I do?

I have another son I put him in a private school in Kumasi, when he got to JHS 3, he came home. That was the year they were about to write, I gave him the school fees and examination fees, then he went back to Kumasi. When he got to Kumasi, he took all the money and went to friends and they spent it and he was roaming in Kumasi. I was thinking he was in school. It was about 2-3 months time before I heard that he was roaming in Kumasi, so I sent the brother who is in the Eastern region. He went looked round and before he saw him, how he was dirty. He was now living in the lorry station. He brought him back. We sent him to the school and they said they had closed examination registration unless he repeated. He said he won't repeat, I brought him here sent him to Mount Sanai [a private school in Bolga], he was there one month, he left and was in town. I tried, tried, tried, I had to bring him here [Namoo] and put him in this school. He went to Bawku, first year, first term that was the end. Anytime I said go to school, he will go and remain in Bolga and won't go. He is here, if he comes in here now, now, now, you will see him. He is now grown. He is just roaming idling. He is older than Abdulai.

What I can say about Abdulai is that he was a very good goal keeper, so when he left we registered for the second division and it took a very long time before they got a goal keeper.

Since he came with the bicycles we have not yet sat to discuss anything. If he continues and goes a few rounds (trips) that will be when you can tell if his thinking has changed, but for now he is only beginning I don't know if he has changed his habits or not. He sold bicycles before but they were not many. They were just about 2 or 3 and I think he sold then to get his pocket money and to go back. This is the first time he has brought many, about 12 bicycles

Thank you for your time

Appendix 6i

Transcription of Interview with Apakla Bero (mother of a child migrant - Attis) in her house at Namoo Boku in Bongo district on November 9, 2011. The interview was in Guruni (the local language of the area) and translated with the help of my interpreter, Mr Anthony Atanga

Question: Can you tell me about your family?
Response: My name is Janet Atuama Apaglabero Avuo. I have seven children; 3 are boy and 4 are girls. All the girls are in school, except the boys. Attis is now in Accra, and the last born who is also a boy has not yet started schooling. He will go when he grows up. I live alone with the children because my husband is dead.

Two of my daughters (Lamisi) is in JHS and one (Abena) is in P5. The last born (boy) has not started P1 yet. My first daughter, Mary, completed JSS last year and is in Bongo. She has been placed [gained admission] in Gwouri SHS but she has not yet reported in School.

Question: What about your household economic activities?
Response: I am a farmer and I cultivate rice, guinea corn and millet around the compound. It is not a large plot of land but we are doing our best.

Apart from the farming, I also sell yam at Yelwongu market. I just returned from there this afternoon after selling some few tubers of yam. It is not my own business but I help someone to sell. The person only gives me small, small money for helping her. She also comes from my home village (Daboye). It is around Kongo. She goes to Techiman to bring the yam for us to sell. When I help her to sell on a market day, she gives me 50,000.00 cedis (GH¢5)

Question: What are your production techniques?
Response: I do not have money to pay for bullocks or tractor, so I use the hoe and till the land myself with the help of my children. I don't have the energy but I have to eat and my children also have to eat, so what do I do? I have to till the land so that I can get something to eat.

Question: How are your production outputs?
Response: This year I harvested only one bag of rice, the millet is not yet thrashed so I don't know the number of bags but I am not sure it will be up to two bags. I think the guinea corn will be one bag and the groundnuts also one bag.

Question: Why do you think your child/children left this village/town?
Response: Attis travelled about five years ago. He travelled because there was no one to take care of him here. He stopped school in P5 and travelled because the father died and he didn't have anybody to take care of him.

He travelled to Kumasi to farm. I don't know the name of the particular place but everybody says Kumasi, Kumasi. [Although Attiah first travelled to Dunkwa on Offin, the mother calls there Kumasi, because Kumasi is the famous among the travelers of the area]. I have not heard of the name [Dunkwa on Offin] before, I only know that Attis went to Kumasi.

Attis told me when he wanted to travel. He told me he wanted to travel and look for work to do and then get money and help me to take care of the children. So I said God will help him to get work. Even now I don't know the kind of work he is doing. I am only praying for him that he get work to do and then he can get money to help me here.

Question: How did your child leave this town/place?
Response: I helped him to travel. I sold some fowls that I was rearing and got GH¢10 and that was what I gave to him to travel. He did not tell me he was going to Accra. I only knew he was in Kumasi but it was later that he told me that he is now in Accra.
I know he went and took a car from Namoo, but I don't know which car he entered and how he entered it.

Question: Why did you allow your son to go in spite of the challenges involved?
Response: I hear Accra or Kumasi is far from this place but I had to allow him to go because I didn't have anything to use in taking care of him and his brothers and sisters. I was just sitting; I couldn't do anything about it. I cried for a long time because I didn't know what was happening to him. I was only praying and crying to God to take care of him for me. I stopped crying when he called through one of our neighbour's phone and spoke to me. He told me he was fine and nothing was wrong with him. I have still been praying that God should give him work. He only told me that he is now in Accra and working there but I don't know the kind of work he is doing there. He communicates with me through somebody's (one man who stays near to our house) mobile phone. If he wants to talk to me, he will tell that boy to tell me when, then I will go and we will talk and when I also want to talk to him I will go and tell that boy and he will call him for me to talk to him. The last time a spoke with him was five days ago.

Question: Have you or any member of your family been involved in migration in the past?
Response: I have travelled to Bawku before. I went there to work in a chop bar. I spent three months there and was paid GH¢1.50p. I used the money to buy food for my children who were then six. They were under the care of my daughter, Mary. I had to travel because after the death of my husband, there was nothing at that particular time of the year for me to use in feeding the children and I could not also be sitting with them and seeing them hungry. There was some small food left in the house so I asked Mary who was a little grown to use that in feeding her sisters and then I went to get something to add [supplement]. Whilst there I was visiting them and bringing small, small food to them and waiting for the harvest of our crops here. I came back after the three months and by then it was time for us to harvest our crops.

Question: How far did you want your child to go in his education?
Response: I was only praying that he should school far [go high in his education]. As for what I wanted him to become that will depend on what God will give to him. If God said he should be a teacher, he will be a teacher but if God said he should be a lawyer, then he will become a lawyer.

Question: How do institutions (societal norms, laws and school system) in your area promote or constrain the migration of your child?
Response: I don't know

Question: How do organisations (District Assembly, Schools, Churches, NGOs, etc) in your area promote or constrain the migration of your child/children?
Response: Yes, I know that children who do not have parents can be helped. I know of WorldVision in Bongo. I have not approached them because I don't know anybody that I will contact and the person will take me there. I don't know what to do and how to do it to get that help. I have never done that before and I don't know how to do that. If I want to go to Bongo I will either walk or ride a bicycle because I don't have the money to pay the fare if I enter a car. Apart from WorldVision, I don't know of any other place where I can get help

Question: How is your child coping at his/her current place of residence?
Response: Attis has not told me what he is doing in Accra

Question: How does your child remit you and the family?
Response: He sends money and soap to me. He sends it when he gets someone coming here. He also buys books and school uniforms for his sisters. He sends money for me to buy other things they need in order to be in school.

Question: How often does your child remit you?
Response: When I don't have money and I tell him he sends and sometimes he himself calls to

ask if we need something, then he will send money to me to buy. The last time he sent some money to me was seven months ago.
I send things to him if he ask me of it. The last time I sent some groundnut to him. I gave it to his friend (Apaana) in Namoo who sent it to him. He called to tell me that he has received it.

Thank you for your time

Appendix 6j

Transcription of Interview with John Azam (the District Social Welfare Officer for Bongo district) in his office in Bongo on December 6, 2011

Question: What is the situation of Staffing in your department?

Response: We have inadequate staff here. We are supposed to have the district officer. Then we have 3 schedule officers, and under them we have various special officers who are supposed to be there but we do not have all these. I am the Case worker and we all know how case work is. Quiet a number of people need case work and only one person cannot do all the cases. Case work means dealing individually with the people, engaging them, seeing their problems and assisting them. Building their capacities to be able to overcome all these challenges. Because sometimes you see the people and cases are such that you need to go down to the roots before you can find a solution to it.

I came here only in 2010 so this is my second year.

Question: What programmes and activities does your department run?

Response: What we have, we can term it as preventive measures. We don't have programmes for rehabilitating. Rehabilitation measures, that is, let us say, if something happens and then you have to now go and bring them. Unless there is a collaboration with some NGOs or the District Assemble to do that. You know from the Children's Act, it is the Assemble that is to protect all the children and they do so through the coordination with the various organisations engaged in children's issues. So what we do is that we go around educating parents, educating the children in schools especially as schools are about to vacate. We go round sometimes with those who migrated and the migration didn't go on well with them and they have returned, to give their personal experiences of their involvement in migration to the in the schools.

Child migration is an issue in this district and we have been talking about it. We have a subcommittee at the district level called the Gender Subcommittee and we have been talking about this issue for quiet sometime now. Just last year or so we had a course to complain about it. You see them in batches, especially when you go to the Metro Mass Transit Bus station. I think last year or so, there was collaboration where the police was always asking for student ID cards. Anytime they were to enter a bus, they asked them to show their students ID cards before you are allowed to enter, so it is a problem here

Currently, the regulation is that when they are travelling, they should travel with an adult. They can only travel on their own if they have an ID card.

At first I hear that was what used to happen. That someone would just organise them and send them in a group but since they have gotten to know of this that is why they have instituted those measures. So if you are going, either you go with an adult or you show an ID card to show that you were down south and you came to attend school here or maybe you have vacated and you are going back to visit your parents.

Question: What, in your opinion, motivates and facilitates child migration in Ghana?

Response: I think mostly, it is because of the economic situation. Some of them have seen their peers who have gone and they have come back wearing Jeans and holding mobile phones and what not. So they see it to be all rosy. They all think that it is easy, when you go you will be able to get all those things. But they go, once I was talking to the queen mother of this area. Her daughter was persuading her to give her money to go down south and she sat her down, advised her not to go and all that. But she still went behind her and talked to her auntie who decided to give her money to go. And when she went she was asked to be washing this public toilet. So she had not even seen this (WC) water closet. So it was the friend who encouraged

her to go. She saw it and thought it was a normal thing until the friend explained to her that this was and when she realized that it was toilet, she said no, she will not come and wash somebody's toilet and left and came back. So such an example I think is good for the others to learn.

I can't give concrete reasons but I belief some adults may also be pushing them into it. If you know the trend of the north, we have a farming season and the off season. So after the farming season, virtually there is no economic activity that goes on and poverty is at its peak at that time. So most are just doing whatever they can to survive so it gets to a point that the child thinks he can take up the responsibility of taking care of the family and they can only do that when they travel down south to seek employment opportunities.

Loss of parents can also be a reason. I have a few number of cases like that, a number of orphans. Especially if they have child headed families and most of them, it gets to a point that they can no longer take care of the brothers and sisters. So what they will do is just to leave and go hoping that they will come back and better the lot of their younger brothers and sisters.

Question: What are some of the challenges you encounter?

Response: I once tried during our observation. We had a workshop in Bonsu in the eastern region and we were to report in the morning. So what we did was to travel in the evening and when we get to Kumasi early in the morning we will just take an opportunity to sit around the Tea sellers and what not to see what goes on. And we really saw what goes on the ground. Most of them get there, there is no place to live. They don't have any roof. Around the Kajetia there, even there is this under the stores they put these sacks and rent it out to them. You pay and they put the sack on the bare floor and then sleep on. So most of them will go and they are just sleeping like that. I understand there are some guys around who claim they provide security for them and at the end of the day, they get them impregnant and they are having a lot of cases. Teenage pregnancy cases here. Most of them cannot trace their parents. When you ask of the father, they will tell you the father is down south. So these are some of the problems they face.

It can be possible that the little that they get is stolen because just sleeping on the floor and not having anywhere to put your money and what not so it is easy to for people to steal your money and what not.

Question: Why do you think children continue to migrate in spite of the challenges involved?

Response: It is because the story is not been told as it is. Even in Ghana we all know, Libya, America and all not. We all hear of the stories but we also see the positive sides. Others come with all the goodies and we feel that we should also go and experience it and then we feel we will be able to overcome those challenges and have come back. So I think to an extent it is something like they are eager to see what is actually happening, they want to experience it themselves and see how it is. We have also had an opportunity to, there was this NGO (Ricerca e Cooperazione) that is an Italian NGO. During 2009 and 2010, they rescued some like that who had become street children as a result of the migration. They brought them around and we organised the school children and they acted a drama to show them and after that they told the story in their perspective to them and i think it helped them.

Question: How does migration influence children's access to and progress in education?

Response: It cannot be told but unless maybe they are visiting a relative but to just get up and go like that, most of them, they go during vacation. So the schooling doesn't come in as such but to go and be idling and searching for jobs. The main aim of going is not the schooling because if it was the schooling they would have stayed behind, so they go there virtually with the mind to make money and come. So I think it will be difficult for them to get school. They can't even get the time to do that.

The issue of children not doing well in schools here is also an issue that encourage them to travel because I could remember just this current BECE some of them could not get placement in schools and I understand most of them have gone down south because they feel

that if they stay here there will be nothing for them to do so they will rather go down there and struggle. There are some who have done that (I have seen a few who have gone after the JHS graduation) to prepare. Because they do not have anybody to cater for them, they go there. They are able to get a few things and return to go to the SSS. I have seen some of them who have returned and we have to assist them to pay the school fees. They were able to buy items like mattresses, chop boxes, and so forth and we assist them by linking them to some NGOs that help them to pay their school fees.

Question: How do those institutions function in your operational area?
Response: I don't know of any law that prevent or promote the travelling of children here but I know it is an admonishing of the Paramount Chief of the area. He has been admonishing parents not to allow their children to travel out. He does this when there is any gathering like when they are celebrating festivals and what not. They had the 'Azambiani' festival yesterday, although I was not able to attend, but I am sure he would have mentioned it there. He is quiet passionate about such issues and other developmental issues. Some of the educated chiefs normally deal with such issues. They educate their people against these issues.

I will not be able to get a concrete answer to the issue of the traditional authorities taking concrete actions beyond the appeals because I have not really interacted with them on such issues but it has come up at the Gender Sub committee level that much is not being done. As part of our action plan we are expected to engage them, to mention to them if they can bring this one on board their activities. I know that in Garu-Timpane district have a bye law on this, but it is the implementation that is the problem. I have not checked, but I came here in 2010 so I don't know is there is a byelaw like that here, but if there is nothing like that, then we will bring it to their attention so that they will a byelaw emanating from the traditional authorities so that together, we can all implement it.

There is a policy that says mass promotion of children in schools. Nowadays they don't look too much into performance. Just after say JHS 1 they don't fail anyone, they just move them like that, unless the person s/he comes to tell you that I want to repeat because I am not performing so they are able to move them. With regards to bringing children, in public schools they don't write exams, just a few of them that ask them to write exams before giving them admission.

Question: What are some of the challenges of the programmes/projects
Response: Our main problem here is lack of resources. We are not resourced to do our work. Not even a motor bike or bicycle do we have to be able to move around to do our work. So imagine, how can we cover all the villages, and even here in Bongo town, when you don't have the means to move around. We don't also have a budget that you can hire a motor bike to conduct an investigation, when we have issues to investigate. Sometimes you have to go and beg the big people up there to be able to move to a village. When WorldVision was here, they were helping us with means to respond to reported cases of vulnerable people and children. They could send us there in their pickup vehicles or give us money to buy fuel into motor bikes and go. But now their programmes have ended and they have left the district. So things are really not easy for us. For instance, I have my personal motor bike, but for how long will I be able to use my small salary to buy fuel into my own motorbike for official duties. So you see, it is not that we are lazy or we don't want to work, but how can you produce your best when the resources are not there.

The main challenge is the intake of the schools. For instance if you identify other children and you want to link them to these schools, the problem will be can the facilities take all these huge numbers. That is one of the problem because if they have taken up to the number that they take, how do you add on to them and it does not make provision for sending them outside schools in the district.

Performance is not a criterion for the CAMFED programme. The main criterion is need, because they believe that most of them are not doing well because they are needy. Because they are having so many problems, psycho-social problems and what not.

Language is not a problem for them in the schools and they are not also being discriminated against because of their backgrounds. I have not come against an issue of discrimination in schools here.

There are issues of parental irresponsibility too to some extent, because there are certain cases that you get to know that the care and protection that the parents are supposed to provide are not provided. There are certain cases that you feel that they can take care of the children but just because of parental irresponsibility.

One main cause of single parenting in this district is what they called 'Tanzabe'. That means in a family (like down south cousins can marry) but this place, they know very well that these people, according to culture, are not supposed to be married. They can go to bed, they can make children, but the children will belong to the girl's family. So in future if she gets an opportunity to marry, that means she has to leave these children in the family house and move out. So this is one main problem. Some NGOs like WorldVision were trying to help. I think they have done marvellously well but they are moving out, so we are hoping that more and more NGOs will come and support it.

Question: Which other organisations, apart from yours, are involved in child migration in Ghana?
Response: We do collaboration when it comes to emergency cases, whereby you have to do a rescue mission or something of that sort and you know according to the Human Trafficking Act, the main prosecuting body is the Police. So the police will take the lead and we will come in to assist. With the traditional authorities too we have been educating them to help in this case because they are closer to the children and the citizens than we are.
Mowac is not decentralised. Virtually, we play the roles that mowac is supposed to play at the district level.

We have AfriKids, who were formally in Bolga, but currently they have extended their services to this district. This year for instance, they have sponsored about 40 children in both vocational education and the formal education in the district.

Another NGO is CAMFED (Campaign for Female Education) which is sponsoring them in the JSS and SSS. They are even instituting this child protection and all that. I know where some of the sponsored students are because I am a member of the implementation committee. We have data on all the selected pupils. We have 3 SHSs in this district and they are supporting two and in each of the 2 they are supporting 30 students and then in the JHS they are supporting 83 students. These children who are been supported are supposed to be citizens of Bongo district, first and foremost, and secondly they are supposed to be of need, not necessarily brilliant. The main condition is that they should be citizens of the district, needy and should be attending the selected schools for the sponsorship.

We consider several issues in selecting the pupils. We look at those who are under single parents, those orphaned by either a father or a mother, those who are total orphans, etc. There are a lot of issues and I think the migration too is one and even if I get to know of some of these issues I can mention it during the selection process and they can be catered for.

Question: How can migration be used to promote access to education and harness the potential of children for national development?
Response: It is a difficult thing to deal with but I think in everything education is the key. We have been doing education but it is not enough. We have been sensitising parents, we have been sensitising the children but due to resource constraints we are unable to do it rigorously as we are supposed to do. So the education I belief should be beefed up. Then even if the district could also have a bylaw which should be implemented to the fullest because we are looking at the future of the children. The children even though can suggest certain things concerning their future, we are going to guide them. So we need stringent byelaws that will protect them from going to these places. Then I think there should be orientation for the traditional authorities so that they will get to know the negative effects of the migration because some of them are not educated and do not see anything wrong with this because they feel they are in an environment whereby survival is going on. So if the children will go and come back, most of them come back

and even roof their houses, so it is an encouragement to the others because they do not know the length and breadth of this.

All the organisations that are into child migration, I think it is time that we need to form a coalition and work hand in hand, know whatever we are doing. We can connect so that we have a bigger impact.

It is true, as I mentioned earlier, that you cannot downplay the economic issues. It is a reality. Most people migrate for economic reasons so on that part I can't say much about it but I know the Assembly has adopted an action plan on local economic development issues, especially on these shea butter processing. I think it is about time that the Assemble implements it to the fullest and we have heard of this SADA. We don't know when it will get to this place but we are hoping that when it get here, a lot more people will be employed.

Bongo is doing well in terms of dams. They have built a number of dams and we expect that quite a number of the people, especially the youth will farm around the dams, but it is only a few who do so. We will need to know the reasons why they don't want to farm. I think we need to look also at the agricultural aspect

There are also training centres for training in basket weaving. These centres are few but I think if they can be supported, then many people can be trained there. I think all these things are in the Assembly's Medium Term Development Plan (MTEF) and if they implement it to the fullest, it will reduce poverty drastically.

Question: Are there examples/stories of migrant children you have encountered in your work that you will like to share?

Response: There is this girl who completed JHS last year and didn't get placement so she made up her mind to migrate to the south. So when we heard it we sat her down and spoke to her and she has changed her mind. The issue came to our attention late that was why we couldn't help her. Normally when you are not placed you apply through the District GES and it often happens that some people to honour their admission offers. So such opportunities are given to those who have not been placed but have applied. Unfortunately she didn't do that and we didn't also know of it. It only go to our attention when we couldn't do anything about it so we advised her to stay around so that we try next year for her. So she agreed and she is waiting for next year.

Thank you very much for your time

Appendix 6k

Transcription of Interview a Schedule Officer for Ghana Police Service (DOVVSU and AHTU) DSP Robert Freeman Tetteh in Accra. The interview was held in is office at the Headquaters of of the Ghana Police Service in Accra on October 20, 2011.

Question: what is the mandate of your organisation?

Response: Basically Dovvsu is an anti child abuse, anti women abuse and anti abuse of the vulnerable in society. It is a unit of the Ghana Police Service. We have the mandate of handling all cases of abuse in the domestic setting and domestic setting is not only the home. The school, the work site or work place as well as previous relationships: fiancées/fiancé, ex-wives/ex-husbands or ex spouses if I may put it that way. Then tenants, co tenants and land lords-tenants relationships.

Some of the cases we look at are sexual abuse. We also look at physical abuse in all forms, child neglect and emotional or psychological abuse as well as cultural abuse. There are certain cultural practices that have issues in our environment. Those are all captured in the Chapter 5 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, fundamental human rights. Then we have the Children's Act of 1998, the Domestic Violence Act of 2007, we also look at children in conflict with the law, that is the Juvenal Justice Act and we have the Criminal Offenses Act. Those are the legal framework for the DOVVSU for we actually use for issues of child abuse and issues of child neglect among others. So your subject matter is in line with our mandate.

Question: What are some of the programmes and activities of your organisation?

Response: Sensitisation programme for children in the media, schools and wherever children are gathered on any platform created for children. For example we have a programme on Radio Ghana which is Curious Minds and I happen to be a resource person, then there is also a programme on Ghana Television being sponsored and held at the Ghana International School and I am always a resource person there on child related issues and issues of child abuse.

There are a lot of cases on child migration but the Ghana Police Serves has also established an anti human trafficking unit that specifically handles such cases and I happen to be a beneficiary of the sensitisation programmes on human trafficking and Trainer of Trainers (ToT) workshop on anti human trafficking, or if I may put it Human Trafficking organised by IOM and the MOWAC of Ghana. There are a lot of cases but we as a unit look at the violence aspect of it. We look as the interest of the child and we look at areas that the child might be abused physically, sexually and emotionally and general child exploitation. So migration is free movement provided that migration does not affect the education of the child. Provided it was done in the interest of the child. So there are a lot of cases that children are migrated, to for example from the north to Accra and end up being abused sexually. So we look at those things on the note of abuse. Some of them end up being impregnated by older persons. If we look at the defilement Act, which is, sex with a child of age below 16 with or without her consent; sodomy or unnatural sex, if I may put it that way.

Question: What schedule/task do you play in the organisation?

Response: I do media relations and advocacy for the Ghana Police Service and DOVVSU. I have been on this programme since 2006. But I am also a media person or one of my bit is on child related issues and that one from 1996.

Question: What, in your opinion, motivates and facilitates child migration in Ghana?

Response: For the rural poor, motivation is a good job in the urban areas. The urban poor, motivation is also finances or good life in the localities that are termed well endowed in terms of resources. Good education, good food, good shelter, among others but they end up being

abused, they end up being exploited. This is not my thinking but it is based on documentary evidence and regular interaction with victims of abuse.

Question: Why do you think children continue to migrate in spite of the challenges involved?

Response: Abuses are there but for lack of information and the capacity of that child to resist temptation, the capacity of that child to resist being cohered. Children are vulnerable and a vulnerable person is a weaker person so some of them are forced and threatened by the perpetrators when they oppose that. Some are also cohered and deceived. Deceit is used, cohesion is used and threatening is used to compel them to migrate and the end result end up being negative.

Question: Who are the perpetrators?

Response: Most often parents are naturally loving, but as I indicated poverty is a factor and deceit is also used to get the parents to circum to the demand to release the child to be trafficked for a peanut. Some of them even end up receiving just Gh5, GH2 to allow their children to be trafficked and those children at the end of the day become slaves. At the end of the day, the promises that are given to the children end up being fake promises, they end up being deceptive.

We have the master, it is actually a chain. We have middlemen as well. It is the middlemen that come into contact with the parents and then they end up selling, passing those children to the slave masters.

There are foreigners in the chain, there are wealthy people in the chain. It is an organised crime, actually, if I may put it that way. All manner of persons are in that chain and the mother or the father and or the mother is the first person from the given point or the source. Then the last person may not have any idea about Ghana. So such children are passed on to the last person over there. We have the intra and international trafficking. The intra one could be from one geographic location to the other, then the inter is from Ghana to another country. It is across international boundaries.

Question: How does migration influence children's access and progress in school education?

Response: A lot, a lot, a lot. Most often, when it comes to human trafficking, it is negative, they are even denied education. They are promised good education, but eventually they don't get it at all. They end up engaging in child prostitution, child labour, the highly unfortunate ones end up losing their lives. Sometimes they are murdered and their organs sold at the international market. So you realize that they don't get education at all. Some of them end up as fisher boys in the fishing industry so they don't get education at all. So it (migration) negatively affects their education. The fortunate ones who end up being rescued have their education delayed but he unfortunate ones don't get education at all because they get lost into the system. Some of them don't get their lives back.

On the positive side, assuming I am a government worker and I live in the north and there is the need to relocate to Accra and then maybe the kind of education there does not match the standard of education in the city (Accra). I think positively, it will help improve my standard of education. Those are the normal ones (migration) and those once there is nothing wrong with that but with the intension of trafficking the child, when it falls within the confines of human trafficking or child labour, then you should know that naturally it will affect the education of the child. And it has been affecting the education of children. Even with the normal transfers, if you are not lucky and you move from, say, a town like Accra or Kumasi to a town in Bunkurugu-Yunyuo, definitely standards there is lower than that of Accra, so it will still affect the education of your child. And as I said, I was a victim of moving from good schools to bad schools as result of such movements and at a point even if you move from a bad school to a good school, psychologically you will have a problem because you can't cope. So naturally, you will have to adjust and you will have to work harder.

Question: Are there institutions (laws, norms, etc) which promote or constrain child migration?

Response: Not to the best of my knowledge. For example, we are all Africans and we have lived with the extended family system. So assuming I have a relative in Accra and I live in Yendi and then I have expressed interest or my relative instead of going in for another person to assist at home, I have decided that there are a lot of opportunities in Accra, you see some things that we are all used to, so there are no norms. But our norm over the years is that, there is human rights in our country, we should respect the rights of everybody. People must be treated with decency, with dignity. So when it happens that way, then we are rather deviating from our norms as Africans. There is dignified life style that the African, naturally enjoys so there are no norms that promote it. It is rather norms against it, against dehumanised treatment of children.

Fosterage? Even in the children's Act, fosterage is allowed

Question: How do those institutions function in your operational area?

Response: The structures/laws are there and they are good but we have problem with enforcement and one of or the major problem is logistics. Accessibility to all sectors, the resources to carry on with the work. Various designated institutions, for instance the police, we have the anti human trafficking unit, we have the Domestic Violence unit, but the logistics are not adequate. Both the human resource and the logistics are not adequate for the work the enforcement. So these are the challenges we are facing. And that eehh, there is suppose to be collaboration with stakeholders but I think there is a gap there. That synergy is not there, so that is another problem that is there. I think a lot of institutions tend to be doing their own things. So these are some of the difficulties, the gaps in the system, but the major problem is logistics.

Another problem is education of the parents. People should understand that it is a crime, people should understand that it is an offense. And by way of education, I am not suggesting or talking that people don't have formal education. There are people with formal education but the message of human trafficking, the message of irregular migration and the message of the negative effects of migration has not gone down well with even some people who have an appreciable level of education.

Question: Are parents in touch with their migrant children?

Response: They don't even hear anything from their parents. What most of them hear is the sources, only the middleman. Per chance if they happen to meet the middle, the middleman will obviously tell you ,oh your child is doing well, is getting better, is improving, has got to this level of education, when in actual fact, nothing like that is there.

Question: How is your organisation involved in issues of child migration in Ghana?

Response: On the part of the police, our role is clearly defined. We handle the criminal aspect of trafficking. And I indicated the Human Trafficking Act, the Domestic Violence Act, the Children's Act, the Juvenal Justice Act, the criminal Offenses Act, the Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, the Criminal Procedure Act, among others form the legal framework of our work.

Question: Does your organisation have programmes/projects on child migration?

Response: We have achievement and a lot of challenges. At least awareness is one of them. We have created a lot of awareness in terms of child protection, in terms of the need to protect children, in terms of child abuse, publicity. Some of the cases we put them out there in the media to serve as deterrent for others. At least we have some prosecutions depending on the nature of the case. If it is an aggravated assault, if it is a sexual offence we get successful prosecution. That is with DOVVSU and the human conviction, we get a lot of prosecution. Then besides that, at least our presence is being felt. There is a place that people can run to, and we keep on giving the public education. So we are making an inroad. We cannot be complacent. We are not the best judges, we cannot award ourselves marks. Ours is that there is a mandate, there are legal framework that we must enforce. So that is basically, what we are doing.

As for assessment, the cases keep on coming and we are getting higher level of reporting of cases. This to some extent, is indicative of the fact that people are aware now. So they could come and report, they could assist victims to come and report, they could even report on behave of the victims of abuse. As human beings we should be proud of our achievement which will inspire us to work even harder.

Question: What are some of the challenges of the programmes/projects?

Response: There is little cooperation from parents, traffickers and the societies where such practices prevail. Our major challenges are logistic constraints and inadequate personnel.

Question: Do you have suggestions for the improvement of the programmes/projects?

Response: We need stronger collaboration with stakeholders than resources from government, because our constitution states that government should resource the police, government is doing that but I must say that naturally, it is not enough. Talking about a typical African country like Ghana where we claim to be getting to a middle income country, and our new oil find, I think we need to put in more child protection, we need to do more to protect the vulnerable in society. So I think it is good that awareness is there, it is good that a lot of people are reporting but we need to have the structures in place. Besides arresting and prosecuting the perpetrators, we also need to protect the victims, we also need to give victims some kind of support and relieve so that they can recover on time, tell their story and also cooperate with the police to have a thorough investigation. But unfortunately, some of these structures are not there. Reception centres are not there, we don't have reception centres at all. Government is doing its part, the police administration is doing its part, various stakeholders are helping us with educational materials, among others. The UN system keeps on helping us, sponsoring some of our training workshops. There is the need for training for the police. Besides the normal police training we have been having training workshops for our people but it is not enough. And it should be training and retraining. It should be a continuous process because new emerging cases are coming up. There are cases of children migrating and some of them end up being victims of paedophilia, child prostitution. These are some of the things, so you need to educate staff on some of these trends of abuses. These are some of the things that we keep soliciting assistance. These are some of the things that we keep asking and reminding government. Then we also collect proper data for research and for policy initiatives. However, data collection is also one of our weak points, especially, in the management of the data. And also logistics for sensitisation, seriously, because we need to reach out to a lot of people and good communicators to send the message out there.

Question: Which other organisations, apart from yours, are involved in child migration in Ghana?

Response: Surely, in the Ghana Police Service, we have the DOVVSU that I indicated earlier, we have the anti human trafficking unit with presence in all the 10 regions in Ghana, the DOVVSU also has presence in all the 10 regions in Ghana, and also there are various police structures and the mandate of the Police Service is to prevent crime and also apprehend perpetrators of crime. So generally, since these units are under the police, and where there are no anti trafficking units and the DOVVSU, the traditional police takes over the responsibilities.

It is a criminal act when it is seen that that movement is human trafficking. Then we have the sector minister. At the policy level we have the MOWAC, the Department of Social Welfare, Department of Community Development, civil society, the NGO community, child rights international, the Ark Foundation, Women Initiative for Self Empowerment (WISE), WILDAF. We have a lot of the international NGOs as well as the UN systems. The UNFPA, the UN Population Fund, the UN Women found, we also have the IOM. Then the Ghana Immigration Service also has an anti human trafficking unit. The MOWAC also has an anti human trafficking unit. Under the Ministry, we have the Department of Children and the Department of Women, so you realise that with the structures, they are perfectly on the ground, but as to whether they are working is another thing altogether.

Question: How can migration be used to promote access to education and harness the potential of children for national development?

Response: Besides the criminal aspect, I think children are like any other persons who are free to move about both internally. With the kind of fosterage, there are a lot of orphan children, so if there is a relative somewhere who wants a child to come and stay with him or her, with very good intention, with the proper way of handling children, respecting the rights of the children, understanding the needs of the children, I believe it will rather turn to something positive and not negative.

This can be done through sensitisation of parents at the home level so that those who approach them for their children can be very well scrutinised.

Poverty alleviation is another factor. If we are able to alleviate the poverty of the parents, they will not give their children out there for peanuts. In other words they will be able to assess the request, analyse it before given to such request.

Although some of these practices are hidden, there is also need to rescue children who have migrated and are being engaged and abused, because the objective of the abusers is to make money. It is child labour. You rescue such children and bring them back to their source (origin). So we need to provide the needed poverty alleviation for the parents so that they can take care of these children.

When it comes to positive migration, I think there is the need for all parents, and care takers of children to understand the rights of children so that they can all help to protect the children. The best thing is to resettle, send them back or provide the needed structures to take care of them and if need be you prosecute the offenders. It is actually a huge or gargantuan task.

Question: Are there examples/stories of migrant children you have encountered in your work that you will like to share?

Response: There is this story of a girl who was promised of good education somewhere and ended up being forced into marriage. A minor who has been forced into marriage has no opportunity for education. So there are cases like that. It is not only a particular case. There are thousands of cases like that.

There is a case of forced marriage which is all over the news in Ghana. A girl in Kumasi who is being forced to marry to a wealthy Nigerian man. It is an example of migrating from the north to Kumasi and ending up being forced into marriage but thankfully, that child was rescued and we even initiated prosecution. The man in the end chickened out that he was no longer interested in the marriage and so it was annulled but the case is still pending in court. One of the parents of this particular girl was in the north while the other was in Kumasi

Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix 6L

Interview with Bonaaba (Paramount Chief of Bongo Traditional Area) at his palace in Bongo on December 15, 2012. The interview was conducted in English as the Chief who is a retired civic educator, was willing to speak English as I do not speak Guruni (the local language).

Question: Can you share with me a brief history of this area?
Response: The meaning of the name Bongo is a long story. It use to belong to some settlers who were are told were the Busansis. During the olden days, if you were a king you needed to strengthen and enlarging your kingdom. There was a hunter who in his hunting expedition, came around this area from the Mamprugu land and saw this terrain, this environment. He realised that the people living here spoke different language, so he went back and told the king of Mamprugu that he had discovered an area with a beautiful terrain but the people living there spoke a different language. So he would like the king to give him warriors to come and fight the people and take the land for him. The king of Mamprugu obliged and gave him some warriors and they were accompanies by the King's son. The king's son was called Issah and the hunter was called Awubgo. So Awubgo and Issa came down with the warriors and when they were entering this place, the hunter Awubgo asked the king's son how they were to attack. The king's son (Issah) said he had been told by his father that any time they were going to conquer an area, they entered there in the night. They will cut grass and thigh them into bundles and put the bundles on trees. While the people are asleep, they will light the bundles, fire their musketries and blow their trumpets. So when the people wake up and see the flames, they will thing their homes are being burnt, so it will scare them and they will run away. So they adopted that strategy and managed to outwit the first settlers.

The following day, they realised that they had all left their homes. They stayed for a while and there was no sign of them so they went back and told the king that they had captured the area and this was the strategy they adopted to capture the area. Meanwhile where they came and sat to strategise (to cut the grass), they saw a very big python that crawled out of the rock, just here and went to another rocks just the houses over there. So the king asked what name hey should give to the area and the hunter said when they were strategizing, they saw a very big python which did not harm them and we believe a python is a very peaceful reptile. So they will name it after the python. The Mamprusis call the python Buhugu, so the named this place is after the python, Buhugu. But you know the whites couldn't pronounce Buhugu, so therefore it just became Bongo. So the king unskinned his own son who became the first chief of this place. So he came back with the hunter and settled in Bongo.

Question: What is the nature of adult migration in this traditional area?
Response: When the first settlers came, people came from other areas to join them. They were multiplying and the district became a very large area. I think for now, we have about 37 communities under my chiefdom. 37 villages with 37 chiefs under my chiefdom.

The issue of migration, obviously is just for greener pastures. People migrate to other areas, especially in the south and the northern part of this country. I remember Damongo, my farther told me he was working with social welfare and when they created a certain programme that needed people to settle in Damongo to do farming. He came down here and took some people to go and settle in Damongo. There are a lot of people from Bongo here who are living in Damongo. You have a lot of them dotted around so many areas, especially down south; Accra, Kumai, Takoradi and other areas just in search for greener pastures. Not only for greener pastures. Some migrate for certain reasons. You are living in a home and there is no peace. You and your brother are living and there is no peace. So sometimes one will have to take an option that it is better for me to leave and there will be freedom, to have his freedom. So that can bring about migration.

Question: What is the nature of child migration in this district?
Response: In fact of late, I thing the issue of migration that has to do with children didn't even start from now. For example I know some of my uncles who are old now and they tell me they left home for the south when they were below the ages of 15. So it means the issue of child migration didn't just start now. Like I have explained, it all boils down to the situation in which one finds himself in the family. You are living in a family that is poor and you see your friends who travel and come back and are better. So why don't I also go out and be part of it. Peer pressure is another factor. Most of the children migrate because their friends have gone and come back to show what they have got. So they best is for them to also go and try and see if they can also get such things.

Question: What is the likely number of child migrants into or out of the community?
Response: That phenomenon is very saccadic. Some parents lure their children into migration. Because a parent goes to see his friend's child who has gone out and has returned with wealth, so he comes back and condemn the son. You see, look at so so and so, he has gone out and has returned with some wealth, and you are sitting here just disturbing us. Obviously, you are instigating the child to migrate, so most of the migration are contributory factors from the parents.

Question: What is being done about child migration in the district?
Response: For me I think we have a lot to do. Much of it has to do with government submitting a programme that will help to engage most of the children back home. School drop outs, well you cannot have 100%. Not every child in the community will go to school. There are some of them, they are naturally not intelligent. They feel that they are wasting their time in school. So eventually have to leave the place and some of them also leave school because they have a special interest. Maybe, he wants to be a farmer or he thinks that he has to do business of his own; trading. What I think can be done is that government should be able to develop certain programmes that will have to engage a lot of the children; those in school and those outside school.

For those in school, there should be programmes that can engage them immediately after school. I think the time for closing in school is too bad. In those days (the early 60s and 70s) we used to close from school around 4pm. The junior side will close around 3:30 and the senior side will close at 4pm, but today, schools close around 1pm or 2pm. So when the close around that time and come home, what are they doing? They are found loitering around and that sometimes cause some of them to go into doing certain things that are not supposed to be doing. So if they can reverse the closing time of school back to 3:30 and 4pm or they find something that will engage the children after they have closed from school.

For those who are not in school, if the government can put up workshops, like community workshops where those who are not in school can go and learn a trade like carpentry, blasmithing. A kind of resource centre that will have to be controlled by the government. Something like a school but it will not have all the features of a school, so that individuals who are not able to go to school can learn their own trade.

Traditional leaders, as I am sitting down here I am vulnerable. The system has taken all the powers from the chiefs, so we no longer have any powers. So what do I do? I don't have resources of my own, how do I control the issue of child migration.

Of course when you speak people listens because you are the community leader. So if government is designing a programme and involving the traditional rulers, we can make a head way.

Question: What roles does your community play in children's migration decision making?
Response: They don't tell us (parents) when they are travelling. They just run away to where they want to go. So we don't know where and how they make their decisions to migrate.

Question: How does migration influence children's access to and progress in education?

Response: It affects their education seriously, because there are some of them who are in school and when they give them long vacation, they decide to go to Kumasi to work so that they will be able to buy their personal belongings. And they end up not coming back, they become drop outs. So it has a very serious effect on their education. It is not only those who are not in school. Mostly the children are in school and they move out. Some come back others don't come back, especially the girls, some go and before they come back they are pregnant and teenage pregnancy in this district has become very high as a result of that.

Question: Are there institutions (laws, cultural norms, etc) which promote or constrain the migration of children in your community?
Response: The constitution says freedom of movement. It has not been specified, it says freedom of movement. This child migration is not peculiar to all parts of the country. It is only peculiar within the northern part of this country. As you come here, have you seen any boy from Kumasi who has come to Bongo? Have you seen any boy from Accra who is staying here in Bongo? Doing what? He won't get the job here, so like I was saying, if government will have to formulate certain programmes that will engage our people here. Some of the factories that are chocked up in Accra, the government should be able to decentralise those factories. Let Bongo also have a cement factory, let us get a recycling plant in every district where you will say that the plant is going to recycle plastic into paper. This plastic containers that are just flying around, becoming a nuisance and environmental hazard. If the children won't do any work at all, won't they go round to pick them? So we wouldn't have plastic materials all around. So government should provide plastic plants all around the districts, especially in the northern side. And then you will see that the children won't go anywhere because whichever agency is supposed to be buying the plastic materials will be buying from the children. And then if there are certain factories that are put in Bongo, you know, you don't need to travel out.

The DA does not have the capacity to put up factories. I have been an Assembly member before and I know that they don't have the resources to do that. The DAs are much depending on the common fund, and the common fund is being controlled by the central government. Because the money is brought and they dictate to them, how to spend the money. This mount should go to health, education and all that. So from where is the DA going to use to develop the area? And the local resources that the Assembly is supposed to generate is not enough for them to meet their internal expenses.

We have tried to modernise the celebration of Azambene. We have focused on education because education is the key to development. Realising the poverty stricken nature of the district. Being a deprived area, we have decided to institute a traditional educational endowment fund which is being monitored by the chiefs. So we use the Azambeni to mobilise funds to support the needy but brilliant children in the district who might have to go to certain institutions. So this is what we are doing ad this year we celebrated it and we have got something small. This started when I became the chief in 2006, so started it in 2008. It is operating but not the way we wanted it. It is like only the day of the festival that people contribute money and that ends it, but it needs to be a kind of revolving contribution where people can contribute to it not only during Azambene. We are now trying to formulate a programme where we will reach out to the workers in the district; the teachers and other workers. If we are able to agree that every worker in the district should be able to contribute some amount of money into the fund every month.

Since 2008 we have supported many children. We have been able to support over 40 children, who are in SHS, University, Teacher Training colleges and nursing training colleges. What we intend doing this year is that, those who will be going in for professional education, we will design a form so that when we support them we will make sure that they pay back so that we will have a revolving fund. As for those in the SHS, we cannot ask them to pay back.

With the modernisation of the festival, I have seen tremendous changes in the lives of the people. In the past, during the celebration of the festival, they used to fight registering many casualties which ended in police station and court. But in the past four or five years since we started celebrating it this way, there has not been cases of violence. I think the people are

picking up, because I try to use that opportunity to let them understand that the festival is a day for you to patch up differences with whoever you would have had a problem with, build good relationship and foster unity and live together in peace and harmony. So I think the message is picking up with the people in the community. Previously if you were not a strong man, you went home early from the celebration grounds otherwise you may go home with a broken leg, arm or some form of deformity.

The festival is celebrated in commemoration of the success of our founding fathers. That they used fire to outwit their opponents and settled in the area. It is the same as celebrated by the Mamprusis and Dagombas.

Question: How do the organisations (District Assembly, religious bodies, schools, etc) promote or constrain child migration in your community?
Response: In fact I have a very good working relationship with the District Assembly, as a major stakeholder in the District. They involve me in all aspects of their programmes. Anytime they have something to do with development planning, traditional rulers are invited to make their inputs. So we have a major role and a very good working relationship with the District Assembly.

For the best of my knowledge, the district last two or three years, we sat down to put a five year development plan and the issue of child migration didn't feature prominently. So we sat down gain. For now I cannot say exactly what we can do.

We do not talk about issues of child migration during our meetings. The traditional rulers. They are issues that even when you talk about, you cannot control it. So you just find it irrelevant talking about them.

Government should be able to create more jobs. If there are jobs for some of the children to do. Child labour is unacceptable in our constitution, so those below 18 years are those I said if we are able to create some programmes that will keep them in school to come out with their professional skills. I think that is the only way we will be able to solve the issue.
Creating jobs for the adults will along the line reduce child migration. You know when an adult gets to feed himself and the child, that child will not go anywhere. Like I said, some of the migrations are contributory factors from parents instigating their children. Because the parent doesn't have anything, and Christmas is coming and the child says he wants a shirt and a trousers. If you cannot afford, what happens? The child has to go to Bolga to wash bowls or go to Kumasi to work to get the trousers and the shirt. But if the parent has something doing where he can earn a living and can get clothing for the children, definitely the children will not go anywhere.

I think WorldVision was very instrumental and supportive in the district. I think there is also an organisation (ISODEC) also helping on children's issues. AfriKids is also doing well and a few others which are supporting. We are collaborating well with these organisations. For instance we have given AfriKids about 20 children who they are supporting in SHS and apprenticeship.

Question: In which ways do child migrants remit their families and support your community?
Response: I cannot answer this because no parent will come and tell me the chief that my son or daughter went and came back and gave me this amount or that amount but I think that some of them come and the parents appreciate what they have brought. Some go and they don't come back, other go and come back with problems. So it is an issue you cannot actually tell.

Migrant networks
There has been some kind of improvement. People from Bongo living in Sunyani recently invited me that they had organized a Bongo Community Association in Sunyani and wanted me to come and inaugurate it, so I went and did it. Takoradi formed theirs and in 2007, and I went and inaugurated it. I here Kumasi is in the pipeline. Accra they already have one. So I believe with these networks, we will be able to identify people who come from their various areas, like those from Bongo, from which house, family and so on. We are thinking of how to rope these groups into vibrant groups and for them to deal with issues that have to do with the development

of the area. And also to identify how and where to combat child trafficking. When these associations are strengthened and work well, they will be able to identify children who migrate to various areas and can immediately communicate so that where there is need for the return of such children, it is done appropriately.

There is need to sit down and brainstorm on this issue of child migration so that we can come out with workable solutions. We also need to have the legal backing and resources to be able to achieve this aim. As humans, we can achieve whatever we plan to do so it is very possible.

Thank you very much for your time